

THE PORTRAYAL OF GOVERNOR WALLACE AND THE ALABAMA TWO-YEAR
COLLEGE SYSTEM FROM 1963-1966: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THREE ALABAMA
NEWSPAPERS

by

LEIGH ANN JOHNSTON

KARLA GOWER, COMMITTEE CHAIR
WILLIAM GONZENBACH
YORGO PASADEOS
WILSON LOWREY
KARRI HOLLEY

A DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Communication & Information Sciences
in the Graduate School of
The University of Alabama

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

2012

Copyright Leigh Ann Johnston 2012
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explored the portrayal of Wallace in the media related to two-year college coverage in three Alabama newspapers from 1963-1966, his first term as governor. Focusing on three major frames: educational, economic, and political, a content analysis was conducted coding the use of these identified frames. The Civil Rights Act, passed on July 2, 1965, was defined as a pivotal event during this four-year period to determine if coverage changed before and after its passage. Results of the study showed that the amount of total articles about the two-year colleges (n=48) were equally distributed for the two time periods: 32.4% (n=22) before the Act was passed and 67.6% (n=46) afterwards. What did change were the master frames used and their frequencies. Educational frames were used 11.5% (n=3) of the time before the Act, and 88.5% (n=23) afterwards; whereas the use of economic and political frames were fairly consistent: 41.2% (n=7) and 58.8% (n=10) and 48.0% (n=12) and 52.0% (n=13), respectively. This suggests the Civil Rights Act was not a pivotal event in terms of coverage; however, it did affect how the news about two-year colleges in Alabama was framed from an educational opportunities perspective.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank my dissertation committee and all the professors that provided me with guidance and invaluable assistance during my time at the University of Alabama. I would especially like to thank my dissertation chair, Dr. Karla Gower, for choosing to work with me and for her patience and insight throughout the process. Dr. William Gonzenbach was instrumental in helping me choose my dissertation topic area and providing unwavering support throughout my program tenure.

Second, I owe a huge thanks to my parents for their undying love and support in my decision to return to school and for always being there to encourage me when necessary. My sister, Melissa, made it a part of her weekly agenda to connect with me and see how I was faring. I appreciate my family as my integral support network.

Third, to my fellow colleagues, Ann, Maryann, Mary Lee, Sharon, and Melissa W., thank you for your understanding and countless “venting” sessions. It would have been difficult to make it through without your comforting words and understanding.

Last, but certainly not least, I want to thank Mike for his expert knowledge of Excel spreadsheets and for his help developing one for my study. He also provided me with continual support, encouragement, and love throughout the last six months of my dissertation process.

I am thankful to everyone for their commitment to help me navigate successfully through this process. I owe you everything!

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
3. METHODOLOGY.....	23
4. RESULTS.....	30
5. DISCUSSION.....	55
REFERENCES.....	70
APPENDICES.....	79

LIST OF TABLES

1 Summary of Quantitative Results by Category and by Newspaper.....	32
2 Number of Two-Year College articles by Newspaper by Year.....	33
3 Total Number of Master Frames and Type Used By Each Newspaper.....	34
4 Total Number of Master Frames by Newspaper by Type in 1963.....	34
5 Total Number of Master Frames by Newspaper by Type in 1964.....	36
6 Total Number of Master Frames by Newspaper by Type in 1965.....	36
7 Total Number of Master Frames by Newspaper by Type in 1966.....	41
8 Combination of Master Frames: 1963.....	41
9 Combination of Master Frames: 1964.....	42
10 Combination of Master Frames: 1965.....	42
11 Combination of Master Frames: 1966.....	43
12 Coverage Prior to and After Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.....	43
13 Coverage of Master Frames Prior to Passage of the Civil Rights Act.....	44
14 Coverage of Master Frames Post Passage of the Civil Rights Act.....	44
15 Total Number of Master Frames in 1966 by Category.....	45
16 Combination of Master Frames by Category.....	45
17 Combination of Master Frames Used in 1963 by Newspaper.....	46
18 Combination of Master Frames in 1963 by Category.....	47
19 Combination of Master Frames Used in 1964 by Newspaper.....	48
20 Combination of Master Frames in 1964 by Category.....	48
21 Combination of Master Frames Used in 1965 by Newspaper.....	50

22 Combination of Master Frames in 1965 by Category.....	50
23 Combination of Master Frames Used in 1966 by Newspaper.....	52
24 Combination of Master Frames in 1966 by Category.....	52
25 Coverage Prior to and After Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.....	53
26 Coverage of Master Frames Prior to and After Passage of the Civil Rights Act.....	54

LIST OF FIGURES

1 Alabama Junior College and Technical Schools Table/Map.....	79
---	----

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Former Alabama Governor George Wallace is reportedly the most “successful, nationally influential, and powerful Alabama politician in history” (Flynt, 2004, p. 77) and is best known for his 1963 stand in the schoolhouse door at The University of Alabama in an attempt to maintain segregation. However, Wallace is also known for his role in establishing, growing, and supporting a new junior college and trade school system. These two-year colleges, some of them eventually merging, became the current community college system in the state although they were not consistently referred to as such until the 1970s (Cohen & Brawer, 2003) [See Figure 1]. Even today, some 50 years later, he is often referred to as the father of the two-year college system in Alabama (Katsinas, 1994).

Depending on what sector of the school system is being discussed, then, Wallace is seen as the “father” of a new kind of education experience (two-year colleges) or the perpetuator of an old-style, segregated one (k-12 and university). These dichotomous (defender of the status quo versus progressive), yet simultaneous portrayals of Wallace and his stance on postsecondary education advancement appear almost to compete with each other for coverage, perhaps, one at the expense of the other.

Previous research has addressed Wallace’s role in trying to impede integration of four-year institutions, even after passage of the Civil Rights Act (Clark, 1993; Flynt, 1994; Frederick, 1997). Less research has focused on Wallace’s relationship with the current two-year community college system in Alabama. Thus, this study focused on the portrayal of Wallace in the media’s coverage of the establishment and advancement of these two-year colleges.

Newspapers are an appropriate source for exploring Wallace and the two-year college system in Alabama because it is through their reporting that readers learn and form opinions about topics (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Dearing & Rogers, 1996). How newspapers frame stories or events also affects how readers feel about the issue (Sherif, 1967). The media construct our reality through the “selection, emphasis, and exclusion” (Lentz & Gower, 2011, p. 6) of events. Journalists, of course, reflect the values of their communities, but they also interpret social change for those communities. Thus, the purpose of this study was to explore how the Alabama media portrayed Wallace and his establishment of the two-year college system during a time of great social change.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed into law nearly half-way through Wallace’s first term in office, and one of its provisions addressed racial equality, including in the area of postsecondary education. Previous research has primarily focused on integration challenges at the four-year institutions of higher learning in Alabama during this time frame (Clark, 1993), so this study’s goal was to focus on the two-year junior college and trade school system within the context of the civil rights movement. This is important because Alabama is typically remembered as the site of civil rights turmoil with media depicting the struggles of those supporting the movement, and the actions of those against it. Since Wallace is often remembered as both a proponent and opponent of education and its advancement in the state of Alabama, it is important to explore how newspapers covered Wallace in relation to establishing and funding the two-year college system during his first term in office, both before and after the Civil Rights Act was passed.

This study explored the coverage frequency of the two-year college system, most often referred to as junior colleges and trade schools in the 1960s, as well as the master frames

(thematic analysis) used related to educational opportunities, economics, and politics within the context of the civil rights and segregation, timely issues then, since most communication-focused research addresses some form of the question, who says what to whom, how, why and with what effects (Lasswell, 1948).

One specific provision of The Civil Rights Act of 1964, the focus of this study, targeted the long-held belief in the South, including in Alabama that segregated education was not discrimination as long as that education was “separate but equal.” Segregated education was prevalent throughout the U.S. at the time; however, this study addresses newspaper coverage in Alabama during Wallace’s first term as governor to determine whether or not civil rights and segregation were addressed within the context of junior college and trade school education in Alabama in the newspapers, and if so, how it was addressed. The purpose of this dissertation is not to focus on the motive or intent of news organizations measured in outcomes (behavioral effects or attitudes) but rather on patterns of coverage, location (front page), or authorship as evidenced over the four-year time frame, 1963-1966, Wallace’s first term as governor of Alabama.

Studies have examined the two-year college system establishment during Wallace’s tenure (Katsinas, 1994; Randall, 2001); however, these previous studies have not examined the portrayal of two-year college education in Alabama within the context of civil rights. By examining the three major newspapers, *The Birmingham News*, *The Montgomery Advertiser*, and *The Mobile Press-Register*, in Alabama during this time frame, this study was able to use the Civil Rights Act as a delineating point of comparison among news coverage of the three most circulated newspapers in order to create a before and after comparison scenario for interpretation purposes. Additionally, researchers (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Sniderman & Theriault, 2004)

point to the need for more content analysis research conducted within a competitive environment between newspapers vying for some of the same readership audience.

As indicated, how newspapers frame stories or events affects how readers feel about the issue (Sherif, 1967). The organization of issues in news stories may seem deliberate and perhaps even intentional when analyzed; however, the patterns identified actually may represent an unintentional decision(s) or subconscious motive(s) on the part of the journalist or newspaper itself (Dearing & Rogers, 1996; Entman, 1993, 2003). Unintentional frames occur because journalists are a part of their communities and cultures, which affects not only what is covered, but also how it is covered (Lentz, 1990; McWhorter, 2001; Davies, 2006). Also, editors and the target audience may determine what, how, and how often certain news is communicated or omitted (Lentz, 1990). In this case, the target audience is predominantly white (Davies, 2001), and front page news was oriented to that audience. Civil rights and integration were considered “white” news only when they threatened the status quo and thus were largely absent. This is important since according to Entman (2003), the process of framing is “selecting and highlighting some facets of events, issues, or actors in ways that promote perceptions and interpretations that benefit one side while hindering the other” (p. 417). Similarly, Tankard et al. (1991) and Carragee and Roefs (2004) define framing as a way of “suggest[ing] what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration” (Tankard et al., 1991, p. 11) highlighting the importance of context.

Essentially, a *frame* represents the *content* of a story (the what) and *framing* relates to the *process* of positioning the story (the how) possibly representing cultural themes. According to Goldman and Rajagopal (1991), there are not enough studies examining the *what* and the *how* together. Both will be explored here. Additionally, time, mentioned as a crucial aspect missing

in many framing studies (Carragee & Roefs, 2004), is an important focus when examining a process such as framing since a process cannot be accurately reflected by a snapshot view of cross-sectional data. Time, a four-year period, was explored in this study to determine which recurring themes or master frames exist and how often they were used pointing to potential motivations of the media or political actors, like Wallace.

Master frames are recurring themes that overarch across a period of time and are often used to represent similar frames over time grounded in culture and specifically social movements (Benford & Snow, 2000). According to Whooley (2004), “masterframes are cultural codes that movements adopt from external sources. Recognition of this would introduce an extremely important aspect of the creation of masterframes – the idea that certain frames retain greater “cultural potency” than others (p. 494). For example, the civil rights movement adopted certain master frames to promote passage of the Civil Rights Act, including the frames of equality in voting and educational opportunities. Similarly, those against the Act created their own master frames to prevent its passage. Common frames related to the anti-civil rights movement from previous studies include state’s rights, freedom of choice, Southern blue collar working tradition, and communism (Whooley, 2004; Kotlowski, 2005; Crespino, 2006; & Stern, 2007). Initially, keeping these anti-civil rights master frames in mind, this study explored the master frames used during this time frame in Alabama newspapers. It was determined through preliminary research that educational opportunities, economics, and politics were three master frames used that related specifically to justifications for the two-year college system. Some questions asked that helped unearth and label these three master frames include: Does coverage of the two-year system in Alabama contain any information related to postsecondary education opportunities made available through the two-year junior college and trade school system? Are economic

advantages cited, for example, attracting industry to Alabama by having a more skilled, trained labor force, and/or are the frames more political, mentioning where the schools will be located and how they will be governed? Newspaper stories were analyzed to determine which of these master frames were used, how often, when, and by which newspaper.

For purposes of this study, the Civil Rights Act is considered a pivotal event used as a fixed delineator for comparison purposes – before and after passage – to determine whether there was a change in the frequency and types of master frames used. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is a fundamental component because of the importance of context in a content analysis study (Krippendorff, 1980). Numbers are essentially meaningless without contextual interpretation: the Civil Rights Act and the two-year college contexts during Wallace’s first term as governor provided the specific focus for this study to determine the repetition, consistency, or even omission of these three identified master frames or themes.

This dissertation will begin with a review of the relevant literature, followed by the research questions, a description of the method, the findings, and finally a discussion of the results.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

For purposes of this study, the literature on Wallace's relationship with the two-year college system was reviewed, along with the literature on newspapers in the South and civil rights. Then the literature on framing theory is discussed, followed by the research questions that guided this study.

Wallace and the Alabama Two-Year College System

Wallace was inaugurated as governor of Alabama on January 14, 1963, at which time he promised to “invest in the future through education” (from Wallace's inaugural address; in Carter, 2000, p. 10). But it was education on Wallace's terms. Frederick (2007) noted in his biography of Wallace that Wallace “had a particular interest in education, but politics came first and that meant money could not be spent unless it came with tangible benefits for the governor” (p. 82). Even his textbook plan, which at its inception was to provide much needed textbooks for underprivileged k-12 students in the state, was referred to as a “political program” (Frederick, 2007, p. 115) by Senator Bob Gilchrist; the plan eventually fell by the wayside when funding was not consistently earmarked for it and was instead allocated to other educational initiatives, primarily the two-year college program. The initial textbook effort potentially portrayed Wallace as an education supporter, but that support tended to be only for those educational initiatives that were his priorities, not necessarily the priorities of the state or his constituents.

Clearly, the two-year college program was one of his priorities. Wallace is credited with proposing and establishing a “new” community college system, implying a difference compared

to the one junior college (Smith, 2012) and six trade schools (Flynt, 2004) already in existence when he came into office. How this “newness” was framed by the newspapers will be explored in this study. Initiating 20 and building 11 junior colleges and 24 trade schools during his first term in office was beneficial to Wallace both politically and economically because one of his personal goals was to attract business and industry to Alabama (Martin, 1963), which he started campaigning for early-on in his first term as governor by traveling to other states to recruit potential industries (“State seen adding,” 1964). To do so, he needed to reassure prospective companies that Alabama had the necessary educational infrastructure in place to equip potential workers with necessary skills. “Alabama is never going to reach its zenith in industrial growth until something is done about education,” he wrote (Wallace, 1973). Wallace chose to focus educational growth on the two-year college system since its growth directly benefitted him and his political allies more so than k-12 and four-year higher educational institutions because he had the power to influence which counties would get a new school and where they would be located. If he promised to locate a two-year college in the towns and locales of his friends, Wallace could be assured of their continued support for other legislative matters of importance to him, for example, changing the state constitution to remove term limits on the governorship.

