

FRAMING SOCIAL PROTEST: HOW LOCAL NEWSPAPERS COVERED
THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA DESEGREGATION PROTESTS IN JANUARY 1961

by

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(Under the Direction of William F. Griswold)

ABSTRACT

This project examines the use of frames in the coverage of social protest, specifically Georgia newspapers' coverage of desegregation protests at the University of Georgia in January 1961. Using content analysis as a foundation for the project, I analyze articles in *The Red & Black*, the *Athens Banner-Herald*, *The Atlanta Constitution*, the *Atlanta Journal*, the *Atlanta Daily World* and the *Atlanta Inquirer* based on the use of protest story frames identified by James Hertog and Douglas McLeod in their study of anarchist protests.

INDEX WORDS: mass media, social control, social change, social protest, riots, school desegregation, frames

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DEDICATION

For my grandfather, Jack Banks Sr., because what is important to his family is important to him.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

It has been suggested that the media, variously, can provoke a riot, create a culture of rioting, . . . and spread a disturbance from place to place. . . . There is some evidence . . . that the media can contribute by simply signaling the occurrence and location of a riot event, by publicizing incidents which are themselves causes of riot behavior or by giving advance publicity to the likely occurrence of rioting. . . . [However,] the control or silencing of news might itself entail a local panic through lack of explanation for observable neighborhood disturbances.¹

— Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory*

In 1961, some people blamed the press, to some extent, for a small riot² that took place on the University of Georgia campus in Athens, Georgia.³ Federal judges had ordered that two qualified black students be admitted to UGA. Protests followed the judges' rulings, culminating in a riot the night after the two black students attended their first classes on the campus.⁴

In January 1961, after a year-and-a-half legal battle, Charlayne Hunter, a journalism major, and Hamilton Holmes, a pre-med student, became the first two black students to gain admittance to the University of Georgia, which had been educating white students for 160 years and a few international students for more than 30 years.⁵ Many people in the state opposed integrating the University. S. Ernest Vandiver had been elected governor on an anti-integration platform.⁶ The state legislature was overwhelmingly against admitting blacks to the university.⁷ And many University of Georgia students and

¹ Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory, An Introduction*, 3d ed. (London: SAGE Publications, Ltd., 1994), 345.

² I use the term "riot" because the articles that I analyzed use the term.

³ Calvin Trillin, *An Education in Georgia* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1963; reprint, 1991), 59.

⁴ Thomas G. Dyer, *The University of Georgia, A Bicentennial History, 1785-1985*. (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1985), 329-333.

⁵ Trillin, *An Education in Georgia*, 136-137; "A brief history of the University of Georgia" on the UGA Web site, available at <http://www.uga.edu/profile/history.html>; accessed 14 July 2005.

⁶ Thomas G. Dyer, *The University of Georgia, A Bicentennial History, 1785-1985*. (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1985), 321.

⁷ Loran Smith, "Horace Montgomery remembers integration tension at UGA very well," *Athens Daily News*, 6 January 1999, 'Hometown' section, p. 4

their parents were against integration.⁸ Despite opposition in the state, Judge W. A. Bootle decided *Holmes v. Danner* on January 6, 1961, ordering that Holmes and Hunter be admitted immediately to the University of Georgia. “Judge Bootle’s decision: ‘The two plaintiffs are qualified for admission and would already have been admitted had it not been for their race and color.’”⁹

Within days, both students were housed in Athens — Holmes with a local family and Hunter in a private dorm room.¹⁰ They began classes on Wednesday, January 11. University officials escorted Hunter and Holmes to class, first explaining that they wanted to “orient the students” and then “that this was necessary to keep the news men and photographers away from these students, and keep order on campus.”¹¹

Despite a small protest demonstration the night before, Holmes and Hunter’s first day of class was relatively peaceful on campus; however, there was a serious protest that night.¹² The demonstration resulted in injuries to several police officers, one student, and a reporter as well as damage to windows in Center Myers, the dormitory where Hunter lived.¹³ Following the on-campus riot, state and university officials decided to withdraw Hunter and Holmes from the school for their safety, and state troopers took both students back to their homes in Atlanta.¹⁴ After a petition calling for the return of the two students to

⁸ Robert Cohen, “‘Two, Four, Six, Eight, We Don’t Want to Integrate: White Student Attitudes Toward the University of Georgia’s Desegregation.” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LXXX, (Fall 1996): 624.

⁹ Calvin Trillin, “Break in Georgia,” *Time*, 13 January 1961, 64.

¹⁰ Charlayne Hunter-Gault, *In My Place* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 177; Trillin, *An Education in Georgia*, 51, 54.

¹¹ Report of the Special Committee appointed on the 12th day of January, 1961, by the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia to Find and Ascertain Facts Concerning the Happenings and Episodes Surrounding the Admission of Two Negro Students to the University of Georgia, Richard B. Russell to Roy R. Kelly. 13 February 1961. School Crisis — Georgia File, Civil Rights Series. Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library, 4.

¹² The protest is thought to have been organized by UGA law students (see Trillin, *An Education in Georgia*, 52). However, this protest was not a protest by a formal organized group that consistently attempted to share a message through demonstrations. Please keep this distinction in mind when reading the analysis of media coverage of the desegregation protests.

¹³ Trillin, *An Education in Georgia*, 53; Report of the Special Committee appointed on the 12th day of January, 5.

¹⁴ Trillin, *An Education in Georgia*, 54.

campus, signed the next day by 340 members (more than two-thirds) of the university faculty, and a second order by Judge Bootle, Hunter and Holmes returned to campus on Monday, January 16.¹⁵

During this time, reporters, photographers, and television crews crowded the University of Georgia campus,¹⁶ and headlines proclaiming the latest developments of the ‘school crisis’¹⁷ crowded the pages of Georgia’s newspapers. As an aspiring journalist, Hunter paid special attention to what one of her attorneys has termed a “media event”¹⁸:

It was the same everywhere I went in those first couple of days. Students yelling epithets, reporters shouting questions. And me trying my best to look straight ahead to where I was going.