Of course, to facilitate the creation of these colleges, Wallace needed to increase educational funding. It is important to note that he was mainly interested in the educational funding he could earmark for postsecondary education, primarily the new two-year college establishment, not k-12 education. Wallace was known to oppose raising property taxes as a source of education revenue, which would affect a number of his supporters, but he was not opposed to raising sales taxes, which would affect everyone. In 1963, during his first year in office, a 2-cent beer tax was proposed and passed to fund the building of 10 junior colleges; the

actual number by the end of his first term was 11. Rankin Fite, head of the Ways and Means Committee, and a Wallace ally, proposed the 2-cent beer tax, which would only affect the wet counties in Alabama, many of which were not slated to receive a two-year college (Frederick, 2007). This way, funds could be raised for the initially proposed 10 two-year colleges under the guise of providing educational opportunities for students to learn valuable trades and skills but which would end up being located only in those counties hand-chosen by Wallace. At the end of Wallace's first term in office, 1966, there were 11 junior colleges, 24 trade schools and four community colleges in existence, compared to only six regional vocational trade schools six years earlier (Flynt, 2004) [See Figure 1].

Although reports say Wallace's major goal in establishing a two-year college system was to promote education in the state of Alabama (Jones, 1967), Wallace himself said it was also to ensure he left behind a legacy and was not forgotten (Wallace, 1973). The many two-year colleges in Alabama named after Wallace support this desire for legacy. Wallace also needed the new two-year colleges to be established in a timely manner so he could be credited with establishing an educational infrastructure to attract new industry to Alabama. Wallace was working against the clock since the Alabama 1901 constitution prohibited consecutive terms in office for the governor. This was the apparent motivation behind his frustration when there was a filibuster during the attempted passage of his 2-cent beer tax. It has been said that Wallace positioned his aggravation as concern about the well-being of the future of education rather than his true political intentions surrounding two-year college funding and their quick establishment (Frederick, 2007). Given Wallace's personal and political motivation, it makes sense that while few of the community college presidents had any postsecondary educational experience and only three had earned doctorates, all were Wallace supporters or were at least indebted to him for one

reason or another. According to Alabama's Agriculture Commissioner, A.W. Todd, a Wallace opponent, the new two-year college system "strengthened Wallace's formidable political machine" ("A.W. Todd", 1966, in Flynt, 2004, p. 241) since Wallace and his allies controlled the governing board as well as highway funding. Although seemingly unrelated, receipt of highway funds during Wallace's tenure was often contingent on how counties or their state legislators voted on the 2-cent beer tax, the primary source of funding for the two-year colleges since, "everything hinged on Wallace and whether one opposed or supported him" (Flynt, 2004, p. 99). Some legislators, including John Tyson from Mobile, accused Wallace of discontinuing highway funding to those counties where elected officials opposed Wallace's two-year college expansion plan via the 2-cent beer tax (Thomas, 1963; "A.W. Todd", 1966; Flynt, 2004).

Two-Year College Governance

Wallace's first act of governance as governor of Alabama was to establish the Alabama Technical School and Junior College Association (ATSJCA) to oversee the allocation of funds collected through taxes and bond indebtedness (earmarked for education) of which Wallace was a voting member, and the Alabama State Board of Education (ASBE), which had administrative rights to the money collected. This governance was proposed through a three-bill package authored by Rankin Fite, which put the power into a centralized board, the ASBE, and away from the state legislature (Alabama Acts, 1963). As decided, the governor would be on that board along with his friend, Rankin Fite, and seven other members appointed by the Governor, each representing a district in the state (Alabama Acts, 1963) and many with little or no postsecondary educational expertise. To thank Rankin Fite for his help in writing the bill, Wallace "rewarded" him with the first junior college in the state; more were to follow with precedence given to college placement in the areas of his supporters. As one such supporter,

Jimmy Faulkner, stated “there were nine members of the state board (appointed by Wallace) and each member got a college for his district” (Stanton, 2002, p. 185).

As Dorsey Hayes, Director of Opelika State Vocational-Technical School, expressed it in the 1964 report to the Auburn Educational Conference (AEC) on Vocational, Technical, and Junior College Education, “the state legislature, I am sure, will go along with an increase in the taxes it takes to operate these schools because just about every one of the Senators and their districts will have a new institution” (p. 82). Hayes also stated in the same 1964 report that the Alabama State Board of Education (ASBE) named a survey committee to recommend where five new institutions should be located strategically throughout the state, but that during a special session, Governor Wallace passed legislation authorizing the ASBE, which he led, rather than the survey committee, to determine locations for the new institutions (p. 78). This ultimately allowed Wallace to have direct control over where the institutions were located, rather than basing the decision on evidence gathered or recommendations made by the survey committee.

The primarily rural locations of these new institutions as chosen by Wallace goes against early researchers in the field (Koos, 1924; Eells, 1931), who proposed that higher education would be more effective and democratic if colleges were located closer to geographically populated areas rather than in rural locations, especially for access purposes. However, interestingly enough, two-thirds of the two-year colleges in Alabama were located where only one-third of the population lived (Katsinas, 1994). These rural locations identified by Wallace directly benefitted his allies and supporters and ultimately, Wallace’s own political agenda because the majority of his biggest supporters were located in these areas, helping sustain his career (Katsinas, 1994) and legislative power. In fact, the state senate feared “that Wallace was becoming too powerful” (Alabama, 1963; Tyson, personal interview by Katsinas, 1989), a

sentiment echoed by then Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers when he said this “centralization of power” led by Wallace would be a decision “Alabama would long regret...the Kennedy’s themselves have never asked for power like this” (Flynt, 2004, p. 51).

While Wallace would govern the two-year college system and have the power to allocate funding at the state level, federal funding was supposedly contingent on a statewide plan for the two-year college system, including vocational and technical education. According to Austin Meadows, at the time the Alabama State Superintendent of Education, a requirement for Alabama to receive the money appropriated by the federal government for these new two-year colleges was a state plan, and he went on to state that Wallace designated the ASBE as the agency to approve the plan and funding allocations. According to the legislative opposition at the time, no plan or major study establishing need for community college location ever occurred (Katsinas, 1994); however, of course, in early 1965, another factor would play a huge role in education, and according to Meadows, could have a “crippling effect on education on Alabama” (Frederick, 2007, p. 114) and that was the potential loss of federal funds if Alabama did not comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Civil Rights Act and Education

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was signed into law by former President Lyndon Johnson on July 2, 1964. The passage of this act was a pivotal event in our nation’s history reportedly targeting equality and ending discrimination. As the act states, “no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance” (Southern Education Foundation, 1974, p. 23, in Litolff, 2007). This included any publically-funded state educational agencies of which the two-year colleges

qualified. Of course, this excerpt from the act did not specifically address equality in education, even though the non-private, state and federally-funded two-year schools received federal financial assistance, and may have contributed in part to why desegregation in education was difficult to enforce immediately (Kotlowski, 2005; Litolff, 2007). Vagueness within the Act also existed related to *de facto* segregation or segregation that occurred in less population integrated areas which would require busing or some similar process for those schools to be racially integrated (Crespino, 2006). Wallace disagreed with the portion of the civil rights bill providing for the “correction of racial imbalance” in these areas naturally segregated by population demographics as outlined in the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report presented in 1963.

Additionally, Wallace was adept at using “the fear of the communist menace...to denounce the political leaders of the nation” (Rohler, 2004, p. 33). Wallace and his supporters made it clear that to support civil rights was to support communism. Wallace denounced enforced integration as a violation of the Tenth Amendment, which reads in part, “The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people” (U.S. Constitution, in Rohler, 2004, p. 26.) So Wallace argued that enforcing integration and civil rights in general did not fall under the jurisdiction of the federal government, but rather resided at the state level, dependent upon state interpretation. Even though the South is typically regarded as having been the most segregated and least likely to adhere to the provisions of equal voting and education rights regardless of race, the North was not much more progressive (Davies, 2001) in enacting these changes, which resulted in many riots in northern cities including Chicago and New York (Lentz & Gower, 2010). In terms of enforcing anti-segregation and related provisions in the Civil Rights Act, the South was often targeted according to U.S. Senator John Stennis from Mississippi who

“complained that the federal government was pursuing a regional desegregation plan” (in Crespino, 2006, p. 304), which aligned with Wallace’s assertion during his 1964 presidential campaign that the federal government needed to focus on what was happening in its own backyard (Carter, 2000).

Wallace often referred to the civil rights challenges experienced by northern cities and states, for examples riots protesting voting and school desegregation, to reinforce his belief that segregation was anti-constitutional since it infringed upon a state’s right to choose laws impacting its citizens. When it came to voting and education, in particular, Wallace wanted to ensure that k-12 schools and four-year institutions remained divided and separate along racial lines as evidenced by his stand at The University of Alabama and repeated pro-segregation stance for k-12 education. He believed parents had the right to send their children to “all-white” schools and encouraged school districts to maintain their separateness even to the extreme of closing schools when segregation became eminent (Frederick, 2007). The press played an integral role in perpetuating the how and whether or not segregation was covered in news articles. For example, even the most liberal of Southern editors were said to “stop...short of advocating an end to segregation” (Roberts & Klibanoff, 2007, p. 22).

Southern Culture and Newspaper Coverage

Newspapers, especially in the 1960s, were a main source of information for society and represented many cultural ideology and priorities. “The Southern press struggled with the school desegregation ruling [*Brown v. Board of Education*] and with black Americans’ demand for civil rights before and after. Desegregation would indeed prove a difficult story to tell” (Davies, 2001, p. 3). The civil rights movement was not covered in its entirety by many southern newspapers because these newspapers tended to be run by white editors with stories written by

white reporters. As Davies (2006) put it, “The civil rights story forced mainstream white newspapers to deal with a subject they had long ignored – black Americans” (p. 63). So for many editors, especially at Southern newspapers, it was challenging to cover issues related to segregation and integration, which were not yet culturally acceptable (Davies, 2006). Even Ralph McGill, writer for *The Atlanta Constitution*, said “separation of the two races must be maintained in the South” (Kneebone, 1944, p. 201; in Roberts & Klibanoff, 2006, p. 23). Another contributing factor, at predominantly white news organizations, was a certain lack of understanding and empathy regarding civil rights challenges experienced by black Americans (Roberts & Klibanoff, 2006). Additionally, most Southern newspapers were segregated (Davies, 2001); white news was given prominence in the front section of the newspaper; whereas, black news was given its own separate section in the newspaper. Typically, a black-related story only garnered coverage on the front page if it were crime-related, especially a “crime against a white” (Davies, 2001, p. 6).

Some Southern newspapers, *The Montgomery Advertiser* and *The Alabama Journal*, for example, even published totally separate black newspaper editions, further segregating audience readership although most were in circulation for less than a decade. At one time there were 2,700 “Negro” newspapers, and by 1951, there were less than 175 (Roberts & Klibanoff, 2007).

In a 1973 interview, J. Oliver Emmerich, former editor of the *McComb Enterprise Journal*, recalled that “the prejudices were recognized as traditions and not as prejudices” (in Davies, 2006, p. 67), and Jonathan Daniels of the *Raleigh News & Observer* stated that “sometimes it is easier to ask people to give their lives than to give up their prejudices” (Eagles, 1982, p. 97; in Roberts & Klibanoff, 2007, p. 23). According to Carl E. Lindstrom, editor of the *Hartford Times* during the 1960s, “the desegregation story is as thorny a challenge as the

American press has ever faced” (in Davies, 2006, p. 69). These accounts may help explain not only coverage of the civil rights movement, integration, and Wallace, but also the frequency of such stories since newspapers themselves perpetuated segregation to an extent, even if passively, since many editors were reluctant to cover race. “Most editors were looking over their shoulders to see who was following them” (in Davies, 2006, p. 68), according to Reed Sarratt, a Southern editor in the 1950s, regarding coverage of desegregation; many left this coverage to the wire services, such as the Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI).

But Southern newspapers were not just reluctant to cover civil rights. In the early 1960s, they also tended not to do investigative reporting that might upset the status quo. Brett Blackledge won the 2007 Pulitzer prize for a series of exposes published in *The Birmingham News* (2006) addressing the “nepotism and cronyism” occurring in Alabama’s community college system. Friends and relatives of the chancellor of education and members of the state legislature were on the payroll, in some cases, for work they did not do or even intend to do. According to Blackledge, in a 2009 personal interview, this practice and similar types of practices had been going on for at least 40 years, which would have been during Wallace’s time in office. Blackledge states that even though some of the practices may have occurred during Wallace’s tenure, many are “embedded in political southern culture” and remain to this day.

Culture can be defined as “an organized set of beliefs, codes, myths, stereotypes, values, norms, frames...shared in the collective memory of a group or society” (Zald, 1996, in Van Gorp, 2007, p. 62). Newspapers are linked to that very culture, often reifying the inherent beliefs and value systems of a group or society. According to Benford and Snow’s (2000) research on social movements, frames are typically culturally bound, economically and politically, and contribute to meaning construction. Social movements are led by actors, including the media,

and the goal is to “remedy or alter some problematic situation or issue” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 616) by generating meaning, often assigning blame. In this study, the Civil Rights Act, the result of a social movement, has been defined as a pivotal event situated in Southern, Alabama culture and is further explored to determine its effect, if any, on the portrayal and coverage of two-year college education in the newspapers since Wallace typically juxtaposed education and the equality issue of desegregation through the repetition of certain master frames or themes alluding to white, Southern tradition.

According to Gans (1979), journalists during this time frame shared some overarching values including “small-town pastoralism and social order” (in Van Gorp, 2007, p. 67). Gans’ (1979) research about rural, Southern values directly relate to the context of this study. It is important to examine how postsecondary education, specifically the new two-year college system, was being discussed since “the choice to represent a statement or not, the prominence that is given to the statement, and the exact formulation are...much more the result of journalistic practices than...newspapers [themselves] would suggest” (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 69).

Media coverage situated in culture, is a more sociological approach to framing (Entman, 1993; Carragee & Roefs, 2004), and as such has not been as frequently studied (Van Gorp, 2007) as psychological approaches involving media effects (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). This sociological approach focuses on how information is framed, or positioned and packaged, according to the cultural themes and events prevalent during the time period rather than on the psychological effects of the framing such as attitudinal or behavioral changes in audiences. Therefore, this study approached framing more from how the media and political actors, predominantly Wallace in this case, potentially affected not only what two-year college information was covered, but also the use and repetition of the identified master frames over time

since Van Gorp (2007) suggests frames employed are generally consistent “because they are part of culture” (p. 63). However, the process of how those frames are used may change depending on who is communicating the information, the journalists themselves or even newspaper nuances. So, what is being communicated remains constant, related to culture and themes, but how this content is communicated may vary depending on external actors, perceptions, and contextual events such as the civil rights movement.

Theoretical Framework

Given that establishing a new two-year college system in Alabama was a personal and a political issue for Wallace, it is important to explore how newspapers portrayed Wallace related to this endeavor. Framing theory comprises analytical components evolving from various disciplines, including economics, sociology, psychology, and communication. From these various disciplinary approaches to framing, two foundations have emerged – sociological and psychological (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). This study utilizes a sociological approach to examining frames, focusing on the wording, word phrasing used, and their frequency (Entman, 1991; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974) to socially construct news articles (Druckman, 2001) related to particular frames, rather than psychologically-grounded framing, which focuses more on media effects (Scheufele, 1999). Tewksbury and Scheufele (2009) suggest that sociologically-grounded framing research represents a more macro-level approach to examining content, which directly relates to the intent of this study in determining which master frames were used in news coverage related to Wallace’s two-year college initiative. Additionally, framing is an appropriate theoretical approach used for interpreting news content, frequency, and master theme trends over time referred to as information effects

(Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009), compared to priming, which is typically used for media effects on attitudes and behaviors of people in the short-term (Scheufele, 1999, 2000).

Framing may be explored from process and effects perspectives; this study focused on framing, specifically frame building from a process perspective. Frame building explores how societal discourse and media priorities help determine the way news is packaged and discussed to audiences versus the effect of those specific frames on audiences (Scheufele, 1999; Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). According to Koenig (2004), “frames are basic cognitive structures which guide the perception and representation of reality. On the whole, frames are not consciously manufactured but are unconsciously adopted in the course of communicative processes. On a very banal level, frames structure, which parts of reality become noticed” (p. 1). Frame building is concerned with the frames chosen (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009), or not chosen, by the media, potentially influencing how an audience thinks about the news rather than the news they think about, which would be more agenda-setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Both of these theories are related; however, agenda-setting focuses more on perceived salience of a message through frequency of the message and directional and agency influence: media, public, and policy agendas (Dearing & Rogers, 1996) rather than the contextual or cultural influence (Koenig, 2004) on message construction. For example, when newspapers put a story about the 2-cent beer tax on their front page, it indicates salience. In effect they are saying, this is a bill that is important for Alabamians to think about, especially those in the wet counties, because it is a tax that will affect these taxpayers, potentially setting the public’s agenda. Framing takes this content one step farther to determine how the media positions the 2-cent beer tax related to educational opportunities, economic costs or opportunities, and political themes. How the 2-cent beer tax is discussed may represent the process of media negotiation in establishing the best way

to communicate specific information oftentimes representative of news agencies' and journalists' priorities and perceptions (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Tuchman, 1978). The degree to which these priorities align with the beliefs of the culture where this news is located relates to Bennett's (1990) indexing work suggesting that news agencies tend to represent the "views expressed in mainstream government" (p. 106; in Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009 p. 23), linking news to culture and not separate from it. Agenda-setting does not take local culture into account as much as framing does, so examining the influence of the framing process, specifically frame building and the use of master frames, is the focus of this study.

To better understand the issues and themes related to civil rights, previous studies on civil rights, race, and inequality in the South were examined including those on the abolitionist movement (Whooley, 2004), the civil rights movement (Tarrow, 1998; Benford & Snow, 2000), Reconstruction (Kotlowski, 2005) and the embedded Southern culture of autonomy, pride, and distrust of the federal government (Carter, 2000; Litoloff, 2007). Two studies (Impson, 1994; Randall, 2001) specifically examine race and the culture of Alabama and intersections between Southern tradition, race, and culture by exploring the influence of each during the same time frame under study here, including Wallace's first term as governor. His (1994) findings portray the South, and Alabama in particular, as being resistant to change, and concerted with the Civil Rights Act's perceived threat on the Southern lifestyle, including integrated industry and neighborhoods. "These disgruntled citizens all felt that civil rights for blacks threatened their [Southern whites] ability to control their own destiny...George Wallace provided a ray of hope" (Impson, 1994, pp 8-9). Randall's (2001) research highlights Alabama's ability to build so many institutions of higher learning in such a short period of time given that almost no planning was done; much of this "proliferation" (p. 1) occurred during Wallace's tenure as governor and

therefore, he is often credited with this educational expansion, especially related to the two-year college system. Randall's (2001) research reinforces Wallace's power by stating that his educational objectives "were political and not educational" (p. 13). In addition, Gibson (1980) highlights the importance of economic goals in Alabama at the time, including industrialization (in Randall, 2001), which helped contribute to increased educational opportunities, including those made available through two-year college education.

Based on the entirety of the literature, this study sought to expand the knowledge surrounding how the two-year college system in Alabama was portrayed by the media related to then current cultural issues including civil rights and educational equality. Specifically, this study sought to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: What was the frequency of two-year college education coverage from 1963-1966?

Frequency of coverage indicates the importance of issues in the eyes of editors situated in that culture (Blackledge, 2007; Van Gorp, 2007).

RQ2: How was two-year college education framed by the media during Governor Wallace's first term in office, 1963-1966?

As indicated, framing is an appropriate theoretical framework to apply to news coverage. News frames chosen can help generate meaning (Benford & Snow, 2000) indicating and reinforcing a common, shared culture (Van Gorp, 2007).

RQ3: How did media coverage of two-year college education differ (if at all) with the passage of The Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a pivotal event in the nation's history and signaled that progress had been made in racial equality. Because of the Act's integral component

of equality and timeliness of its passage into law, it was chosen as a comparison point in two-year college education coverage during Wallace's first term as governor.

CHAPTER 3

Method

To answer the research questions, a quantitative content analysis of newspaper coverage of two-year college education and Governor Wallace was conducted to determine the frequency of articles and the use of three particular master frames or “cultural themes” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; in Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009, p. 28). A close reading of the articles was then conducted to provide a broader exploration of the identified frames.

Content analysis as a predominantly quantitative research method may be traced back to World War II and propaganda analysis of war movies, texts, posters, and advertisements (Neuendorf, 2002). Content analysis studies describe, test hypotheses, and facilitate inferences from existing data (Neuendorf, 2002; Wimmer & Dominick, 2011) by focusing on the frequency of messages in mutually exclusive categories (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007). In addition, conducting a content analysis affords the researcher an opportunity to “[m]ake inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages” (Holsti, 1969, p. 14).

Sample

The sample for this study was Sunday edition, front-page articles located in *The Birmingham News*, *The Montgomery Advertiser*, and *The Mobile Press-Register* during the four year time frame, 1963-1966. The years 1963 to 1966 encompass Wallace’s first term as governor of Alabama. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, the before and after comparison point, occurs approximately in the middle of Wallace’s first term. By choosing a time frame that

encompasses a “before and after” snapshot, comparisons may be drawn between the two time periods to determine what changes in frequency and in framing if any exist.

During the period of this study, 1963-1966, newspapers were the most prolific media channel used to communicate information to mass audiences. The Sunday edition front pages of *The Birmingham News*, *The Montgomery Advertiser*, and *The Mobile Press-Register*, were the targeted sample since the Sunday edition of the newspaper is the largest, most circulated edition of these daily newspapers. From 1963-1966, average Sunday circulation for *The Birmingham News* was 225,039, *The Montgomery Advertiser*, 82,242, and *The Mobile Press-Register*, 93,056 (N.W. Ayer & Sons. 1964-1967). Combined, the total circulation for the three was 400,337, at a time when the total population of the state was 3,433,250 (Alabama Law Enforcement, 2012). The front-page was the sample focus since the front page of a newspaper is the most frequently seen and read. Articles appearing on the front page are considered more salient and newsworthy than those stories relegated to the inside pages. The presence or absence of stories about the two-year college system and Wallace on the front page in part indicates how important the newspapers viewed the issue. An anomaly to this exists with the respect to the issue of civil rights, however, because separate sections of the newspapers were devoted to “black” news. This means front-page stories may not have been representative of all news related to the two-year school system especially as it applied to civil rights and segregation.

The Birmingham News was selected because Birmingham is the city most closely associated with the civil rights movement. It was the scene of violence and protest demonstrations including the 14th Street church bombing, police brutality with dogs and water hoses, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s peaceful demonstration and imprisonment. *The Montgomery Advertiser* was chosen for analysis because Montgomery is the capital of the state,

where legislation occurs and where the governor resides. *The Mobile Press-Register* was chosen as the third newspaper since it had the second largest circulation in the state at that time.

Therefore, this study analyzes the three most circulated newspapers in Alabama from 1963-1966.

The unit of analysis was front-page articles addressing two-year college education in Alabama with the sample size of 624 front-page Sunday editions. All stories mentioning the two-year college system in Alabama, specifically, junior colleges and/or trade schools, at the time were coded. These newspapers are on microfilm and were accessed using the microfilm equipment at Gorgas Library on The University of Alabama campus. One code sheet was used per date for all three newspapers and data was captured into an Excel spreadsheet for computational purposes and further analysis. Newspaper data was aggregated by newspaper and overall to gain a better picture of trends overall and by newspaper.

Descriptive Variables

Each story was coded for newspaper name, date of publication, headline or other article on front page, continuation of article on a subsequent page, and by-line. Bylines were coded as wire service, author's name, or no author. Authorship is important for determining if bias related to a specific journalist or news group emerges since according to Entman (2010) "media bias concerns decision-making: the influence of journalists' belief systems on the texts they produce" (p. 393). Specific coding for authorship within the postsecondary two-year college categories including the frames mentioned (the "what" communicated and the "how" it was communicated) enabled this author to conduct a meaningful content analysis of the data and determine potential for bias. This was done by exploring any consistencies existing between particular authors or specific newspapers in the types of stories they authored or printed and whether or not these

seem to portray the two-year college system and its key players, including Wallace, favorably or not.

Stories beginning or advertised on the front page, for example two Sunday inserts, *Back to School* and *Alabama '65*, in *The Montgomery Advertiser*, continuing onto a different page or section in the paper were read in their entirety to ensure all Wallace mentions, two-year college categories, civil rights, segregation, and master frames were captured.

Frames

The presence or absence of three master frames - educational, political, and economic – was coded [See Appendix B]. These broad frames were chosen from previous research and preliminary research conducted using this specific sample. Since “coming up with the names for frames itself involves a kind of framing” (Tankard, 2001, p. 89), this researcher did not want to unduly influence the frames by making them too specific. Stories designated as having education as a master frame were those that highlighted the educational opportunities of a two-year college education. For example, any wording or groups of wording that described or explained the educational benefits and opportunities of two-year colleges for local communities and students were coded as using an educational frame. References to the 2-cent beer tax and specific dollar amounts raised and/or allocated to the new schools providing for their construction and ultimately, educational opportunities were coded as educational.

Economic master frames included how building and supporting the new two-year colleges would attract industry to the state of Alabama and provide skilled labor for these corporations. In this instance, any wording or group of wording that describes or explains the economic benefits to Alabama communities because of job creation through the recruiting of potential organizations and retaining of others were included as an economic frame. When the 2-

cent beer tax was referenced as the method by which the schools would be funded, it was coded as an economic frame.

Politically-oriented master frames were those newspaper stories that discussed location of the schools, governance, or funding. This included filibustering by senators and representatives at the state level to keep bills from being approved and/or passed, for example, the 2-cent beer tax whose funds were only earmarked for the junior colleges and trade schools (not for other educational areas such as secondary or the four-year college and/or university system). Political frames also include any information about locations of junior colleges and/or trade schools and how they would be governed. It is important to note that these three master frames are related and therefore, not mutually exclusive. A story could have more than one master frame.

Pre-Coding Sample Study

Pre-coding of a small sample (n=20) was first conducted to ensure the coding categories were explicitly defined, categorized, and representative (no critical categories were omitted) to ensure reliability (Neuendorf, 2002) and validity as key to the success of a content analysis (Krippendorff, 1980). The code sheet [See Appendix A] captured information discovered during this initial coding of four months of *The Montgomery Advertiser* front-page coverage and frames represented. At the time of the initial preliminary coding, *The Mobile Press-Register* was not part of the sample, and *The Birmingham News* had been analyzed for a previous study conducted by this researcher. During the remainder of data collection, the number of front-page articles coded were computed as a percentage of the total number of stories within the four-year time frame, which relates to Krippendorff's (1980) analysis boundaries or parameters.

To clarify, the sample for this study includes *The Birmingham News*, *The Montgomery Advertiser*, and *The Mobile Press-Register's* Sunday edition front-page news coverage, and the

unit of analysis was articles located on the front page with those stories potentially continuing onto a subsequent page or another section of the newspaper that discussed the two-year college system. Categories include whether the article is the main front-page story or another article on the front page, whether the article is continued on a later page in the newspaper, and whether Wallace, civil rights, or segregation were mentioned in the article. In addition to the coding, any direct quotes or paraphrasing related to any of the three master frames were captured. All dates with stories addressing two-year college education were recorded along with front-page editions with no two-year college articles. Newspaper editions with no two-year college education coverage were still important to note since major gaps in coverage or absence of coverage related to two-year college education is still communication (Dearing & Rogers, 1996).

The mention of Wallace was dependent upon a story on the front page being directly related to two-year college education in Alabama; other mentions of Wallace are beyond the scope of this study. In addition, only articles mentioning civil rights within the parameters of two-year college education (integration/desegregation) were captured. Percentages were calculated based on the total number of stories on the front pages during the four-year time frame of the three Alabama newspapers (n=624).

Inter-Coder Reliability

A critical component to any content analysis study is determining inter-coder reliability (Neuendorf, 2002; Krippendorff, 2004). In order to determine the inter-coder reliability of this study, another doctoral student was used to code a random sample of 10 (n=5) of the 48 front-page articles from 1963-1966. The other coder used the coding sheet [See Appendix A] and the master frames table [See Appendix B] to code for the quantitative categories and frames in this study. In each of the four quantitative categories: community colleges and/or junior

colleges/vocational trade schools, Wallace, civil rights, and integration/segregation were coded as to whether or not they were mentioned. This resulted in 100% agreement between the two coders. In each of the three frames categories of educational, economic, and political, these were coded as to which frames or combination of frames were used in each article. This resulted in 80.0% agreement between the two coders. Overall, the percent agreement between the two coders was 91.2%. Using Scott's Pi (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p. 173), inter-coder reliability was 0.89.

$$\text{Scott's Pi} = \frac{.80 - .58}{1 - .58} = \frac{.22}{.32} = .89$$

CHAPTER 4

Results

Frequencies from the three newspapers, *The Montgomery Advertiser*, *The Birmingham News*, and *The Mobile Press-Register*, were tabulated overall, by newspaper, and by year for the quantitative content analysis portion of this research study. Specific categories that were coded include authorship, main article on the front page, article continued on a subsequent page in the newspaper, and the mention of Wallace, civil rights, and either integration or segregation in the articles. Articles were also coded for master frames, overall, by year, and by frames, including educational, economic and political, as part of a thematic analysis. Initially, this study allowed for an “other” category for additional master frames to emerge; however, all frames used in the newspaper articles could be coded into one of the three predetermined categories identified from preliminary research conducted. Results from the study are separated by research questions.

RQ1: What was the frequency of two-year college education coverage from 1963-1966? The three newspapers', front-page Sunday editions, yielded 48 articles that mentioned junior colleges and/or trade schools out of 624 front pages or approximately 8% (since some front pages had more than one article) of front pages contained relevant stories for this study. *The Birmingham News* and *The Montgomery Advertiser*, the largest and smallest newspapers in terms of circulation numbers, had 19 articles each, 39.6%, mentioning the junior college and trade school system, while *The Mobile Press-Register*, the second largest paper in circulation, had 10 front page articles, or 20.8% [See Table 1]. Some front pages had more than one article addressing the two-year college system in Alabama and were coded as two separate articles

appearing on the same date. Within these front page articles, Wallace was mentioned in 60.4% (n=29) of the 48 articles. Civil rights is only mentioned once in any of the 48 articles covering the junior college and trade school system while segregation is not mentioned at all in the junior college and/or trade school articles. The one time civil rights was mentioned, in *The Mobile Press-Register*, Wallace was not mentioned in the article at all. Twice, *The Montgomery Advertiser* had special insert sections advertised on the front page entitled “*Back to School*” and “*Alabama ‘65.*” Since these inserts covered education, they were also included in the analysis.