But as caught up as I was in getting from one place to the next without stumbling or otherwise losing my dignity, I was also trying to see out of the corner of my eye exactly what the reporters were doing and how, because, after all, that was why I had pressed this case and was now on this campus in the middle of this throng. I wanted to be a reporter; Georgia had the only school of journalism in the state, and here I was at the center of one of the biggest stories in the country, if not the world.¹⁹

Some people blamed the reporters and media reports for playing a part in the riot²⁰; others credit newspapers for playing a necessary role in the progression of the Civil Rights Movement. Researchers emphasize the importance of media coverage to social protests. For example, mass media researchers Douglas McLeod and James Hertog quote M. Lipsky on the relationship between social protests and the media: “Like the tree falling unheard in the forest, there is no protest unless protest is perceived and

¹⁵Thomas G. Dyer, *The University of Georgia, A Bicentennial History, 1785-1985* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1985), 333; Robert Cohen, “‘Two, Four, Six, Eight, We Don’t Want to Integrate’: White Student Attitudes Toward the University of Georgia’s Desegregation,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* LXXX, No. 3 (Fall 1996): 633.

¹⁶Report of the Special Committee appointed on the 12th day of January, 4, 8.

¹⁷The term “school crisis” referred to the desegregation in general and not to protests or the riot.

¹⁸Horace Ward, “Desegregation of Public Higher Education in Georgia Revisited: Background, Court Cases, and the Aftermath as Witnessed by a Major Participant,” (given as the 92nd Sibley Lecture at the University of Georgia’s School of Law, Athens, Ga., 31 October 2000).

¹⁹Charlayne Hunter-Gault, foreword to *An Education in Georgia*, by Calvin Trillin (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1991), viii.

²⁰According to a legislative report, “This Committee has ... received complaints from students to the effect that many students have been requested and encouraged by photographers to pose in an attitude indicating violence purely for the sake of giving the photographers a sensational picture.” Report of the Special Committee appointed on the 12th day of January, 1961, by the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia to Find and Ascertain Facts Concerning the Happenings and Episodes Surrounding the Admission of Two Negro Students to the University of Georgia, Richard B. Russell to Roy R. Kelly. 13 February 1961. School Crisis — Georgia File, Civil Rights Series. Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library, 4; Trillin, *An Education in Georgia*, 59.

projected.”²¹ This quotation suggests that the press has the power to promote a social protest by telling of a protest event or events and that the press has the power to practically obliterate a social protest by simply overlooking an event or events. Similarly, in his book on mass media coverage of the New Left in the 1960s and early '70s, sociologist Todd Gitlin wrote of organized mass protests. He observes,

In the late twentieth century, political movements feel called upon to rely on large-scale communications in order to matter, to say who they are and what publics they want to sway. . . . The processed image then tends to become “the movement” for wider publics and institutions who have few alternative sources of information, or none at all, about it. . . . Mass media define the public significance of movement events or, by blanking them out, actively deprive them of larger significance.²²

Just as media researchers have stressed the value of media during critical periods in history, historians have peripherally addressed media coverage of protest events. In his historical biography of Martin Luther King Jr., David J. Garrow included quotations from people involved in the Civil Rights Movement that indicate they were aware of the impact the media had on their endeavors. Garrow quotes King: “Without the presence of the press, there might have been untold massacre in the South. The world seldom believes the horror stories of history until they have been documented via mass media.”²³ And he quotes Andrew Young:

In essence, . . . we were consciously using the mass media to try to get across to the nation what our message was. . . . The movement was really about getting publicity for injustice . . . the injustice was there under the surface and as long as it stayed below the surface, nobody was concerned about it. You had to bring it out in the open.²⁴

King, his colleagues, and other civil rights activists often used attention from the press to their advantage. Sometimes they relied on the outrageous actions of Southern segregationists to bring reporters to cover

²¹ Douglas M. McLeod and James K. Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role in the Regulation of Protest Groups,” in *Mass Media, Social Control & Social Change: A Macrosocial Perspective*, eds. David Demers and K. Viswanath (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1999), 310. Quote from Lipsky cited from “Protest as a political resource,” *American Political Science Review*, 62 (1968): 1151.

²² Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 3.

²³ David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross, : Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), 172.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 264.

the story. Sometimes, they planned large marches or boycotts that attracted media attention.²⁵ And other times, the actions of white volunteer activists from up North made civil rights stories front-page news.²⁶

In the case of UGA's desegregation, the outrage of many Southerners, the prominent status of the University itself, the threat that state funds would be suspended and the school closed, and, of course, the riot brought large numbers of reporters and photographers to cover the story.

Purpose of this Study

Before the push for civil rights in the United States in the 1950s and '60s, Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist and social scientist who studied America's race problem, predicted,

Many human relations will be readjusted in the present world revolution, and among them race relations are bound to change considerably. As always in a revolutionary situation when society's moorings are temporarily loosened, there is, on the one hand, an opportunity to direct the changes into organized reforms and, on the other hand, a corresponding risk involved in letting the changes remain uncontrolled and lead into disorganization.²⁷

As social changes regarding desegregation became imminent in Georgia, politicians, protest groups, and representatives of media had prominent roles in shaping the changes and the perceptions of those changes.

The desegregation of the University of Georgia provides a scenario through which to examine how local media in one area portrayed a desegregation protest in the early 1960s. This desegregation event is especially important in the U.S. civil rights story because it was ultimately resolved with little violence. This study *is* about the coverage of rioting and protests of the desegregation, but the fact remains that the events of UGA's desegregation involved little violence compared to other school desegregations. For example, two people were killed and 166 injured during the desegregation riots when

²⁵ For examples, see Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*. On pages 278-288, he discusses The March on Washington. He also gives an example of segregationists' actions drawing media attention with a story of police brutality against black teenagers involved in a march for freedom, 248-250.

²⁶ John R. Rachal, "We'll Never Turn Back: Adult Education and the Struggle for Citizenship in Mississippi's Freedom Summer," *American Educational Research Journal* 35, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 167-198.

²⁷ Excerpts of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* appear in *Brown v. Board of Education: A Brief History with Documents* by Waldo E. Martin (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998), 108.

James Meredith entered the University of Mississippi in Oxford, Mississippi, in 1962.²⁸ Also, Hunter and Holmes were ultimately admitted to the University of Georgia. Many school desegregation stories, such as Autherine Lucy's attempt to attend the University of Alabama in 1956, end with the school suspending the black student on fabricated charges.²⁹

As McQuail says, "The influence of mass media on long-term change can never be measured, because the processes at work are interactive and often open-ended. But much can be learned about the way media become involved in social and cultural events and changes."³⁰ Specifically, this study will analyze the use of frames in news stories covering the desegregation at UGA. Frames are the structure through which journalists organize their stories. This study is a content analysis of six Georgia newspapers to determine what frames (or story types) were used in covering social protest at UGA during January 1961. As a foundation for the study, I use story frames identified and described by McLeod and Hertog in their study of anarchist protests in Minneapolis.³¹

Frames help journalist decide what to include, what to exclude, who quote and how to provide context for stories. Frames have the potential to affect readers' understanding; therefore, they should come under scrutiny. Focusing on the story of UGA's desegregation and how it was framed allows for concrete discussion of theorized media effects or influence. Identifying how articles about social disorder are framed may be a first step toward understanding the media's role during periods of social change, particularly in scenarios that spark social protest.