Of the 48 articles examined for this study, 29.2% (n=14) of them were the main headline article on the Sunday front page and 79.2% (n=38) of the articles originating on the front page were continued on a subsequent page in the newspaper. Of the 48 articles, 83.3% (n=40) have a by-line; 85.5% (n=34) are authored by local newspaper reporters and 15.0% (n=6) are AP/UPI articles. Of the six AP/UPI articles, two, 33.3%, have a local, state-level author’s name listed also.

Table 1: Summary of Results by Newspaper

N=48	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total
Articles on front page	19 (39.6%)	19 (39.6%)	10 (20.8%)	48
Authored Article	11 (32.4%)	16 (47.0%)	7 (20.6%)	34
AP/UPI	4 (66.7%)	0 (0%)	2 (33.3%)	6
Main Article	9 (64.3%)	0 (0%)	5 (35.7%)	14
Article Continued	12 (31.6%)	16 (42.1%)	10 (26.3%)	38
Wallace Mentioned	8 (27.6%)	15 (51.7%)	6 (20.7%)	29
Civil Rights Mentioned	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1
Segregation/Integration Mentioned	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0

The Birmingham News and *The Mobile Press-Register* mention Wallace in conjunction with the junior college and trade school program in the majority of their front-page articles with 79.0% (n=15) and 60.0%, (n=6), respectively, while *The Montgomery Advertiser* mentions Wallace in less than half of its articles, 42.1%, (n=8) [See Table 2]. *The Montgomery Advertiser* had the least number of articles with a named author, 57.9% (n=11), and the highest number of AP/UPI wire articles, 21.1% (n=4). All of *The Mobile Press-Register's* articles were continued on a subsequent page in the newspaper. The sole civil rights mention was in *The Montgomery Advertiser*, and *The Birmingham News* had the highest percentage of authored articles, 84.2% (n=16).

Table 2: Summary of Results by Article Type

N=48	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total
Authored Article	11 (57.9%)	16 (84.2%)	7 (70.0%)	34 (70.8%)
AP/UPI	4 (21.1%)	0 (0%)	2 (20.0%)	6 (12.5%)
Main Article	9 (47.4%)	0 (0%)	5 (50.0%)	14 (29.2%)
Article Continued	12 (63.2%)	16 (84.2%)	10 (100%)	38 (79.2%)
Wallace Mentioned	8 (42.1%)	15 (79.0%)	6 (60.0%)	29 (60.1%)
Civil Rights Mentioned	1 (5.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.1)
Segregation/Integration Mentioned	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Articles on front page	19	19	10	48

There are more differences between years among all newspapers than between these papers within the same year. *The Mobile Press-Register* ran the majority of front-page articles in 1966 with 50.0% (n=4) of the total overall articles from that year, twice as many as the other two newspapers [See Table 3]. Overall, the years 1965 and 1963 have the majority of the 48 total articles, 77.1% (n=37). In 1965 the total number is 43.8% (n=21) and 1963 is 33.3% (n=16). The year with the least number of articles is 1964 with 6.3% (n=3) of the articles during the four-year timeframe. During Wallace's last year in office, 1966, there were half as many articles, 16.7% (n=8) addressing the junior college and trade school system as there were during 1963, his first year in office, 33.3% (n=16).

Table 3: Two-Year College Articles from 1963-1966 by Newspaper

<i>Year</i>	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total N=48
1963	5 (31.25%)	6 (37.5%)	5 (31.25%)	16
1964	1 (33.3%)	2 (66.7%)	0 (0%)	3
1965	11 (52.4%)	9 (42.8%)	1 (4.8%)	21
1966	2 (25%)	2 (25%)	4 (50%)	8

The Birmingham News, the largest in circulation, and *The Montgomery Advertiser*, the smallest, both have the highest trade school and junior college articles during 1965 with 47.4% (n=9) and 57.9% (n=11) respectively of stories for the four year timeframe [See Table 4]. In 1963, *The Mobile Press-Register* ran 50.0% (n=5) of its 10 total junior college and trade school articles for the four year timeframe on the front page.

Table 4: Two-Year College Articles by Year

<i>Year</i>	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total
1963	5 (26.3%)	6 (31.6%)	5 (50%)	16 (33.3%)
1964	1 (5.3%)	2 (10.5%)	0 (0%)	3 (6.3%)
1965	11 (57.9%)	9 (47.4%)	1 (10%)	21 (43.8%)
1966	2 (10.5%)	2 (10.5%)	4 (40%)	8 (16.7%)
Total	19	19	10	48

RQ2: How was the two-year college system framed by the media during Governor Wallace's first term in office, 1963-1966?

Front-page articles addressing the two-year college system in Alabama were also coded for the use of master frames using a thematic analysis approach. The master frames identified and coded included educational, economic, and political based upon preliminary research conducted for this study. Even though this study provided the opportunity for additional frames to unfold, all articles were able to be coded into one of these three categories. At times, articles utilized more than one frame, which was documented. For example, there are 20 articles, 41.6%, within the 48 total articles that use at least two frames; one article uses all three, or 2.1%.

The Montgomery Advertiser and *The Birmingham News* referenced the largest number of master frames in their front-page Sunday articles, and many articles referenced more than one master frame. For example, there are 26 total master frames used within 19 articles in *The Montgomery Advertiser* and 30 within 19 articles in *The Birmingham News*. *The Mobile Press-Register* with a little more than half the articles, 10, referenced 12 master frames within front-page Sunday articles [See Table 5].

Within the 48 articles, 54.2% (n=26) framed the educational opportunities that additional schools within the Alabama two-year college system would afford. Economic frames, including attracting industry to Alabama and the opportunity to train and develop a more skilled workforce to meet industry needs were mentioned in 35.4% (n=17) of the 48 front page articles. From a more political perspective, frames addressing college locations, governance, the Wallace legacy, and the 2-cent beer tax earmarked funding were highlighted in 52.1% (n=25) of the 48 articles.

Table 5: Total Number of Master Frames by Newspaper

<i>Master Frame</i>	<i>Montgomery Advertiser</i>	<i>Birmingham News</i>	<i>Mobile Press-Register</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Educational</i>	10 (38.5%)	13 (50%)	3 (11.5%)	26
<i>Economic</i>	8 (47.1%)	5 (29.4%)	4 (23.5%)	17
<i>Political</i>	8 (32%)	12 (48%)	5 (20%)	25
<i>Total</i>	26 (38.2%)	30 (44.1%)	12 (17.6%)	68

The total number of master frames used within 48 stories from 1963-1966 is 68 which means nearly half of the stories 41.7% (n=20) reference more than one master frame within the article [See Table 6]. These frame combinations may be seen in tables later in this section.

Table 6: Total Number of Master Frames by Year

Frame	1963	1964	1965	1966	Total
Educational	3 (11.5%)	2 (7.7%)	17 (65.4%)	4 (15.4%)	26
Economic	6 (35.3%)	2 (11.8%)	6 (35.3%)	3 (17.6%)	17
Political	11 (45.8%)	1 (4.2%)	9 (37.5%)	4 (16.7%)	24
Total	20	5	32	11	68

Articles coded as framing the educational opportunities usually mention the name of the school being built, the number of schools approved for funding, and the actual funding dollar amounts. For example, *The Montgomery Advertiser* printed an article outlining how more than four million, \$4,272,000, collected from the 2-cent beer tax was pledged to the junior college and trade school program in Alabama (Ingram, 1964) and by 1966 (10 October), towards the end of Wallace's first term as governor, the beer tax had raised \$14 million for the two-year college

system (“ABC Income,” 1966) a program “Gov. George C. Wallace has given vigorous support to” (“Work to start,” 1965, p. 8). In 1965, Wallace was bestowed the honor of being publically recognized as one of the "5 top education governors in state history" (Ingram, 1965, p. 1) by the American Education Association (AEA) for the educational opportunities his two-year college system created, provided, and maintained.

Frames coded as economic, highlighted the importance of building these two-year colleges, especially vocational and trade schools, as a means to attract industry to the state and to train workers for those plants. Even Carl Elliott, a known Wallace opponent (he ran against Lurleen Wallace in the 1966 election), touted the importance of trade schools and vocational education as a means to support impending industry needs (Will, 1963). Pinson Junior College was the first location in the new 28 slated schools to begin construction, and Dr. Leroy Brown, college president said the college “will have a great impact on the industrial growth of the community” (“Work to start,” 1965, p. 8). *The Montgomery Advertiser*, “Alabama ’65,” insert in the Sunday paper (17 October, 1965) mentioned trade schools and vocational schools in conjunction with attracting new industry and current industry growth in Alabama. For example, John Patterson State Vocational Technical School (Alcorn, 1965) and Opp Trade School (“Opps Sites Lure,” 1965) were mentioned by name more for the industry and economic opportunities they created than the educational as it appeared to be with the junior colleges. Enterprise Junior College was the first to open under Wallace’s reign in October 1965, and a front page article captured the welcoming of the inaugural class (“Enterprise Junior,” 1965). This was printed in a special section of the front page Sunday edition entitled “Alabama ’65” which highlighted achievements made in education that year and even made references to economic frames, but interestingly, only when a vocational or trade school was involved. Also, John Patterson’s

Vocational Tech School was highlighted in this section as “part and parcel of a statewide education program that is training Alabama’s labor force in skills needed in an increasingly complex industrial society” (Alcorn, 1965). All schools mentioned in the “*Alabama ‘65*” insert were trade schools: Opp, John Patterson, and Enterprise. Since this section was an insert, there were no page numbers.

Additionally, from an economic perspective, it was reported that 95% of Patterson graduates were currently working in “well-paying jobs” (McGregor, 1965) in another special Sunday insert of the *The Montgomery Advertiser* entitled “*Back to School.*” According to McCollough, director of Patterson, “our greatest problem is keeping companies and industries from hiring the students before they graduate...we simply can’t meet the demand in many areas” (McGregor, 1965) lending support to Wallace’s goal of opening more schools. An economic advantage afforded the two-year college system in Alabama was the retention of federal funds since each school had “at least one negro student and most...have several” (Ingram, 1966, p. 9) qualifying them compliant with the Civil Rights Act. “The network of junior colleges and trade schools recently established...are apparently in compliance with the Civil Rights Act...” (p. 9). This means that these schools would receive federal and state funding whereas many secondary schools in Alabama were losing federal funds because of non-integration.

Funding earmarked and allocated specifically for the two-year college program, rather than other educational arenas, locations of these colleges, and their governance were coded as political frames. As previously discussed, Wallace was interested in leaving a legacy behind after he left office; even the first trade school to receive funding was named after Wallace (Sparrow, 1963). “The first school to benefit directly from the new source of revenue [2-cent beer tax], incidentally, was the trade school at Napier Field which bears the name of Alabama’s

governor” (Sparrow, 1963, p. 8). In terms of governance Wallace created the Alabama State Board of Education (ASBE), which he oversaw. This gave him the power to make decisions about where the junior colleges and trade schools would be located and how funding from the 2-cent beer tax would be allocated amongst them. Two senators were opposed to the 2-cent beer tax to fund the junior college and trade school system and filibustered to prohibit passage of this bill; one senator, John Tyson, was from Mobile, and the other, H.B. Taylor, represented Butler County (“Filibuster Drags,” 1963, p. 1). Tyson states in a personal interview with Katsinas (1989) “that Wallace was becoming too powerful” suggesting that filibustering was an attempt to curtail some of that power. According to Senator Bob Gilchrist, from Morgan County, Wallace “let his own ambition hurt the state...He is probably the most powerful political figure in the South since Huey Long” (Ingram, 1965, p. 1, 5).

Even though Butler County was a dry county at the time and not directly affected by the 2-cent beer tax, Mobile County was wet and Tyson opposed it. However, Mobile would benefit from educational funding raised during Wallace’s governorship since the University of South Alabama opened in 1963 in part, due to funding allocated by Wallace himself. Even though through bills written, passed, and funding allocated, Wallace appeared to favor the two-year college system, in response to some of his filibustering opponents, including Tyson and Gilchrist, he also showed support for building the University of South Alabama in Mobile. “I have willingly accepted this fine project...and it is regretful that those senators opposed to me ...would block state financial support to the school” (Sellers, 1963, p. 1) although Gilchrist’s rebuttal was that he was one hundred per cent for” (p. 12) the appropriations bill benefitting the University of South Alabama.

It was reported in *The Montgomery Advertiser* that for legislative members opposing the 2-cent beer tax, the repercussion was withholding of highway funds for road improvements in their counties (Thomas, 1963). Seymore Trammell, State Finance Director, refuted this claim stating that “in every instance where a senator has opposed Gov. Wallace, it can be shown...that his area has received more from this administration than any other” (“Trammell answers,” 1965, p. 1). He continues by saying this included Southern Union College in Lee County, when it was announced that this school would not receive funding. Trammell assured constituents that “Every school is going to get every cent of the money they've been promised and the heads of each of the schools know this...no funds have been taken from any school” (“Trammell Answers,” 1965, p. 10). He continued with “Every school in Alabama has gotten more money under the Wallace Administration than under any previous administration” (“Finance director Trammell,” 1965, p. 1). It has been espoused that Wallace raised more money for education during his first term in office allowing him to “make the largest appropriations of school funds in history (“Year saw most,” 1965). By comparison, the education surplus the year before Wallace took office was nearly \$16 million, and his first year in office was just over \$45 million (“Alabama closes year,” 1965).

By year, the landscape of coverage changes; 1965 uses the highest number of master frames, 47.1% (n=32) for the four year period, and 1963 is the second highest with 29.4% (n=20) [See Table 7]. In 1963, political frames are used most often, 55.0%, (n=11), and in 1965, educational frames are used most often, 53.1%, (n=17).

Table 7: Total Number of Master Frames from 1963-1966 by Category

Frame N = 68	1963	1964	1965	1966
Educational	3 (15.0%)	2 (40.0%)	17 (53.1%)	4 (36.4%)
Economic	6 (30.0%)	2 (40.0%)	6 (18.8%)	3 (27.2%)
Political	11 (55.0%)	1 (20.0%)	9 (28.1%)	4 (36.4%)
Total	20	5	32	11

During 1963, the year with the second highest number of two-year college articles, 33.3% (n=16), economic frames are used in 50.0% (n=3) of *The Montgomery Advertiser* articles, and political frames are used in 45.5% (n=5) of *The Birmingham News* articles [See Table 8]. Of the three educational frames used that year, 66.7% (n=2) are used in *The Birmingham News*.