²⁸ "The U.S. Marshals and the Integration of the University of Mississippi" on the U.S. Marshals' web site; available from <http://www.usmarshals.gov/history/miss/05.htm>; accessed 16 July 2005.

²⁹ Lucy was expelled from the University of Alabama after her lawyers criticized the school for suspending her "for her own safety" during a riot. Her lawyers accused school officials of intentionally creating a dangerous climate to give them a reason to suspend her. Hunter-Gault, *In My Place*, 190; Pratt, preface to *We Shall Not Be Moved*, xii.

³⁰ McQuail, 35.

³¹ Douglas M. McLeod and James K. Hertog, "Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media's Role in the Regulation of Protest Groups," 305 – 330.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL RATIONALE

Review of the Literature

Most accounts of the desegregation at the University of Georgia discuss media coverage. In her autobiographical book, *In My Place*, Charlayne Hunter-Gault makes many references to the presence of reporters at UGA. She begins the chapter “UGA: The Beginning” with her arrival at the Atlanta airport from Wayne State University where she had attended her first year and a half of college:

I arrived at the Atlanta airport ... and was greeted by a lively throng: [family]; Attorney Hollowell...; lots of reporters and photographers....All over the airport, I could see people reading newspapers that carried headlines about the decision and its immediate aftermath...¹

And later, as she prepared to graduate, she says she had realized, “Journalism might be as exciting, as mysterious, and as much fun as it was in the comics,” (in reference to her youthful admiration of Brenda Starr) “but it also had the awesome power to help change things.”²

Calvin Trillin, who had covered the desegregation for *Time* magazine, returned to Athens to discover the end of the story and wrote *An Education in Georgia: Charlayne Hunter, Hamilton Holmes, and the Integration of the University of Georgia*³ in 1963, about the time Holmes and Hunter graduated from the University. His book details the legal battles of school desegregation in general and *Holmes v. Danner*, in particular, and he covers the difficulties of desegregation at UGA. Trillin interviewed school officials, Holmes and Hunter, their families, and students, including several other black students who attended the University of Georgia by 1963. Many of the people he interviewed remembered the presence of reporters and photographers. Trillin stresses the continuous presence of the media and he relates stories of unethical behavior by a few radio and television reporters and cameramen. At one point, Trillin touches

¹ Charlayne Hunter-Gault, *In My Place* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 169.

² *Ibid.*, 240.

on the aftermath of the riot, criticizing the university administration for blaming the press, which he said was “the group that had appeared most interested in preventing the riot.”⁴

Some 30 years after the desegregation, Robert Cohen took a closer look at the historical moment. “Print, radio and television journalists besieged the Athens campus to see how students would react to the integration of their university,”⁵ Cohen says at the beginning of his article “‘Two, Four, Six, Eight, We Don’t Want to Integrate’: White Student Attitudes Toward the University of Georgia’s Desegregation.” A professor of social science education and history at UGA when he wrote the article, Cohen based his analysis of student attitudes on 35 essays written by students several days after the riot. Cohen repeatedly refers to media coverage of the integration, suggesting that the media played a large role in the desegregation. He quotes Professor Thomas Brahana, for whom these essays were written, about the students’ attention to media: “They would get dates to watch media coverage of the events.”⁶ Further, Cohen indicates that the press was far-reaching: “Also shattered was UGA’s reputation, since the riot was front-page and prime time news. The national media denounced the student rioters as bullies, racists, and ignoramuses.”⁷ And, in a footnote to his comment that some photos, comments and political cartoons in national media, which portrayed UGA students as “brick-throwing bullies and rednecks,” had “yielded genuine embarrassment,” Cohen says, “UGA students were probably influenced as much by the Georgia press criticism of the riot as they were by the blasts from the national media.”⁸ Cohen also demonstrates that some columnists adopted the role of a moral voice during the desegregation. For example, he discusses a writer for *The Atlanta Constitution*:

³ Calvin Trillin, *An Education in Georgia* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1963; reprint, 1991).

⁴ Ibid., 59.

⁵ Robert Cohen, “‘Two, Four, Six, Eight, We Don’t Want to Integrate: White Student Attitudes Toward the University of Georgia’s Desegregation.” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LXXX, (Fall 1996): 616.

⁶ Ibid., 640.

⁷ Ibid., 618-619.

⁸ Ibid., 640.

In February 1961, [Bruce] Galphin took the UGA faculty to task for its failure to challenge the white supremacist notions that their students brought with them to college. . . . [H]e . . . thought that if the faculty had been more forthright in its teaching about race, the riot might have been averted.⁹

Cohen also wrote “G-Men in Georgia: The FBI and the Segregationist Riot at the University of Georgia, 1961,” an article about the FBI investigation of the UGA riot in which he alluded to the

enormous embarrassment and humiliation that the riot caused for Georgia students, alumni, and local officials. The riot was front-page news from coast to coast, and it was covered extensively on network news. Political cartoonists, newspaper editorial writers, TV and radio news commentators denounced the incident and depicted the riotous students as uncouth racist bullies.¹⁰

In this article, Cohen assesses the riot in Athens and the resulting actions by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He describes an incident in which a CBS news cameraman missed a student demonstration and had students re-enact the scene for his camera, and he said, “inappropriate media behavior before the riot allowed white Georgians to imagine that the riot itself was largely the figment of the news media’s imaginations.”¹¹

Thomas Dyer’s *The University of Georgia, A Bicentennial History, 1785-1985*¹² includes “Desegregation,” a chapter that explains the legal history of attempts to desegregate schools, including Horace Ward’s failed attempt to desegregate the University of Georgia’s Law School, as well as the progression of the Civil Rights Movement in Atlanta. Dyer illustrates the difficulty Hunter and Holmes had gaining admittance to the University. He describes delay tactics employed by University officials and laws that legislators proposed to make it indirectly more difficult for blacks to apply to white colleges. The chapter also covers the various public responses to the desegregation, including the riot, and a brief description of the ensuing chain of events. The article briefly mentions that the *Atlanta Constitution* and

⁹ Ibid., 632.