Table 8: Total Number of Master Frames in 1963 by Newspaper

1963	<i>Montgomery Advertiser</i>	<i>Birmingham News</i>	<i>Mobile Press-Register</i>	Total N=20
<i>Educational</i>	0 (0%)	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	3
<i>Economic</i>	3 (50.0%)	1 (16.7%)	2 (33.3%)	6
<i>Political</i>	3 (27.3%)	5 (45.5%)	3 (27.3%)	11

Table 9: Total Number of Master Frames in 1963 by Category

<i>1963</i>	<i>Montgomery Advertiser</i>	<i>Birmingham News</i>	<i>Mobile Press-Register</i>
<i>Educational</i>	0 (0%)	2 (25.0%)	1 (16.7%)
<i>Economic</i>	3 (50.0%)	1 (12.5%)	2 (33.3%)
<i>Political</i>	3 (50.0%)	5 (62.5%)	3 (50.0%)
<i>Total</i>	6	8	6

Of the three articles in 1964, five master frames were used [See Table 10]. Only *The Birmingham News* used all three frames; *The Montgomery Advertiser's* two-year college article referenced the educational frame solely. *The Mobile Press-Register* had no front page articles about the two-year college system in 1964.

Table 10: Total Number of Master Frames in 1964 by Newspaper

<i>1964</i>	<i>Montgomery Advertiser</i>	<i>Birmingham News</i>	<i>Mobile Press-Register</i>	Total N=5
<i>Educational</i>	1 (50.0%)	1 (50.0%)	0 (0%)	2
<i>Economic</i>	0 (0%)	2 (100.0%)	0 (0%)	2
<i>Political</i>	0 (0%)	1 (100.0%)	0 (0%)	1

Table 11: Total Number of Master Frames in 1964 by Category

<i>1964 n=5</i>	<i>Montgomery Advertiser</i>	<i>Birmingham News</i>	<i>Mobile Press-Register</i>
<i>Educational</i>	1 (100.0%)	1 (25.0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Economic</i>	0 (0%)	2 (50.0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Political</i>	0 (0%)	1 (25.0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Total</i>	1	4	0

During 1965, the highest number of front page articles referencing two-year colleges was found in this study with 43.8 (n=21) of the total articles [See Table 12]. Educational frames were used most often 53.1% (n=17) out of the total 32 frames used that year. *The Montgomery Advertiser* used educational frames 53.0% (n=9) of the time, and they were used 47.0% (n=8) of the time by *The Birmingham News*. Economic frames were used in 66.7% (n=4) of *The Montgomery Advertiser's* 1965 front-page articles, and political frames were used by *The Birmingham News* 55.6% (n=5) of the time.

Table 12: Total Number of Master Frames in 1965 by Newspaper

1965	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total N=32
<i>Educational</i>	9 (53.0%)	8 (47.0%)	0 (0%)	17
<i>Economic</i>	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	6
<i>Political</i>	3 (33.3%)	5 (55.6%)	1 (11.1%)	9

Table 13: Total Number of Master Frames in 1965 by Category

1965 n=32	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register
<i>Educational</i>	9 (56.2%)	8 (53.3%)	0 (0%)
<i>Economic</i>	4 (25%)	2 (13.3%)	0 (0%)
<i>Political</i>	3 (18.8%)	5 (33.3%)	1 (100%)
Total	16	15	1

During 1966, the year with the second lowest number of articles, 16.7% (n=8), and the second lowest number of master frames 16.2% (n=11) used, *The Mobile Press-Register* used economic frames 66.7% (n=2) of the time which was the highest percentage used. *The*

Birmingham News and *The Mobile Press-Register* both used educational frames 50.0 (n=2) of the time, and *The Montgomery Advertiser* used political frames 50% (n=2) of the time also.

Table 14: Total Number of Master Frames in 1966 by Newspaper

1966	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total N=11
<i>Educational</i>	0 (0%)	2 (50.0%)	2 (50.0%)	4
<i>Economic</i>	1 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	2 (66.7%)	3
<i>Political</i>	2 (50.0%)	1 (25.0%)	1 (25.0%)	4

Table 15: Total Number of Master Frames in 1966 by Category

1966 N=11	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register
<i>Educational</i>	0 (0%)	2 (66.7%)	2 (40.0%)
<i>Economic</i>	1 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	2 (40.0%)
<i>Political</i>	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	1 (20.0%)
Total	3	3	5

Since more than one master frame is used in some of the same articles, the following tables show what frames are commonly used with each other, by year [See Table 16] and by newspaper [See Table 17].

Table 16: Combination of Master Frames Overall by Category

	1963	1964	1965	1966	Total
Educational & Economic	0 (0%)	1 (50.0%)	3 (27.3%)	0 (0%)	4 (19.0%)
Educational & Political	2 (40.0%)	0 (0%)	6 (54.5%)	1 (33.3%)	9 (42.9%)
Economic & Political	3 (60.0%)	1 (50.0%)	1 (9.1%)	2 (66.7%)	7 (33.3%)
Educational & Economic & Political	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (9.1%)	0 (0%)	1 (4.8%)
Total	5	2	11	3	21

During 1963, economic and political master frames were combined in 1.8% (n=3) of the 16 total articles, and educational and political frames were used in 12.5% (n=2) of the total articles [See Table 17]. No articles in 1963 combined educational and economic master frames. In *The Birmingham News*, economic and political frames were combined in a story reporting the approval of monies raised through the 2-cent beer tax reportedly raising an estimated “\$4.7 million a year, not for general education purposes, but for new junior colleges and trade schools” (Pearson, 1963, p. 1). However, in an article in *The Montgomery Advertiser*, Wallace assured the public “No new program will take away from our effort to provide for the [educational] needs at present,” and he continues with “any new program will add to the potential in Alabama” (“Governor Says”, 1963, p. 1).

Table 17: Combination of Master Frames Used in 1963 by Newspaper

	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total
<i>Educational & Economic</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
<i>Educational & Political</i>	0 (0%)	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2
<i>Economic & Political</i>	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	3

Table 18: Combination of Master Frames in 1963 by Category

1963	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total
<i>Educational & Economic</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Educational & Political</i>	0 (0%)	1 (50.0%)	1 (100.0%)	2 (40.0%)
<i>Economic & Political</i>	2 (100.0%)	1 (50.0%)	0 (0%)	3 (60.0%)
Total	2	2	1	5

1964 had the least number (n=3) of front-page Sunday articles of all four years examined, and *The Birmingham News* was the only paper that had any articles combining two master frames in one article: economic and political, and educational and economical with one article each. Focusing on politics and expansion of the junior college and trade school system, Wallace was slated to sit on a panel “Looking to the Future of Junior Colleges in Alabama,” at the AEA annual meeting to address the slow progression of the colleges and how to best move forward (“Panel to Discuss,” 1964, p.1), and educationally, the twenty-eight new two-year colleges proposed as a result of that panel would be funded by the 2-cent beer tax (Dowe, 1964). It was estimated that “\$4 million in accumulated beer tax revenue [be] designated for construction of the trade school program,” (Dowe, 1964, p. 10) even though it was reported in *The Birmingham*

News that “the build-up of expenses won’t come all at once mainly because...the trade schools and junior colleges aren’t likely to be in operation as soon as the governor predicts” (p. 10).

Table 19: Combination of Master Frames Used in 1964 by Newspaper

1964	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total
<i>Educational & Economic</i>	0 (0%)	1 (100.0%)	0 (0%)	<i>1</i>
<i>Educational & Political</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	<i>0</i>
<i>Economic & Political</i>	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	<i>1</i>

Table 20: Combination of Master Frames in 1964 by Category

1964	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total
<i>Educational & Economic</i>	0 (0%)	1 (50.0%)	0 (0%)	1 (50.0%)
<i>Educational & Political</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Economic & Political</i>	0 (0%)	1 (50.0%)	0 (0%)	1 (50.0%)
Total	<i>0</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>2</i>

During 1965, the year with the highest number of Sunday, front-page articles (n=21), there was one article in *The Montgomery Advertiser* that used all three master frames in one article, October 17, 1965. This article reported, from an educational opportunities perspective, the 14 junior colleges and 21 vocational technical colleges had been established, and economically that “two \$15 million bond issues” would also be used to fund the “new junior colleges and trade schools” (Kovarik, 1965). Politically, Wallace was credited with the “largest appropriation of school funds in the history of the legislature” (Kovarik, 1965) in the special “Alabama ‘65” Sunday insert. Educational and political frames were used in 33% (n=7) of the articles during this year, and educational and economic were used in 14% (n=3). For example, in

The Montgomery Advertiser, educational and political frames used include: Wallace proposed using educational surplus funds to help expand the two-year college system rather than raising taxes because the junior college and trade school system “may cost far more to operate than is now anticipated” (Ingram, 14 February, 1965, p.1) By contrast, some state legislators thought the surplus should be used to supply free textbooks for the secondary school system and towards the loss of federal funds that would affect the k-12 system (Ingram, 10 January, 1965). In *The Birmingham News*, the junior college and trade school initiative are referred to as part of the “governor’s program” (Dowe, 1965, p. 1) since appropriations to fund them were passed in the legislature before the free text book bill for the secondary school system providing allotting each [junior college and trade] school \$500,000” (Fox, 1965, p. 2). Similarly, in the one article in *The Birmingham News* that combined economic and political master frames, the “bail out” (Isbell, 1965, p. 1) discussed as necessary for the two-year college system referred to the schools as “Governor Wallace’s junior college-trade school program” (p.1) giving him proprietorship in both master frames. Senator James Clark, Chairman of the Rules Committee, from Barbour County, proposed “appropriate[ing] \$5 million from the Alabama Special Educational Trust Fund to bail out Gov. Wallace’s junior college-trade school program” (Isbell, 1965, p. 12). According to Senator Pete Matthews, from Clay County, this support for the two-year college system from the Rules Committee came as no surprise “It’s no secret the governor supports the bond issue. It’s no secret that the Rules Committee brings out the governor’s program” (Isbell, 1965, p. 12).

Table 21: Combination of Master Frames Used in 1965 by Newspaper

	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total N=11
<i>Educational & Economic</i>	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	3
<i>Educational & Political</i>	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0 (0%)	6
<i>Economic & Political</i>	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
<i>*Educational, Economic & Political</i>	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1

Table 22: Combination of Master Frames in 1965 by Category

	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total
<i>Educational & Economic</i>	2 (40.0%)	1 (16.7%)	0 (0%)	3 (27.3%)
<i>Educational & Political</i>	2 (40.0%)	4 (66.7%)	0 (0%)	6 (54.5%)
<i>Economic & Political</i>	0 (0%)	1 (16.7%)	0 (0%)	1 (9.0%)
<i>Educational, Economic & Political</i>	1 (20.0%)	0 (0%)	0	1 (9.0%)
Total	5	6	0	11

During Wallace’s last year of his first term, there were eight articles on the junior college and trade school system in Alabama. Two articles, 25%, specifically, one in *The Montgomery Advertiser* and one in *The Mobile Press-Register* combined economic and political master frames, and one article in *The Birmingham News* utilized educational and political frames in the same article and focused on Albert Brewer, a supporter of the junior college and trade school system and Wallace, announcing his candidacy for lieutenant governor (“Brewer’s name,” 1966). Brewer wanted to continue to work with Wallace but did not want to run against Wallace in the

governor’s election. His work as Speaker of the House during Wallace’s first term as governor was instrumental in “help[ing] guide many of Wallace’s programs through the Legislature including the junior college and trade school program” (“Brewer’s name,” 1966, p. 1). In the sole *The Mobile Press-Register* article combining the economic and political frames, Wallace was described as quick to remind readers how much he had done for the two-year college system in Alabama by earmarking not only the 2-cent beer tax revenue but also the educational surplus for the “trade schools and junior colleges to meet their rising expenses” (Thomas, 1966, p. 1). This “unprecedented surplus in the educational trust fund has accumulated because school taxes have produced more revenue than anticipated,” and Wallace wants this money stating it “is vitally needed at time to meet urgent and emergency needs” (Thomas, 1966, p. 12). He does not specifically state where this money should be spent, but this announcement came “just three days before Republicans [are] expected to make Congressman James D. Martin...nominee for governor against Wallace’s wife, Lurleen, the Democratic candidate” (Thomas, 1966, p. 12). According to *The Mobile Press-Register* reporter, Rex Thomas (1966), “It would be the political shocker of the generation if Wallace, campaigning for his wife...failed to remind voters of what the Legislature, under his administration had done” (p. 12).

Table 23: Combination of Master Frames Used in 1966 by Newspaper

	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total
<i>Educational & Economic</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
<i>Educational & Political</i>	0 (0%)	1 (100.0%)	0 (0%)	1
<i>Economic & Political</i>	1 (50.0%)	0 (0%)	1 (50.0%)	2

Table 24: Combination of Master Frames in 1966 by Category

1966	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	Total
<i>Educational & Economic</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0	0 (0%)
<i>Educational & Political</i>	0 (0%)	1 (100.0%)	0	1 (33.3%)
<i>Economic & Political</i>	1 (100.0%)	0 (0 %)	1	2 (66.7%)
<i>Total</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>

RQ3: How media coverage of two-year college education differed (if at all) with the passage of The Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Act was passed on July 2, 1964, and that date was used as a pivotal event to compare the frequency and types of master frames used before and after its passage into law. There were a total of 17 articles before the Civil Rights Act was passed or 35%, and 31 afterwards, 65%. Considering that since July 2, 1964, was about one-third of the way into former Governor Wallace’s first term in office, the articles occurring before and after the Civil Rights Act are fairly evenly distributed over the four-year time frame. The Civil Rights Act, as a pivotal event, was examined to determine whether it affected the amount of coverage given to the junior college and trade school system in Alabama and if Wallace was portrayed more or less frequently as a result. Based on the following numbers, it does not appear that the Civil Rights Act impacted the amount of coverage or master frames used in conjunction with the two-year college system in Alabama [See Table 25]. There was only one article during the four-year timeframe, 1963-1966, that even mentioned civil rights and that was in the August 14, 1966, issue of *The Montgomery Advertiser*, reporting that the two-year college system in Alabama would not be affected by federal funding withholding since each school had at least one “negro

student” (Ingram, 1966, p. 9) and as such would receive a portion of \$9 million received by the state from the Higher Education facilities Act (Ingram, 1966). This was not the case for the secondary school system where many counties and schools were to lose federal funding, in the amount of “\$38 million from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act” (Ingram, 1966, p. 9) since they were not complying with the integration provisions of the Civil Rights Act.

Table 25: Coverage Prior to and After Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

<i>Years</i>	Montgomery Advertiser	Birmingham News	Mobile Press-Register	<i>Total</i>
1/01/63 – 7/01/64	5 (26.3%)	7 (36.8%)	5 (50.0%)	17 (35.4%)
7/02/64 – 12/31/66	14 (73.7%)	12 (63.2%)	5 (50.0%)	31 (64.6%)
Total	19	19	10	48

Coverage of master frames is fairly evenly distributed across the four-year time period with 32% (n= 22) of master frames used in the first year and a half of Wallace’s tenure, prior to passage of the Civil Rights Act and 68% (n=46) afterwards [See Table 26]. The biggest difference in coverage occurs with the use of educational as a master frame. Before passage of the Act, educational frames were used in only 11.5% (n=3) of the articles, and afterwards, 88.5% (n=23) of the time. The use of political frames remains consistent with 48.0% (n=12) used prior to passage and 52.0% (n=13) after the Act’s passage. Economic frames were used the least overall, 25.0% (n=17) and increased slightly before and after passage, 41.2% (n=7) and 58.8% (n=10), respectively.