¹⁰ Robert Cohen, “G-Men in Georgia: The FBI and the Segregationist Riot at the University of Georgia, 1961,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LXXXIII (Fall 1999): 523.

¹¹ Ibid., 531.

¹² Thomas G. Dyer, *The University of Georgia, A Bicentennial History, 1785-1985*. (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1985).

the campus newspaper urged that the university be kept open and urged students to refrain from violence.¹³

Robert Pratt's *We Shall Not Be Moved: The Desegregation of the University of Georgia*¹⁴ is a review of Horace Ward, Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes' attempts to enter the University of Georgia. A historical account, *We Shall Not Be Moved* synthesizes information from previous accounts (the same books and articles reviewed in this chapter) and incorporates additional information from newspaper articles, archived letters and interviews. The book begins with Ward's unsuccessful attempts to desegregate UGA's Law School and recounts Hunter and Holmes' success desegregating the university, occasionally putting the story in the context of the larger civil rights movement in Georgia and the South. Pratt does include mention of media coverage at the time. For example, he quotes from news articles in UGA's campus paper that favored Ward's desegregation suit — and the resulting censorship by university officials.¹⁵ He discusses Georgia Board of Regent member and segregationist Roy Harris criticizing those student articles through his own Augusta, Georgia, newspaper.¹⁶ He interviewed the news and program director for an Atlanta television station, who was at the scene of the riot and who revealed that the television station (and the governor's office) knew in advance that the riot was planned.¹⁷ Pratt also includes accounts by several people that claim the UGA riot on January 11 was much more serious than many people admitted at the time.¹⁸

Despite references to journalists and media coverage in accounts of the desegregation at the University of Georgia, there is no commentary on the extent of the coverage. None of these accounts analyzes how the press covered the conflict — analysis that is a step toward understanding how media fit in the process of sorting through such conflicts. Arguments for the potential of frames to influence

¹³ Ibid., 330-331.

¹⁴ Robert A. Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved: The Desegregation of the University of Georgia*. (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2002).

¹⁵ Ibid., 30-39.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 104.

¹⁸ Ibid., 103-105.

understanding — and therefore the outcome of social change — emphasize the need to understand frames used by news media.

Researchers have examined the role of media in other school desegregation conflicts and found that press coverage ranged from encouraging resistance to criticizing violence to supporting integrated schools. For example, *The Press and Race*, a collection of essays edited by David R. Davies includes an analysis of 19 Mississippi newspapers and how they handled three race crises, including the desegregation of the University of Mississippi, as well as essays about how editors dealt with racial issues in Mississippi between 1954 and 1965. In his introduction, Davies says,

A handful of Mississippi editors and newspapers defended blacks and challenged racial mores of Mississippi society in the 1950s and early 1960s, a time when extreme racism dominated the state. Others responded to the Second Reconstruction by redoubling their support of Mississippi's segregated society. Still others responded with a defense of black Americans' legal rights tempered with a defense of segregation.¹⁹

In discussing how newspapers in Mississippi functioned during the Civil Rights movement, several essays in the book explore newspapers' and editors' coverage of the desegregation of the University of Mississippi. In a situation similar to that at UGA, James Meredith entered the University of Mississippi with a federal court order while the governor of the state vowed to prevent integration of the school.²⁰ The essays demonstrate how differently the media can treat a subject: In the Jackson (Miss.) *Daily News*, Jimmy Ward ran a picture of a cross burning outside Meredith's soon-to-be apartment at the university with a caption that read "Greeting for Negro" and the paper's "articles and editorials argued . . . Mississippians stood prepared to fight to the death to defend segregation;"²¹ George A. McLean and the *Tupelo Journal* argued that "federal laws must be obeyed" and that schools should be kept open;²² and Ira

¹⁹ David R. Davies, ed., *The Press and Race*, (Jackson, Mississippi: The University of Mississippi Press, 2001), 3-4.

²⁰ Ibid., see the following essays in *The Press and Race*: David R. Davies and Judy Smith, "Jimmy Ward and the Jackson *Daily News*;" Caryl A. Cooper, "Percy Greene and the *Jackson Advocate*;" David L. Bennett, "Ira B. Harkey, Jr., and the *Pascagoula Chronicle*;" Lawrence N. Strout, "Wilson F. (Bill) Minor and the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*."

²¹ Davies and Smith, "Jimmy Ward and the Jackson *Daily News*," 93, 95.

²² Laura Nan Fairley, "George A. McLean and the *Tupelo Journal*," in *The Press and Race*, ed., David R. Davies, (Jackson, Mississippi: The University of Mississippi Press, 2001), 152.

B. Harkey of the *Pascagoula Chronicle* endured harassment, boycotts and threats when he published editorials critical of state officials and attempting to reason with readers to avoid violence and keep the university open. Harkey eventually turned the desegregation argument into a discussion of economics — arguing that industry needed black workers and that the university was important to the jobs in the state.²³ Caryl A. Cooper's criticizes Percy Greene, "editor of the *Jackson Advocate*, Mississippi's leading black newspaper" at the time, for not criticizing the whites who had participated in the University of Mississippi desegregation riots.²⁴ These essays demonstrate wide-ranging responses to a desegregation crisis and imply a variety of interpretations on the responsibility of the press in such situations.

Another desegregation story has a prominent focus on media attention. Melba Pattillo Beals, one of the Little Rock nine, wrote *Warriors Don't Cry: A Searing Memoir of the Battle to Integrate Little Rock's Central High School*. Beals tells her story from excerpts in her diary and from memory, with the help of headlines from the *Arkansas Gazette* and the *Arkansas Democrat*, from which she clipped news stories at the time of the integration in 1957. In addition to her extensive use of headlines to give a feel for the time, Beals, who later became a journalist, mentions the importance of the role the press played in the integration of Central High School: "If reporters hadn't been covering our story, we might have been hanged."²⁵ She also relates a story where her mother, Lois Pattillo, was faced with losing her job as a teacher, unless she withdrew Melba from the high school. Lois went to local reporters and one published the story; her teaching contract was subsequently renewed. Beals' recount of the story implies that the press played a hand in justice.²⁶ Beals also suggests that the press gave her a better understanding of what she had faced: "The paper was filled with pictures of the crowd and the police trying to control it. Only by looking at those pictures did I begin to understand the real danger of that mob."²⁷ Beals also mentions another aspect of the media: advertising. She relates that a white man took out an ad with a picture of the

²³ Bennett, "Ira B. Harkey, Jr., and the *Pascagoula Chronicle*," 191 – 194.

²⁴ Cooper, "Percy Greene and the *Jackson Advocate*," 55, 73.

²⁵ Melba Pattillo Beals, *Warriors Don't Cry: A Searing Memoir of the Battle to Integrate Little Rock's Central High*. (New York, New York: Washington Square Press, 1994).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 286-294.

mob harassing one of the black girls attempting to enter the school. The ad read, “If you live in Arkansas, study this picture and know shame. When hate is unleashed and bigotry finds a voice, God help us all.”²⁸ This ad contrasts with the story of Daisy Bates, Arkansas state president of the NAACP and owner of the *Arkansas State Press* (which Beals called “the sole voice for our community”). Bates faced advertising boycotts as local business leaders attempted to control her editorial and reduce support for the integration of the school.²⁹ According to Beals, reporters had difficulty covering the integration. For example, on the first day that the black students entered the school, three black reporters were badly beaten and then the crowd turned on white reporters and out-of-towners.³⁰ Throughout her book, Beals comes back to the press, to the TV reports and radio reports; she talks about the constant presence of reporters. Everything about her story indicates that the press plays a huge role in conflict situations. She ends her story,

I always remembered it was the truth told by those reporters who came to Little Rock that kept me alive. Later as an NBC television reporter, covering stories of riot and protest, I would take special care to look into those unexposed corners where otherwise invisible people are forced to hide as their truth is ignored.³¹

This literature shows that coverage of civil rights protests was wide-ranging and it suggests that coverage of protests is situational and should be studied in community contexts. Several accounts suggest that media coverage prevented violence from escalating further. This study begins to look at how media covered the UGA desegregation protests in an attempt to identify qualities that might have affected the protests. Several accounts indicate that local media attempted to prevent violence in Athens. This study looks at media coverage in a way that should identify some characteristics of reporting that may affect protest outcomes. One account indicates that the press was critical of the UGA protests and they suggest that the coverage embarrassed Georgians. This study begins to look at how media coverage might have embarrassed those connected with the university or the state of Georgia in order to identify circumstances that might lead to some form of social control.

²⁷ Ibid., 121.

²⁸ Ibid., 83.

²⁹ Ibid., 34, 191, and 297.

³⁰ Ibid., 120.

Two recent books have looked at how mass media intersect with protest groups. In *Race, Media and the Crisis of Civil Society: From Watts to Rodney King*, Ronald Jacobs looked at how black and white media covered race riots in Los Angeles. Jacobs argues that the black press plays an important role in introducing the black voices to the public sphere and re-narrating events that may be misinterpreted or overlooked by the mainstream media. For example, he says the *Los Angeles Sentinel* and the *Chicago Defender*, both black papers, “attempted to re-frame the plot of insane rioters [used in the mainstream media], and to emphasize that the urban revolt [in 1965] had been caused by the failure of mainstream society to listen to African-American leaders.”³² He also notes that the black press is not always sympathetic to the actions of protesters/rioters, even when these newspapers agree with and strive to clearly define the intentions of the rioters.³³

In another recent study of protest, *Dissent Events: Protest, the Media and the Political Gimmick in Australia*, Sean Scalmer researched organized protest groups in Australia, focusing especially on the student movements of the 1960s and 1970s. His study is mainly concerned with the evolution of protests and protesters — from how the U.S. student protests were translated and adapted by Australian students to criticism that “[d]emonstrations were becoming an end in themselves, a ‘fetish.’”³⁴ Much of the book is a discussion of how protest groups gained attention for their causes — and sometimes lost their messages when the media focused on their actions. In a chapter devoted to media coverage of protests, use of the media by protesters and criticism of the media during times of social conflict, Scalmer examines the “dilemmas of the activist”³⁵:

While the size of political demonstrations is a good general guide to the likelihood of media coverage, it is no guarantee of sensitive news reporting or incipient political victory. The same complaints are consistently heard from concerned citizens who get involved in large-scale political campaigns: the media has ignored us; the aims of the demonstration have not been granted attention; the supporters

³¹ Ibid., 311.

³² Ronald Jacobs, *Race, Media and the Crisis of Civil Society: From Watts to Rodney King* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 65-66.

³³ Ibid., 56, 119-120.

³⁴ Sean Scalmer, *Dissent Events: Protest, the Media and the Political Gimmick in Australia* (Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press Ltd., 2002), 109.

³⁵ Ibid., 149.

who have gathered together have been depicted as an unintelligent mob; the arguments of the movement have not been granted a fair hearing. The peaceful spectacle is no solution to the dilemmas of the activist. If size matters, it is not enough.³⁶

[T]hose performing moderate and sanctioned forms of contention are unlikely to attain 'newsworthiness,' or to gain widespread political attention. Their performances are likely to be ineffectual. But if those performances contain the disruption or novelty to become newsworthy for the leading outlets of the commercial media, they are also likely to draw condemnation rather than approbation. The actions of protesters, rather than their fervently held claims, will become the key public issue.³⁷

Race, the Media and the Crisis of Civil Society and *Dissent Events* provide examples of negative media coverage of protests. Both Jacobs and Scalmer focus on media as potential agents of social change. However, social science and communication research have implicated mass media as both agents of change and agents of social control.

Theory

The power of the press works in more than one direction. Most obviously, mass media are agents of social change and can introduce new ideas and provide a forum for public discussion. But, more commonly, the media create consensus and process ideas in terms of the dominant ideologies.

McQuail sees media influences as unintentional, saying, ". . . most media most of the time do not see it as their task to promote fundamental change in the social system."³⁸ He also says, however, "They [the media] probably do stimulate much activity, agitation and anxiety which disturb the existing order, within the limits of systems which have some capacity for generating change."³⁹ McLeod and Hertog argue that media coverage influences social conditions, whether for or against change. "Media coverage of social protest conflicts plays a role in defining which groups, voices and viewpoints are considered legitimate and which are not."⁴⁰ McLeod and Hertog explain that the media often criticize protest groups for challenging "the social system," concluding, "The media are supposed to play a role as a change

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., 140.

³⁸ McQuail, 370.