Table 26: Coverage of Master Frames Prior to and After Passage of the Civil Rights Act

Dates	Educational	Economic	Political	Total
1/01/63 – 7/01/64	3 (11.5%)	7 (41.2%)	12 (48.0%)	22 (32.4%)
7/02/64 – 12/31/66	23 (88.5%)	10 (58.8%)	13 (52.0%)	46 (67.6%)
Total	26	17	25	68

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

The establishment of the two-year college system and its governance was former Alabama Governor George Wallace's personal project from a political, economic, and educational perspective. According to Jones (1967), Wallace's primary reason behind promoting the two-year college system was educationally-related; however even Wallace highlights his personal reasons (Wallace, 1973). Wallace wanted to leave behind a legacy and be credited with establishing the two-year college system in Alabama (Frederick, 2007), and in this vein, he has been cited as "the Father of Alabama's Two-Year College" (Fountain & Tollefson, 1989; in Katsinas, 1994, p. 448). This is not a distinction afforded him in any of the other educational branches where he is often remembered as an educational demagogue (Carter, 2000) with his strong stance on maintaining segregation and the image of his "stand at the schoolhouse door" (Clark, 1993). Politically, Wallace used the two-year college system to reward his state legislative and voting supporters with a two-year college (Frederick, 2007) in exchange for "political support in future Wallace campaigns" (Katsinas, 1994, p. 466). According to Katsinas (1994), "areas not well represented politically received no junior college...while well represented areas received several institutions" (pp. 466-467). Economically, Wallace desired attracting industry to Alabama to "increase the prosperity of the state and assure the continued support needed for quality education" (in Katsinas, 1994, p. 454), mainly referring to education provided by junior colleges and trade schools that would supply a skilled labor force.

Throughout this study of newspaper coverage of two-year colleges during Alabama Governor Wallace's first term as governor, 1963-1966, there were many competing national and state news stories including the Vietnam War, Wallace's presidential campaign, Wallace's succession bill attempt so he could run for a second term as governor, President John F. Kennedy's death, President Lyndon Johnson's inauguration, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s civil rights marches, and the passage of the Civil Rights Act. There were even competing Alabama educational agendas at the time including Wallace's stand at the schoolhouse door at The University of Alabama, and his pro-segregation stance on k-12 even after the Civil Rights Act became law. With these events being covered on the front page during the same time frame as the two-year college expansion movement, it may have made it possible for Wallace to push through some of the legislative opposition to the two-year colleges and their funding relatively unscathed by the media or public outcry since attentions may have been focused elsewhere on other local and national issues.

Front-page coverage typically indicates cultural and news agencies' news priorities, and 8% front page coverage even with some of the competing news stories mentioned points to newsworthiness of the two-year school system (Entman, 2003; Van Gorp, 2007), regardless of journalists' and news agencies' personal opinions. In addition, all stories lend themselves to coding in the three frame areas of educational opportunities, economic, and political by how the two-year college initiative was communicated and portrayed through newspaper text. By taking into account all the national and statewide competing stories during this four year time frame, approximately 8% front-page coverage of the two-year college system aligns with coverage of education found in a previous study (Johnston & Gonzenbach, 2011) examining k-12, four-year institutions, and community colleges. Community college front-page coverage in *The*

Birmingham News yielded 10 articles, while the two-year colleges had 19 articles in this study. This finding may be attributable to Wallace's intimate relationship with the two-year college system and desire for it to be successful. This is also the educational arena where Wallace is remembered most often and more positively as an education supporter (Fountain & Tollefson, 1989) as compared to the four-year institutions and k-12 where maintaining segregation (Flynt, 2004) appeared to trump the education focus. For example, in the previous study of *The Birmingham News* front-page educationally-focused articles from 1963-1966 yielded an average of 37.6% front-page articles that addressed segregation in the three other educational arenas examined (Johnston & Gonzenbach, 2011) compared to zero articles in this study. This means that all educationally-focused front-page articles in *The Birmingham News* from 1963-1966 referenced segregation in the k-12, four-year institutions, and community college arenas, not the two-year junior college and trade school system.

The Civil Rights Act, as a pivotal event affecting the portrayal of two-year college education and Wallace, was found to play a minor role in Sunday front-page coverage for this study. There was only one story in the 48 total that even mentioned civil rights in an article discussing the two-year college and trade school system in Alabama. That reference was to indicate that these schools were in compliance with the integration portion of the act since each two-year college had at least one black student (Ingram, 1966). This lack of coverage may be linked to the trepidation of predominantly white-owned newspapers to get involved with the coverage of civil rights-related news and upset the status quo (Davies, 2006), especially on the front-page and with segregated news audiences. For example, separate newspapers sections covered black news entitled "*Negro News*" in *The Montgomery Advertiser* and "*What Negroes Are Doing*" in *The Birmingham News* Sunday editions. These columns were located in a later

section of the newspaper fluctuating from the “B” section to “D” area. This positioning of black news corroborates what Davies (2006) and Roberts and Klibanoff (2007) mention as the reluctance of southern newspapers to cover civil rights, integration, and other non-white related news and when they did it was often “segregated...on special pages” (Davies, 2001, p. 7). Whether this was a purposeful, conscious decision (Entman, 1993, 2003; Dearing & Rogers, 1986) on the part of newspapers cannot be determined by this study; however, the very act of leaving this information out tends to communicate what values were important and representative of southern culture (Lentz, 1986; Blackledge, 2006; Van Gorp, 2007).

It is interesting that despite Wallace’s known opposition to integration, the two-year college system was not segregated, as *The Montgomery Advertiser* reported, the colleges within the system were technically in compliance with the Civil Rights Act allowing them to receive federal funding in 1966 (Ingram, 1966). Of course, this article was published nearly four years after Wallace took office, but no documentation has been found to suggest that they were purposefully segregated at one point or were originally intended to be. This may be in conjunction with the apparent lack of planning or two-year school planning documentation as discussed by state educators at the 1964 Auburn convention or it may be because of their primarily rural locations (Katsinas, 1994). As noted the two-year college system would not be affected by loss of federal funds since each had at least one black student (Ingram, 1966); this was not necessarily the case for elementary and secondary (k-12) education since Wallace encouraged superintendents not to comply with the Civil Rights Act and integration (“Wallace pledges school,” 1963; “Wallace sees surge,” 1963) in certain counties. So his new two-year college system was slated to receive federal funding as well as the educational funding allocated by the state, which possibly helps explain why so many two-year colleges were able to open

during his first term in office. Perhaps, it was mere coincidence that the two-year colleges were integrated and Wallace was unaware of the racial demographics of these colleges, however, because of their primarily rural locations that seems unlikely. Even though Wallace's direct involvement in ensuring these schools were integrated is not explicitly documented, it appears that Wallace made sure these schools would not suffer a loss of funding by not enforcing his own political thoughts about segregation onto the two-year college arena in order to ensure their survival.

Another factor, possibly contributing to the two-year college expansion during Wallace's tenure, is that many state legislators did not vote against Wallace on the 2-cent beer tax bill created to fund the two-year college system because they did not want to lose highway funding for their counties, which Senator John Tyson and Agriculture Commissioner, A.W. Todd stated would be the outcome from resisting Wallace's bill (Flynt, 2004). As governor, Wallace allocated funding for both initiatives, and according to *The Montgomery Advertiser*, it was said that to oppose Wallace's two-year college initiative would result in the loss of highway funding (Thomas, 1963). According to A.W. Todd, then Agriculture Commissioner, Wallace used "pressure tactics" ("A.W. Todd makes," 1966, p.1) to win support for his initiatives, including the two-year college system. Todd, a candidate for governor, promised if elected to create a separate highway commission so these types of "tactics" would not be possible in the future. Also interesting is that this article about A.W. Todd ("A.W. Todd makes," 1966) is from the UPI news source with no visible author attached to it. This helps support the perception of Wallace's power and the reluctance of those, including some of the media, to publicly cross him. Of the three newspapers analyzed in this study, only *The Montgomery Advertiser* had any Sunday, front-page coverage implicating that Wallace would withhold highway funding from those

counties voting against him (Thomas, 1963). This newspaper is located in the capitol, which meant its reporters had personal access to legislators from both sides of the political aisles. Thus, although *The Montgomery Advertiser* had the lowest number of Wallace mentions in two-year college articles, 27.6% (n=8), it was the only newspaper that mentioned Wallace's name in connection to more disparaging articles, such as those exposing him as withholding highway funds in connection with the 2-cent beer tax bill passage (Thomas, 1963; "A.W. Todd makes," 1966). At the same time, however, only one-third, or 32.4% (n=11) of *The Montgomery Advertiser's* two-year college articles during this time frame were authored, suggesting that while the newspaper was willing to challenge Wallace, it also sought to protect its reporters from the possibility of personal retaliation from the Governor.

As previously mentioned, two-thirds of these new junior colleges and trade schools were located primarily in rural Alabama areas, where approximately one-third of the population was located (Katsinas, 1994), even though early researchers (Koos, 1924 & Eells, 1931) stated higher education would be more effective if colleges were located closer to geographically populated areas rather than rural ones, especially for student access purposes. Even Wallace himself stated that he would continue building junior colleges and trade schools so each citizen would have the opportunity to attend and be within "driving distance" of one (Lankford, 1966, p. 4). This mindset, however, is not reflected in the actual location of Alabama's two-year colleges at that time. Perhaps locations of the colleges in rural areas in another sense helped perpetuate the pastoral ideology of Southern culture, a conventional picture of the South untarnished by the civil rights effort. These locations reflected, in part, values held by society and even journalists trying to maintain the status quo (Gans, 1979).

Further examination of the Civil Rights Act does not support that it was a pivotal event in terms of the amount of coverage even in the six-month periods before and after its passage. In 1964, up until passage of the Civil Rights Act on July 2, there was only one junior college and/or trade school article in *The Birmingham News* discussing Wallace's participation on a junior college-trade school panel at a statewide conference ("Panel to discuss," 1964). This may be interpreted two ways: either the Civil Rights Act was regarded as a non-event and its equality provisions deemed unworthy of coverage related to the two-year college system in Alabama or since the two-year colleges were already in compliance, civil rights was considered to be a non-issue. The former appears to be more accurate given that the integration of the two-year colleges appears to be attributable more to the types of programs available and the programs being offered, those more skills-based. Also, Wallace writes about his two-year colleges in a 1973 *Community College Review* article, ten years after his first term in office, but perhaps applicable in 1963, "These institutions are dispersed across the length and breadth of Alabama to provide postsecondary education for the working man...all who benefit may attend. There are no barriers to admission" (Wallace, 1973; in Katsinas, 1994, p. 467).

The six months following passage of the Civil Rights Act were not much different. There were two total articles, one in *The Birmingham News* and one in *The Montgomery Advertiser* from July 2, 1964, until the end of the year that mentioned the two-year college system focusing on the number of schools and the amount of funding pledged from revenue raised by the 2-cent beer tax (Ingram, 1964; Dowe, 1964). Again, the lack of coverage may be attributable to civil rights being a non-issue because it was not an issue within the two-year college system or because it was a non-issue, in terms of importance of coverage to these newspapers. Integration of these schools may have been assumed by the media and its audience

since the trade schools, the majority of the type of two-year colleges established during Wallace's first term as governor, targeted the working class and were considered an extension of the 1963 Vocational Education Act (Cohen & Bawer, 2003). In general, these two-year colleges were to be more occupationally-related and employment-focused rather than career-focused as was the case with four-year institutions (Cohen & Bawer, 2003). Perhaps the skill emphasis of these two-year colleges and the working-class focus of putting people to work did not invoke the same segregation tradition from the South, Wallace, and his supporters. Also, the Vocational Act of 1963 made it possible for trade schools to qualify for federal funding (Cohen & Bawer, 2003); perhaps this provided motivation for Wallace and his supporters to promote this sector of education in Alabama that would be integration-friendly although perhaps not explicitly stated.

Although it was anticipated that passage of the Civil Rights Act would be a pivotal event, in terms of coverage related to two-year colleges, it was not. The remained consistent both before and after the Act was passed; however, there are differences among the master frames used. A higher percentage of political and economic frames are used before the Civil Rights Act was passed, possibly to try to get the 2-cent beer tax passed; educational frames would be a moot point without the actual physical school structures and funding. However, after the Act was passed, the use of frames shifted to a much higher percentage of educational frames, from 11.5% (n=3) before passage to 88.5% (n=23) afterwards with political framing remaining consistent with the prior period of time. This shift to a higher use of educational frames may be attributed in part to the power Wallace was perceived to have, especially politically, and newspapers may have been reluctant to go against him. Just as Bennett (1990) addressed in his indexing studies, popular views are often upheld by the media, and the media strive for balance. According to Flynt (2004), the two-year college system "strengthened Wallace's formidable political

machine” (p. 241) especially since he controlled the governing board and allocation of monies. After Wallace was able to procure funding for the two-year colleges through the 2-cent beer tax bill (economic), he was then able to focus on where the schools would be built and oversee them (political and educational).

The expansion of the two-year college system during Wallace’s first term as governor was referred to in the newspapers as the “new” junior college and trade school system. Wallace’s name was mentioned in conjunction with these schools 60.4% of the time, which indicates Wallace’s direct interest in the success of these schools and perhaps represents bias on the part of some newspapers to associate him with this particular subject matter (Entman, 2000). In some cases it was to applaud his successes, more apparent in *The Birmingham News*’ coverage overall with 79.0% of its articles mentioning Wallace, and attaching the word “new” to the two-year school system initiated by him (Pearson, 1963; Dowe, 1964). But in others, *The Montgomery Advertiser*, it was to blame him for his political support and funding allocation of the two-year college program in the fewer articles, 42.1%, which mention his name. Both of these newspapers had 19 articles each, so it is easier to compare differences between the two; also the content difference of stories mentioning Wallace and how he was mentioned may be in part because of newspaper bias. This may also be because the newspaper is located in the state capital and site of government activity, which lends itself to more dissension, and could have contributed to a less pro-Wallace stance than those newspapers not located at the “pulse” of state legislation. Also, one of *The Montgomery Advertiser*’s state reporters, Bob Ingram, frequently wrote more anti-Wallace articles and resigned during Wallace’s first term in office, so perhaps he was less apt to quote or paraphrase Wallace’s supporters.

Even though there were six trade and vocational schools already in existence prior to Wallace's tenure in office (Flynt, 2004) and one junior college (Smith, 2012), Wallace is credited with establishing a "new" junior college and trade school system. The word "new" appears to go beyond the literal definition of referring to a new structure. In this study new appears to be more from giving Wallace's administration credit for the colleges developed during his tenure rather than implying they were different in some way. The main support for this is that two of the newspapers, *The Montgomery Advertiser* and *The Birmingham News*, consistently referred to the new junior college and trade school program during this time frame using the word "new" (Pearson, 1963; "Governor says new," 1963; Dowe, 1964) seemingly in an effort to differentiate them from those previously in existence. The exact number is unknown since use of the word "new" in connection with the two-year college system was not coded for in this study. However, the use of the word "new" appears to be intentional since Wallace even distinguishes the program by referring to it as "new" even though Wallace continually assured the public "no new program will take away from effort to provide for the needs at present" ("Governor says new," p. 1) in response to the fear "some school leaders have ...that money from Wallace's proposed 2-cent-a-bottle beer tax might be deducted from what existing schools receive" (p. 1). For example, the *Birmingham News* reported in March 1963, only months after Wallace had taken over as governor, that five "new" junior colleges and five new trade schools were already approved and slated to be opened (Pearson, 1963), and at the end of his first term, his wife, Lurleen, running for governor of Alabama, echoed Wallace's push for more schools (Cox, 1966). "I certainly will give a high priority to an expansion of the junior trade school and junior college system. They need expanding" (Cox, 1966, p. 2) Mrs. Wallace is quoted as saying after winning the governorship.