³⁹ Ibid.

agent. Unfortunately . . . the media all too often end up protecting the status quo.”⁴¹ Susan Strohm, who also discusses unorganized protest in “The Black Press and the Black Community: The *Los Angeles Sentinels*’s Coverage of the Watts Riots,” suggests, more moderately, that the media try to explain events that happen; separate from encouraging or criticizing, the media create an understanding:

When riots and other unorganized conflicts burst upon the scene, government officials, organized conflict groups, and media are left with the task of ‘making sense’ of the unexpected events.

As with organized conflicts, media coverage patterns — including language and images used to describe conflicts, sources used to interpret conflicts, and media editorializing about conflicts — may shape the ‘sense’ made of the events. Selection of sources, for example, is a gatekeeping process that determines ‘who speaks’ through the columns of the newspaper.⁴²

The ‘sense’ Strohm refers to in her article is a socially constructed reality. Mary Mander explains in the introduction to *Framing Friction: Media and Social Conflict*, “Social conflicts are often inaccessible to us except in narrative and/or expository form,”⁴³ and later Strohm, in Mander’s book, points out that even people involved in unorganized protest can hardly comprehend the big picture.⁴⁴ Only when situations are reduced to words — organized and edited, chronological and logical — can people begin to understand.

Journalists organize and edit stories with the use of frames. Hertog and McLeod define framing as the “[a]pplication of a ‘narrative structure’ that journalists use to assemble facts, quotes, assertions and other information into a new story.”⁴⁵ Frames simplify the process of journalism. They speak of tacit agreement between writer and reader; the writer knows what is expected and the reader knows what to expect. But, the writer has the upper hand, the power to edit or to omit, the opportunity to neglect sources, to cheer, or to discourage, if so desired. News articles often have components similar to stories: main and secondary characters, settings, and plots. And reporters are the authors to some extent — they select which quotes to use in their stories, they define context, they choose sources to interview, and they define

⁴⁰ McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 309.

⁴¹ Ibid., 309, 326.

⁴² Susan Strohm, “The Black Press and the Black Community: The Los Angeles Sentinels’ Coverage of the Watts Riots,” in *Framing Friction: Media and Social Conflict*, ed., Mary S. Mander, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 60.

⁴³ Mary S. Mander, ed., *Framing Friction: Media and Social Conflict* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 3.

⁴⁴ Strohm, 65.

relevance. News reporters are authors writing the “reality” that not only comes to be the written record of history but is also the contact that the average person has with social change.

“Media frames are principles of selection — codes of emphasis, interpretation, and presentation. Media producers often use them to organize media output and discourses. . . .”⁴⁶ Frames are necessary to communication as rules that govern social interaction, but as other researchers have discovered, frames that tell one side of a story can diminish the other side. Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien suggest that social power and community structure affect the coverage of community events in newspapers. They explain,

. . . the [community] newspaper reflects the concerns of the dominant power groupings. The term reflects is appropriate in the sense that it is neither a total nor an undistorted reproduction of current events and institutions. Newspapers reflect selectively, in ways determined not by editorial idiosyncrasy but by the structure and distribution of social power in the community.⁴⁷

Todd Gitlin says that media routines determine frames.⁴⁸ Gitlin studied media coverage of the Students for a Democratic Society and how the New Left as a social movement in the 1960s and early '70s adapted in the effort to use media coverage. Gitlin writes, “The standard journalistic frames persist in marginalizing the most radical aspects of movements and setting them against the more moderate.”⁴⁹ While discussing throughout his book that conflict draws media attention, Gitlin points out “the frames remain powerful, processing opposition into hegemonic order”⁵⁰ and he gives examples of how messages are “discounted, trivialized, fragmented, [and] rendered incoherent.”⁵¹ Gitlin asserts that media processes stress conflict;⁵² he also observes, “A demonstration is treated as a potential or actual disruption of legitimate order, not as a statement about the world.”⁵³ In speaking of the hegemony resulting from journalistic processes, Gitlin outlines several assumptions about news value: “that news involves the

⁴⁵ McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 312.

⁴⁶ Tim O’Sullivan, John Hartley, Danny Saunders, Martin Montgomery, and John Fiske, *Key Concepts in Communications and Cultural Studies*, 2d ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), 122.

⁴⁷ Phillip J. Tichenor, George A. Donohue, and Clarice N. Olien, *Community Conflict and the Press*, (London: Sage Publications, 1980), 219-220.

⁴⁸ Gitlin, 122-123.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 286.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 287.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., 227.

novel event, not the underlying, enduring condition; the person, not the group; the visible conflict, not the deep consensus; the fact that ‘advances the story,’ not the one that explains or enlarges it.”⁵⁴

Studies in the last few years have shown that, contrary to the belief that the press creates situations of change, the press creates stability. Some researchers, like Gertrude Robinson, even believe that stability is the primary function of media. Robinson argued for the value of consensus in her article on framing television news stories, “Making News and Manufacturing Consent: The Journalistic Narrative and Its Audience”:

The media’s most important role is to make the consensus view of society visible as a feature of everyday life and to convince viewers that as citizens they are part of a ‘public’ that shares a common stock of knowledge. . . . The ideological labor of public opinion creation is thus reflexive. It helps both to constitute the notion of ‘society’ as an ordered public stage on which legitimate teams of protagonists and antagonists play out their political roles, and it demonstrates this order symbolically to its audience through structure of the news narrative.⁵⁵

Other researchers, who do not argue that this consensus-creating, stabilizing function of the media is ideal, do, nonetheless, suggest that the media have this effect on society. In *Community Conflict and the Press*, Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien invoke framing to explain media effects:

One of the newspaper’s primary functions is social control, which it performs through persistently drawing attention to the oughts and naughts that generally prevail as a condition of the existing systems. The newspaper performs these functions not by outright moralizing, although that may occur, but through a pattern of news selection in topic and source that often reinforces values by implication.⁵⁶

McLeod and Hertog argue that most frames through which journalists report on social conditions support the status quo and refrain from asking readers to analyze the situations which are reported. Far from encouraging this support of the status quo, McLeod and Hertog advocate what they call a ‘balanced frame’ as the ideal story for reporting news. Using the essential idea of a debate held through the media, they say, in this structure for media debate, “Every effort is made to focus on the issues and represent all

⁵³ Ibid., 271.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 263.

⁵⁵ Gertrude J. Robinson, “Making News and Manufacturing Consent: The Journalistic Narrative and Its Audience,” in *Public Opinion and the Communication of Consent*, eds., Theodore L. Glasser and Charles T. Salmon, (New York: The Guilford Press, 1995) 349.