The word “new” may also be attributable to the apparent naming difference between the two-year colleges before and after Wallace’s tenure in office, which may be why Wallace changed the names of the new schools approved and built so there would be no doubt who to credit. For example, the six vocational schools in existence prior to 1963 were called technical colleges or technical institutes. Wallace named them trade schools. There was one junior college in existence, Northwest State Junior College, which eventually merged with Muscle Shoals Technical College to become Northwest-Shoals Community College (Smith, 2012); then it would not be in competition with any of the “new” junior colleges. These naming changes could help Wallace claim he started the junior college and trade school system in Alabama.

From a framing perspective, Wallace appears to garner support or at least, non-opposition to his two-year college expansion initiative just by the mere fact that he was able to build 11 new junior colleges and 24 new trade schools during his first four years in office; he would eventually be credited with 41 new two-year colleges (Flynt, 2004). Media coverage surrounding the two-year school system used three master frames that appeared to support Wallace’s efforts to open schools during a time when Alabama education overall was facing upheaval and turmoil in its struggle with federal desegregation provisions included in the Civil Rights Act. By focusing on the educational opportunities that would be provided, the economic gains of attracting industry, and the political advantages provided to the two-year college system, the media drew some attention to the junior college and trade school system, but the coverage was less compared to the other educational arenas of secondary and postsecondary four-year institutions in a previous study conducted during the same time frame (Johnston & Gonzenbach, 2011). This may be one reason why Wallace was able to build so many two-year colleges in such a short period of time since attention may have been focused elsewhere on education, integration, and other national

and state news possibly competing for coverage (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Sniderman & Theriault, 2004). The three master frames – educational, economic, and political – identified in the preliminary sample study remained consistent throughout the time frame of this study lending credence to Tewksbury and Scheufele’s (2009) claim that overarching themes tend to be constant especially over time. Whether the frames used are representative of Southern culture at this time or whether the culture impacts the frames used cannot be undeniably ascertained (cause-effect relationship cannot be established); however, it appears that the frames are indicative of a shared Southern culture (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Benford & Snow, 2000). There are also similar portrayals of Wallace and two-year colleges during this time frame across the three newspapers, so readers of the different newspapers would come across similar text being used to discuss this topic. The main difference was in *The Mobile Press-Register*, which covered more national and local Mobile news on its Sunday front page rather than state news even though it was the second largest newspaper in circulation. A section of the newspaper was entitled “*State and Local News*,” however, it covered mostly local news, for example, coverage of the University of South Alabama, which opened in 1963 (Sellers, 1963), rather than local two-year colleges.

In addition, 41.7% (n=20) of the 48 articles utilized more than one master frame or exhibited overlapping themes, which is aligned with previous research indicating relationships between similar frames since they are not mutually exclusive (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). The years 1963 and 1965 have more than three-quarters, 77.1% (n=37) of the coverage of two-year colleges overall, which may be indicative of Wallace’s priorities at the time since 1963 was his first year in office, and 1965 was when he was trying to get the succession bill passed. Wallace was active with the state legislature at this time with bill activity and newspaper

coverage reflected this. So, perhaps, Wallace was fairly influential in helping the media determine not only what to cover but how often his initiatives were portrayed as front-page Sunday news (Entman, 2003). During 1964, Wallace was focused on running for president of the United States, and 1966 was the year he was running his wife, Lurleen, for governor of Alabama to succeed him. These are also the years with the least amount of two-year college coverage, 22.9% (n=11). Therefore, coverage was not evenly distributed during his first four years in office, indicating coverage possibly directly aligned with Wallace's own personal and political priorities and initiatives. Further examination of the alignment of master frames highlights the use of educational and political frames most often, separately and together, which makes sense given those economic advantages to building additional junior colleges and trade schools would be a by-product of them first being funded, located, and built. As noted in *The Birmingham News* this "rapidly expanding junior college system...appears to be developing into a sort of pork barrel system for legislators. As one county gets a junior college other counties...probably will demand one and before long a move could be on for a junior college for each county" (Sparrow, 1963, p. 1).

Limitations of the Study

The main limitations of this study include the limited scope of three newspapers, front-page analysis of only the Sunday edition, and the four-year time frame of Wallace's first term in office. Also, these newspapers are not representative of all the news being communicated during this four-year time frame, only news on the Sunday front-page and in the three largest newspapers in circulation in Alabama at the time. The Sunday front page analysis precluded the separate black-American editions of newspapers during this time frame and separate black-American sections of the newspapers, *The Birmingham News* and *The Montgomery Advertiser*,

specifically, precluding their inclusion in the analysis. Even though these sections were primarily editorial, there may have been some articles addressing two-year college education with more focus on civil rights and segregation. This study also does not take into account what newspapers were saying about two-year colleges prior to Wallace's first term in office and afterwards for comparison.

Areas for Future Research

Areas for future research include the examination of more Alabama newspapers, examining more sections of the newspapers in depth and more days of the week, as well as including newspapers located in the communities receiving the first eleven junior colleges and twenty-four trade schools for analysis. Also a comparison study of the other areas of education including four-year institutions and k-12 could be undertaken to determine how the 8% Sunday coverage of the two-year school system in Alabama compares to other educational areas and the use of the master frames: educational, economic, and political. A future study may want to explore how often the word "new" was used in conjunction with the junior college and trade school system and determine if this was more prevalent in the earlier years or remained consistent throughout Wallace's tenure and that of others as governor of Alabama.

Conclusion

A very different picture of Alabama and postsecondary education related to Wallace and civil rights is portrayed through the lens of this study – one that is less educationally and equality oppressive as evidenced by his stand against integration at The University of Alabama and against integration of the public, k-12 school system. In this study, Wallace is portrayed as someone who promoted education in the two-year college system, whereas he is typically remembered as one who stifled equality in education in the four-year postsecondary arena and k-

12 systems in Alabama. Of course there were some personal and political advantages for Wallace and his allies in the success of the two-year college system, and as such, this area of education flourished under Wallace's governorship. Wallace and power have often been viewed synonymously but related to the two-year college system, that power appears to have benefitted Alabama citizens rather than held them back as is sometimes associated with Wallace and education. Regardless of how one feels about Wallace, it would be difficult to deny the impact he had on the two-year college system in Alabama. Even though names changed and some two-year junior colleges and trade schools merged to become community colleges in the late 1960s and 1970s, Wallace's imprint on the two-year colleges remains.

References

- ABC Income Highest 4-Year Ever. (1966, October 30). *The Mobile Press-Register*, p. A1.
- Alabama Acts*, Section 60-11. 1963, April 30.
- Alabama closes year with record balance: Result of sound policies, Governor Wallace states. (1965, October 3). *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A1.
- Alabama Law Enforcement Agency (2012). *Alabama crime rates 1960-2010*.
<http://www.disastercenter.com/crime/alcrime.htm>
- Alcorn, A. (1965, October 17). Vocational schools supply skilled labor to industry. *The Montgomery Advertiser*, "Alabama '65" insert.
- A.W. Todd makes promise of state bi-racial group. (1966, March 6). *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A1.
- Babbie, E. R. (2010). *The practice of social research* (12th ed., p. 306-307). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Benford, R.D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611-639.
- Bennett, W.L. (1990). Toward a theory of press-state relations in the United States. *Journal of Communication* 40(2), 103-125.
- Brewer's name goes in the pot. (1966, January 30). *The Birmingham News*, p. A1.
- Cargile, T. (1965, March 1). AU studies ferret impact of big step in education. *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A1
- Carragee, K.M., & Roef, W. (2004). The neglect of power in recent framing research. *Journal of Communication*, 54, 214-230.
- Carter, D.T. (2000). *The politics of rage: George Wallace, the origins of the new conservatism, and the transformation of American politics* (2nd ed.). Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Chong, D., & Druckman, J.N. (2007). A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 99-118.
- Clark, E.C. (1993). *The schoolhouse door: Segregation's last stand at The University of Alabama*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Cohen, A.M., & Brawer, F. B. (2003). *The American community college* (4th ed.). San Francisco,

CA: Jossey-Bass.

- Cox, G.M. (1966, December 11). I'll be just as active as my husband! *The Mobile Press-Register*, p. A1.
- Crespino, J. (2006). The best defense is a good offense: The Stennis amendment and the fracturing of liberal school desegregation Policy, 1964–1972. *Journal of Policy History*, 18(3), 304-325.
- D'Angelo, P. (2002). News framing as a multiparadigmatic research program: A response to Entman. *Journal of Communication*, 52, 870-888.
- Davies, D.R. (2001). In D.R. Davies (Ed.), *The press and race: Mississippi journalists confront the movement*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.
- Davies, D.R. (2006). *The postwar decline of American newspapers, 1945-1965: The history of American journalism*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Dearing, J.W., & Rogers, E.M. (1996). *Agenda-setting*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Entman, R.M. (1993). Toward a clarification of a fractured paradigm: *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.
- Dowe, D. (1964, October 4). Next governor to inherit education tab. *The Birmingham News*, p. A1, A10.
- Dowe, D. (1965, February 7). School forces unite behind record budget for education. *The Birmingham News*, p. A1.
- Eagles, C.W. (1982). *Jonathan Daniels and race relations: The evolution of a Southern liberal*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Eells, W.C. (1931). *The junior college*. Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press.
- Enterprise Junior College welcomes first class. (1965, October 17). *The Montgomery Advertiser*, "Alabama '65" insert.
- Entman, R.M. (2010). Media framing biases and political power: Explaining slant in news of campaign 2008. *Journalism*, 11(4), 389-408.
- Filibuster drags to new record; 9 of 11 quit: Solons get day of rest on Sabbath. (1963, April 28). *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A1.
- Finance Director Trammell defends role of Wallace. (1965, October 10). *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A1.

- Flynt, W. (2004). *Alabama in the twentieth century*. The University of Alabama Press: Tuscaloosa, AL.
- Fountain, B.E., & Toffelson, T.A. (1989). *Community colleges in the United States: Forty-nine state systems*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Community and Junior Colleges.
- Fox, A. (1965, February 28). Textbook bill remains in committee. *The Birmingham News*, p. A1, A2.
- Fox, A. (1965, February 14). 'Let's see the bill's' many legislators say. *The Birmingham News*, p. A1.
- Frederick, J. (2007). *Stand up for Alabama: Governor George Wallace*. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press.
- Gall, M.D., Gall, J.P., & Borg, W.R. (2007). *Educational research: An introduction*. (8th ed). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Gamson, W.A., & Modigliani, A. (1987). The changing culture of affirmative action: In R.G. Braungart & M.M. Braungart (Eds.), *Research in political sociology* (Vol. 3, pp.137-177). Greenwich, CT: JAI
- Gamson, W.A., & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media discourse and public opinion: A constructivist Approach. *American Journal of Psychology*, 95, 1-37.
- Garrow, D.J. (1993). *Bearing the cross: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference*. London: Vintage Books.
- Gibson, S.N. (1980). *Public policy in the expansion of higher education in the state of Alabama, 1963-1978: A case study in the politics of higher education*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Pittsburgh.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making & unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Governor says new schools won't hurt present system. (1963, March 31). *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A1.
- Impson, A.J. (1994). *George Wallace and the politics of race*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Texas A&M University.
- Ingram, B. (1964, September 27). Records to fall as state fiscal year ends. *The Montgomery*

- Advertiser*, p A1.
- Ingram, B. (1965, January 10). Opposition is growing: Doubts expressed in special session. *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A1.
- Ingram, B. (1965, February 14). School plan debate near. *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A1.
- Ingram, B. (1965, May 2). Wallace may hit top in education. *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A1.
- Ingram, B. (1965, May 23). Anti-Wallace speech spotlights Sen. Bob Gilchrist. *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A1, A5.
- Ingram, B. (1966, August 14). State-U.S. education office quarrel involves only \$38 million directly. *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A9.
- Isbell, J. (1965, July 25). Senate is moving towards hectic close. *The Birmingham News*, p. A1, A12.
- Johnston, L.A., & Gonzenbach, W.J., & (2011). *A content analysis of Alabama's education agenda from 1963-1966: Governor George Wallace's first term in office*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of Southern States Communication Association, Little Rock, AR.
- Jones, B. (1967). *The Wallace story*. Northport Press. Northport, AL. 125.
- Katsinas, S.G. (1994). George C. Wallace and the founding of Alabama's public two-year colleges. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 65(4), 447-472.
- Koenig, T. (2004). *Reframing frame analysis systematizing the empirical identification of frames using qualitative data analysis software*. Paper presented at the ASA Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, August 14-17, 2004.
- Koos, L.V. (1924). *The junior college* (2 volumes). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.
- Kotlowski, D.J. (2005). With all deliberate delay: Kennedy, Johnson, and school desegregation. *Journal of Policy History*, 17(2), 155-192.
- Kovarik, G. (1965, October 17). Alabama's "breakthrough" in public education. *The Montgomery Advertiser*, "Alabama '65" insert.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lankford, T. (1966, April, 3). Wallace hits cooperation with 'outlaws.' *The Birmingham News*, pp. A1, A4.
- Lasswell, H. D. (1948). The structure and function of communication in society. In L. Bryson (Ed.), *The communication of ideas*, New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies.
- Legislature passed many AEA needs. (1965, August 22). *The Montgomery Advertiser*, "Back to School" insert.
- Lentz, R. (1986). *The search for strategic silence*. Paper presented to the History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK.
- Lentz, R. (1990). *Symbols, the news magazine, and Martin Luther King*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Lentz, R. & Gower, K.K. (2010). *The opinions of mankind*. Columbia, MI: University of Missouri Press.
- Litolff, E.H., III. (2007). *Higher education desegregation: An analysis of state efforts in systems formerly operating segregated systems of higher education*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Louisiana State University.
- Martin, D.F. (1963, February 24). Press impressed by Wallace's talk. *The Montgomery Advertiser*, pp. A1, A2.
- McCallister, W.F. (Ed.). (1964). *N.W. Ayer & Son's directory newspapers and periodicals 1964*. Philadelphia, PA: N.W. Ayer & Son, Inc.
- McCallister, W.F. (Ed.). (1965). *N.W. Ayer & Son's directory newspapers and periodicals 1964*. Philadelphia, PA: N.W. Ayer & Son, Inc.
- McCallister, W.F. (Ed.). (1966). *N.W. Ayer & Son's directory newspapers and periodicals 1964*. Philadelphia, PA: N.W. Ayer & Son, Inc.
- McCallister, W.F. (Ed.). (1967). *N.W. Ayer & Son's directory newspapers and periodicals 1964*. Philadelphia, PA: N.W. Ayer & Son, Inc.
- McClure, R.D., & Patterson, T.E. (1976). Print vs. network news. *Journal of Communication*, 26, 23-28.
- McCombs, M. & Shaw, D.L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36, 176-184.