⁵⁶ Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien, *Community Conflict*, 18-19.

sides adequately and fairly.”⁵⁷ The balanced frame encourages critical thinking from the readers, rather than encouraging change or endorsing stability.

McLeod and Hertog studied media coverage of anarchist protests in an attempt to “examine the role of mass media in the social regulation of protest groups that seek change.”⁵⁸ In their research, they identified four categories of story frames used to report on social protests. These categories describe frames that marginalize protesters and their causes; frames that are sympathetic to protesters and their messages; frames that are mixed — somewhere between marginalizing and sympathetic; and frames that are balanced — giving equal and respectful coverage to all sides of an *issue* (“issue” as opposed to “event”). McLeod and Hertog base their categorization of frames on a study of media coverage of anarchist protests. They found that marginalizing frames were most commonly used in the mainstream media to report on the anarchist protests, and sympathetic frames were limited generally to alternative press, while balanced and mixed frames were infrequently used.

By and large, media scholars believe that newspapers serve some form of social control, whether intentionally or not. McLeod and Hertog view social control as “communicative actions, intentional or unintentional, that comment in some way on the appropriateness or value of the behaviors . . . of some group or individual. Such normative commentary reinforces conformity and punishes deviance to the norms of some group or society as a whole.”⁵⁹ Tichenor, Donohue and Olien assert, “Many believe newspapers and other media can reinforce if not mold basic values and patterns of behavior.”⁶⁰ They also refer to a study by B.E. Kears, which found that the process of reporting on conflict in the community press involves “attempts to channel conflict so that it will be less disruptive of the existing system.”⁶¹ Furthering this train of thought, Tichenor, Donohue and Olien identify “feedback control” as a process

⁵⁷Ibid., 313.

⁵⁸ McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 305.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 308.

⁶⁰ Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien, *Community Conflict*, 77.

⁶¹ Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien, *Community Conflict*, 84. Reference: Kears, B.E. (1951) “Content of Wisconsin newspapers during selected election periods.” Ph.D. dissertation. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

through which “newspapers may fulfill community maintenance functions.” “Feedback control” is the process of “reporting on divisions in society. . . . By focusing attention [on the divisions], that is, setting agendas for public discussion on social issues, the media are serving a feedback or regulatory function in the system sense of the term.”⁶²

McQuail defines social control as “systematic tendencies to promote conformity to an established order or pattern of behaviour. The main effect is to support the legitimacy of existing authority, by way of ideology and the ‘consciousness industry’”⁶³ And later, he says, “One commonly held view is that the media act non-purposively to support the values dominant in a community or nation, through a mixture of personal and institutional choice, external pressure and anticipation of what a large and heterogeneous audience expects and wants. A stronger and more critical version of this position sees the media as essentially conservative because of a combination of market forces, operational requirements and established work practices.”⁶⁴

In their introduction to *Mass Media, Social Control and Social Change: A Macrosocial Perspective*, editors David Demers and K. Viswanath assert, “Mass media are agents of both control and change, and usually these two processes go hand in hand (i.e., change with control).”⁶⁵ They add, “The synthesized [social control-social change] model has major implications for social research: It redirects scientific inquiry away from the question of whether the media are agents of control or change to the question of identifying the conditions or circumstances that lead media to initiate or promote — or fail to initiate or promote — social change or social control. From a public policy perspective, the goal then becomes one of determining how to actively destroy, construct or recreate social structures that lead to the production of media content which help to reduce if not eliminate social problems and social injustice.”⁶⁶

⁶² Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien, *Community Conflict*, 85.

⁶³ McQuail, 337.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 366.

⁶⁵ Demers and Viswanath, 5.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

Contemporary mass communication research provides a consensus that mass media demonstrate some form of social control, whether intentionally or unintentionally. Researchers disagree about the factors that provide for the content that produces social control: Some say media routines generate less involved editorial that results in the lack of the thought-provoking “balanced” frame. Some say a reliance on official sources results in the support of institutions over social protesters. Some say that wealthy owners of media outlets determine the conservative coverage. Researchers also disagree about the social change factor of the media: Some say newspapers play a role in effecting social change, although there is a tendency toward crediting accumulated effects over time with social change rather than immediate social change. On the other hand, some say the media protect the status quo, supporting established institutions. Theoretically, newspapers have the power to do either. Research has become focused on what is practiced, why and whether it is intentional.

While McLeod and Hertog do acknowledge that some protest groups “seek to maintain the status quo,”⁶⁷ their research focuses on protesters attempting to effect social change. But what happens when the protesters are trying to protect the status quo? At the University of Georgia, protesting students were against desegregation at the university — a sentiment reportedly shared by the majority of white Georgians at the time. How were news story frames used in coverage of protesters seeking to maintain the status quo at the University of Georgia?

⁶⁷ McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 310. “Some groups seek to maintain the status quo. Some groups seek small policy changes or general reforms. Other groups seek more radical social change. In general, the greater the degree of extremism of a protest group’s ideological goals, the more likely its members are to incur the brunt of social control messages.”

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This study is a content analysis that looks at the use of protest frames in 106 articles about the desegregation protests at the University of Georgia. I base my analysis on pre-determined definitions of story frames, which were identified by McLeod and Hertog in their study of media coverage of anarchist protests.

Sources

I chose to limit the scope of the study to Georgia newspapers because these were the papers that had the most coverage. I chose the two largest Atlanta newspapers, the *Atlanta Journal* and *The Atlanta Constitution*, to represent “the white press.” I wanted to balance that with two publications for and by blacks in Georgia. As there were no black publications in Athens, I chose the *Atlanta Inquirer* to represent the view of young blacks in Georgia and the *Atlanta Daily World* as a larger, more established black publication. For news closer to Athens, I found there was one Athens paper, the *Athens Banner-Herald* and the campus paper, *The Red and Black*.¹

The Red and Black regularly distributed papers on Thursdays; during the ‘school crisis,’ as it was often called, the campus paper printed three special issues to cover the integration.² The special issues deal almost solely with the desegregation; in all, *The Red and Black* ran 22 stories on the desegregation. *The Red and Black* was not an independent paper at this time, and it is possible that university advisors

¹ *The Red and Black*, the *Athens Banner-Herald*, the *Atlanta Journal*, *The Atlanta Constitution* and the *Atlanta Inquirer* are on microfilm in the UGA library. The *Atlanta Daily World* can be accessed through UGA’s interlibrary loan program.