- McGill, R. (1942, October 24). *The Atlanta Constitution*. Cited in Kneebone, J.T. (1920-1944). *Southern liberal journalists and the issue of race*.
- McGregor, J. (1965, August 22). Patterson graduates find success. *The Montgomery Advertiser*, "Back to School" insert.
- McWhorter, D. (2001). *Carry me home*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Meeting educational needs for post-high school age youth and adults in Alabama. (1964). A report of conferences held at Auburn University in 1964 on vocational, technical and junior college education. School of Education. Auburn University. Auburn, AL. 22-23 June 1964. 1-88.
- Neuendorf, K.A. (2002). *The content analysis guidebook*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Opp's sites lure industry. (1965, October 17). *The Montgomery Advertiser*, "Alabama '65" insert.
- Panel to discuss junior colleges. (1964, March 15). *The Birmingham News*, p. A1.
- Pearson, T. (1963, April 21). Tax picture muddy in legislature. *The Birmingham News*, p. A1.
- Randall, J.C.J. (2001). *A kudzuing of colleges: The proliferation and balkanization of higher education in Alabama*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama.
- Roberts, G., & Klibanoff, H. (2006). *The race beat: The press, the civil rights struggle, and the awakening of a nation*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Rohler, L. (2004). *George Wallace: Conservative populist*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Scheufele, D.A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49, 101-120.
- Scheufele, D.A. (2000). Agenda-setting, priming, and framing revisited: Another look at cognitive effects of political communication. *Mass Communication and Society*, 3(2&3), 297-316.
- Segvic, I. (2005). The framing of politics: A content analysis of three Croatian newspapers. *Gazette: The international journal for communication studies*, 67(5), 469-488.
- Sellers, B. (1963, August 18). Wallace promises assistance on university fund measure. *The Mobile Press-Register*, p. A1.
- Sellers, B. (1966, November 13). Solons want U. of S.A. growth, tax change. *The Mobile Press-Register*, p. A1.

- Sherif, M. (1967). *Social interaction: Processes and products*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Shoemaker, P.J., & Reese, S.D. (1996). *Mediating the message* (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Smith, D. (2012). *A century of change: The development of two-year education in the state of Alabama, 1866-1963*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama.
- Sniderman, P.M., & Theriault, S.M. (2004). The structure of political argument and the logic of issue framing. In W.E. Saris & P.M. Sniderman (Eds.) *Studies in public opinion* (pp. 133-165). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Sparrow, H. (1963, September 8). 'Below Par' legislature grinds shut. *The Birmingham News*, pp. A1, A8.
- Stanton, E. (2002). Faith and works: the business, politics, and philanthropy of Alabama's Jimmy Faulkner. Montgomery, AL: New South Books.
- State seen adding 2 new plants: Wallace offers prediction on winding up trip. (1964, January 19). *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A1.
- Stern, S.M. (2000). John F. Kennedy and the politics of race and civil rights. *Reviews in American History*, 35(1), 118-125.
- Stock, E. (2008). High dropout rates Alabama's biggest economic problem, study finds. *The Birmingham News*, 30 April 2008.
- Tankard, J.W., Hendrickson, L., Silberman, J., Bliss, K., and Ghanem, S. (1991, August). *Media frames: Approaches to conceptualization and measurement*. Paper presented at the meeting of Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Communication Theory and Methodology Division, Boston, MA.
- Tewksbury, D., & Scheufele, D.A. (2009). News framing theory and research. In J. Bryant & M.B. Oliviers (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (3rd ed.), (pp. 17-33). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Thomas, R. (1963, February 17). Tax increase major factor in more funds for schools. *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A1.
- Thomas, R. (1963, April 21). Allen forecasts more filibuster; Jobs at Wallace. *The Montgomery Advertiser*, p. A1.
- Thomas, R. (1966, July 24). Wallace will open lame-duck session. *The Mobile Press-Register*, pp. A1, A12.
- Trammell answers foes of Wallace succession: Charges by Lowe avoided. (1965, October 10). *The Mobile Press-Register*, pp. A1, A10.

- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. (1963). *Civil rights: Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights*. Washington, D.C.
- Van Gorp, B. (2007). The constructionist approach to framing: Bringing culture back in. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 60-78.
- Wallace, G.C. (1973). Governor Wallace speaks out – the people’s colleges: best buy on the education market. *Community College Review*, 1, 1.
- Wallace lashed by senator after road project dropped. (1963, April 14). *The Montgomery Advertiser*, A1.
- Wallace pledges school aid – governor silent on tax increases. (1963, March 19). *Alabama Journal*, A1, A2.
- Wallace sees surge of new industry – business approves segregation. (1963, February 23). *The Montgomery Advertiser*, pp. A1, A6.
- Whooley, O. (2004). Locating master frames in history: An analysis of the religious masterframe of the abolition movement and its influence on movement trajectory. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 17(4), 490-516.
- Will, J. (1963, September 22). Elliott warns state to stay prominent. *The Mobile Press-Register*, p. A1.
- Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2011). *Mass media research: An introduction*. (9th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth-Thompson.
- Work to start on Pinson junior college. (1965, January 10). *The Birmingham News*, pp. A1, A8.
- Year saw most funds for schools. (1965, August 22). *The Montgomery Advertiser*. “Back to School Insert.”
- Zhang, Y., & Wildemuth, B.M. (2009). Qualitative analysis of content. In B. Wildemuth (Ed.), *Applications of social research methods to questions in information and library*. PDF.

FIGURE 1: Alabama Two-Year Colleges Time Line

Name	Date Established	Date Merged	Geographic Area of the State
<u>Alabama Southern Community College</u> Patrick Henry State Junior College Hobson State Technical College	1965 1965	1991	Monroeville (SW Alabama) Monroeville (SW Alabama) Thomasville (SW Alabama)
<u>Bevill State Community College</u> Walker State Technical College Brewer State Junior College Northwest State Technical College <i>Walker College</i>	1992 1966 1969 1964 1938	1992 1992 1989 1998	Summiton (NW Alabama) Jasper (NW Alabama) Summiton (NW Alabama) Hamilton (NW Alabama) Jasper (NW Alabama)
<u>Bishop State Community College</u> <i>Southwest State Technical Institute</i> <i>Carver State Technical Institute</i>	1965 1950 1962	1991 1991	Mobile (SW Alabama) Mobile (SW Alabama) Mobile (SW Alabama)
<u>Calhoun Community College</u> Tennessee Valley State Technical School	1963 1941	1965	Decatur (N Central Alabama) Decatur (N Central Alabama)
<u>Central Alabama Community College</u> Alexander City State Junior College Nunnelley State Technical College	1963 1963	1989	Alexander City (E Central Alabama) Alexander City (E Central Alabama) Childersburg (E Central Alabama)
<u>Chattahoochee Valley Community College</u>	1963		Phenix City (SE Alabama)
<u>Drake State Technical College</u>	1961		Huntsville (N Central Alabama)
<u>Enterprise-Ozark Community College</u> Enterprise State Junior College <i>Ozark Aviation Institute</i>	1963 1960	2003	Enterprise (SE Alabama) Enterprise (SE Alabama) Ozark (SE Alabama)
<u>James H. Faulkner State Community College</u>	1963		Bay Minette (SW Alabama)
<u>Gadsden State Community College</u> <i>Alabama Technical College</i> <i>Gadsden State Technical Institute</i> Ayers State Technical College	1965 1925 1960 1963	1986 1986 2003	Gadsden (NE Alabama) Gadsden (NE Alabama) Gadsden (NE Alabama) Anniston (NE Alabama)
<u>J. F. Ingram State Technical College</u>	1965		Deatsville (E Central Alabama)
<u>Jefferson Davis Community College</u> Atmore State Technical Institute	1963 1972	1990	Brewton (S Central Alabama) Atmore (SW Alabama)
<u>Jefferson State Community College</u>	1963		Birmingham (N Central Alabama)
<u>Lawson State Community College</u> Bessemer State Technical Institute	1947 1965	2005	Birmingham (N Central Alabama) Bessemer (N Central Alabama)
<u>Lurleen B. Wallace Community College</u> Lurleen B. Wallace State Junior College MacArthur State Technical Institute	1967 1965	2003	Andalusia (SE Alabama) Andalusia (SE Alabama) Opp (SE Alabama)
<u>Northeast Alabama Community College</u>	1963		Rainsville (NE Alabama)
<u>Northwest-Shoals Community College</u> <i>Northwest State Junior College</i> Muscle Shoals State Technical College	1989 1961 1966	1993 1989	Muscle Shoals (NW Alabama) Phil Campbell (NW Alabama) Muscle Shoals (NW Alabama)
<u>Reid State Technical College</u>	1963		Evergreen (S Central Alabama)
<u>Shelton State Community College</u> <i>Shelton State Technical Institute</i> Fredd State Technical College	1979 1952 1963	1979 1994	Tuscaloosa (W Central Alabama) Tuscaloosa (W Central Alabama) Tuscaloosa (W Central Alabama)
<u>Snead State Community College</u>	1935		Boaz (NE Alabama)
<u>Southern Union Community College</u> Opelika State Technical Institute	1922 1963	1993	Wadley (E Central Alabama) Opelika (E Central Alabama)
<u>H. Council Trenholm State Technical College</u> <i>Patterson State Technical College</i>	1965 1961	2000	Montgomery (SE Alabama) Montgomery (SE Alabama)
<u>George Corley Wallace State Community College</u> Sparks State Technical College	1947 1966	1999	Dothan (SE Alabama) Eufaula (SE Alabama)
<u>Wallace State Community College-Hanceville</u>	1963		Hanceville (N Central Alabama)
<u>George C. Wallace Community College-Selma</u>	1963		Selma (S Central Alabama)

ALABAMA COMMUNITY, JUNIOR, AND TECHNICAL COLLEGES

GOVERNED BY ALABAMA STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

ALABAMA DEPARTMENT OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION
 CHANCELLOR CHARLES L. PAYNE
 419 SOUTH PERRY STREET
 MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36104
 (205) 834-2200

COMMUNITY COLLEGES

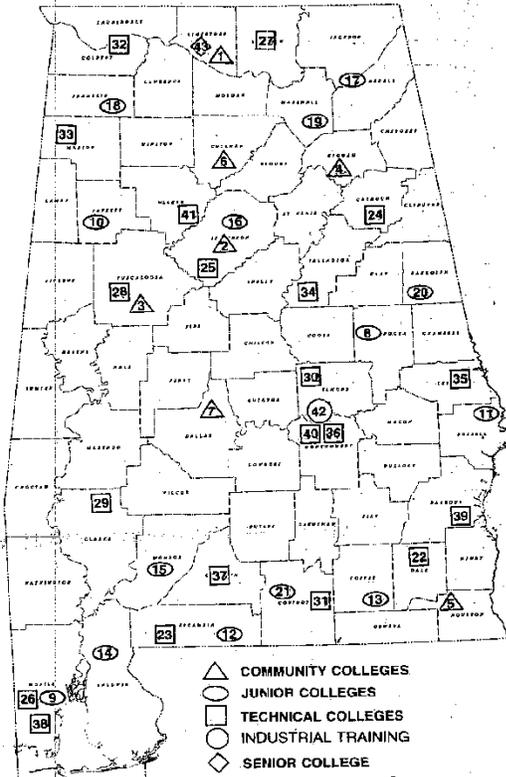
1. Calhoun State Community College
2. Lawson State Community College
3. Shelton State Community College
4. State of Alabama Community Colleges in Gadsden
5. George C. Wallace State Community College/Dothan
6. Wallace State Community College/Hanceville
7. George Corley Wallace State Community College/Selma

JUNIOR COLLEGES

8. Alexander City State Junior College
9. Bishop State Junior College
10. Brewer State Junior College
11. Chattahoochee Valley State Community College
12. Jefferson Davis State Junior College
13. Enterprise State Junior College
14. Faulkner State Junior College
15. Patrick Henry State Junior College
16. Jefferson State Junior College
17. Northeast Alabama State Junior College
18. Northwest Alabama State Junior College
19. Snead State Junior College
20. Southern Union State Junior College
21. Lurleen B. Wallace State Junior College

TECHNICAL COLLEGES

22. Alabama Aviation And Technical College
23. Atmore State Technical College
24. Ayers State Technical College
25. Bessemer State Technical College
26. Carver State Technical College
27. Drake State Technical College
28. Fredd State Technical College
29. Hobson State Technical College
30. Ingram State Technical College
31. MacArthur State Technical College
32. Muscle Shoals State Technical College
33. Northwest Alabama State Technical College
34. Nunnelley State Technical College
35. Opelika State Technical College
36. Patterson State Technical College
37. Reid State Technical College



38. Southwest State Technical College
 39. Sparks State Technical College
 40. Trenholm State Technical College
 41. Walker State Technical College
- STATEWIDE MOBILE INDUSTRIAL TRAINING**
42. Alabama Industrial Development Training Institute
- SENIOR COLLEGE**
43. Athens State College

Appendix A

Characteristics of Master Frames

1. Educational Frame – Any wording or groups of wording that describes or explains the educational benefits and opportunities for local communities and students. This includes bills written for two-year college funding, funds raised and/or allocated, the two-cent beer tax whose funds were earmarked for Alabama’s junior colleges and trade schools and was written by then speaker of the house, Rankin Fite.
2. Economic Frame – Any wording or group of wording that describes or explains the economic benefits to Alabama communities because of attracting industry and creating jobs. This includes recruiting companies through the promise of producing a qualified workforce to meet specific industry needs. This also includes mention of the two-cent beer tax as a means or method by which the schools will be funded, aiding the local and state economy by attracting and retaining industry.
3. Political Frame – Any wording or group of wording that describes or explains any actions or discussions that favor one side over another. This includes filibustering by senators and representatives at the state level to keep bills from being approved and/or passed, for example, the two-cent beer tax only earmarked for the junior colleges and trade schools (not for other educational areas such as k-12 or four year colleges and/or universities). This also includes any rhetoric used to convince politicians and voters that monies will be spent in an equitable way and according to how they were agreed upon at the state level. Political frames also include any information about locations of junior colleges and/or trade schools and how they would be governed.
4. Other- Any information contained in articles mentioning junior colleges and trade schools that does not fall into one of the previously identified master frames.

Appendix B

Content Analysis of Framing: Wallace & Two-Year College Education

Name of Newspaper _____

Date _____

Headline of Article _____

Author: AP ____, No Name _____ Name _____

Main headline/Other article on front page

Article continued on subsequent page Yes/No

Community Colleges _____ Junior Colleges/Vocational Trade Schools _____

Wallace mentioned Yes/No

Civil Rights mentioned Yes/No

Integration/Segregation mentioned Yes/No

Master Frames Related to Two-year College Education Mentioned:

Educational – Provide educational opportunities, 2 cent beer tax monies raised or amount of funds allocated (\$\$)

Economic – Attract Industry, train workers, 2-cent beer tax proposed as way to fund two-year colleges (how pay)

Political – Locations, Governance, 2-cent beer tax monies only going for junior college and trade school system, not other educational areas (proprietary)