² Articles from three extra issues (January 9, 10, and 11) were on the microfilm containing the January 1961 issues of *The Red & Black*. If more than three issues were printed, I have not found record of them, but not all of the January 11, 1961, issue was recorded on the film.

censored the articles.³ However, it is likely that student reporters would have had better access to places and people than other reporters would have had, and so the articles in *The Red and Black* is important to this study.

The Athens Banner-Herald was a daily paper. Desegregation articles from the *Banner-Herald* number 76; some of these were written by UGA students and some were by Associated Press reporters. *The Atlanta Journal* and *The Atlanta Constitution* were also daily papers; they were owned by the same company in 1961 and they printed a combined Sunday edition each week.⁴ Both had extensive coverage of the desegregation, from events on the Athens campus to the legal concerns in Atlanta, as well as the judicial developments in Macon, Ga., and Washington, D.C. The two Atlanta papers are the newspapers that Hunter-Gault claims to have read while she was the center of their stories.⁵ *The Atlanta Journal* ran 114 articles concerning the desegregation at UGA, and *The Atlanta Constitution* ran 114; in their three combined Sunday editions with coverage on the desegregation, there were 24 articles that concerned desegregation developments. The published books and articles concerning the entrance of Hunter and Holmes to the University of Georgia (which are examined in the literature review section of Chapter 2) cite *The Athens Banner-Herald*, *The Atlanta Journal*, and *The Atlanta Constitution* as sources for timelines and descriptions of events, opinions held at the time, and legal proceedings.

Charlayne Hunter-Gault's book, *In My Place*, references the *Atlanta Inquirer*, which was a weekly publication that grew out of the Student Movement in Atlanta.⁶ Among its 13 articles covering the progress of integration at UGA is one written by Charlayne Hunter, herself. She was a staff writer for the

³ Several student editors were put in positions that resulted in their resignations after school officials objected to their support of Horace Ward's attempts to desegregate the UGA Law School in 1953. After the editors printed several editorials in support of desegregation, the school instituted a policy that mandated a faculty adviser approve all future editorials. See Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved*, 33-39. I do not know if this policy was still in effect in 1961.

⁴ James Cox, who bought the *Atlanta Journal* in 1939, purchased *The Atlanta Constitution* in 1950 and formed Atlanta Newspapers Inc. Source: "Our History" section of the *Atlanta-Journal Constitution* web site, available at <http://www.ajc.com/services/content/services/info/ajchistory.html>; Internet; accessed 25 June 2005.

⁵ Hunter-Gault, foreword to *An Education in Georgia*, ix.

⁶ Hunter-Gault, *In My Place*, 187.

Inquirer. The *Atlanta Daily World*, begun in 1928, became the nation's first successful black daily in 1932.⁷ The *Atlanta Daily World* was published six days a week in 1961. According to Hunter-Gault, the *Atlanta Inquirer* grew out of the Student Movement because the editor of the *Daily World* refused to cover some of the civil rights stories such as the student boycotts and lunch counter sit-ins. Also, Hunter-Gault reveals in her book that some of the *Daily World* reporters wrote for the *Inquirer* under pseudonyms because they were unhappy with the way the *Daily World* owner opposed aspects of the Student Movement.⁸ The differences in spirits of these two papers make it necessary to include both in the study. The *Daily World* ran 45 stories on the UGA desegregation.

Methodology

The scope of this project focuses on news coverage itself: how six Georgia newspapers explained and described the desegregation protests at the University of Georgia. This project will look at the content of these Georgia newspapers in terms of the frames used by reporters. Included in the analysis are articles that deal with protests against the desegregation of UGA, specifically the articles and editorials describing demonstrations and riots, texts of officials' statements regarding protests or protesters, interviews with protesters, and articles on university discipline or court trials against protesters.

When explaining events and issues, reporters use frames. Strohm argues that "media coverage patterns — including language and images used to describe conflicts, sources used to interpret conflicts, and media editorializing about conflicts — may shape the 'sense' made of the events;"⁹ Tichenor, Donohue and Olien argue that newspapers perform a social control function "through a pattern of news selection in topic and source that often reinforces values by implication;"¹⁰ McLeod and Hertog argue that

⁷ "About Us" section of the Atlanta Daily World web site, available at http://www.zwire.com/site/news.cfm?newsid=16075&BRD=1077&PAG=461&dept_id=237841&rft=6; accessed 17 July 2005. Also on the PBS web site, available at http://www.pbs.org/blackpress/news_bios/newbios/nwsppr/atlna/atlna.html; accessed 17 July 2005.

⁸ Hunter-Gault, *In My Place*, 218-219.

⁹ Strohm, 60.

¹⁰ Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien, *Community Conflict*, 19.

media coverage can legitimize and de-legitimize protest groups.¹¹ The topics themselves, the sources, and how the news is presented to readers shape the stories as much as the facts do.

The best way to understand the frames used to explain the desegregation at UGA is to analyze each paper at the individual story level. From there, the articles can be categorized and the coverage can be compared. Analyzing newspaper coverage in terms of frames is an attempt to understand which frames are presented to audiences, whether those frames were chosen by reporters — consciously or unconsciously — or suggested by sources. Again, “[m]edia frames are principles of selection — codes of emphasis, interpretation, and presentation. . . .” Whether deliberately or due to factors beyond their control, journalists make selections about what to include in their stories — whom to interview, whom to describe, and what context to provide, as well as what to leave out. As such, the selections journalists made to tell the story of the desegregation protests at the University of Georgia created frames of understanding for readers, or attempted to do so.

In their article “Social Control, Social Change, and the Mass Media’s Role in the Regulation of Protest Groups,” McLeod and Hertog identified four categories of frames used to report on protest groups: marginalizing frames, mixed frames, sympathetic frames, and balanced frames. The marginalizing frames ridicule or disparage the actions of protesters. The mixed frames “are less one-sided against the protesters.”¹² Sympathetic frames “are typically found only in the alternative press;”¹³ these stories tell protesters’ versions of the situations. And, finally, some stories are balanced, meaning all sides of an issue are discussed, with great lengths toward assuring fairness to all sides.

McLeod and Hertog identified various story types that fit these four categories of frames:

Marginalizing Frames

We have identified eight varieties of story types that tend to marginalize protesters. Perhaps the most common of these frames is the *violent crime story*, which organizes the story around violent acts committed by the protesters. The *property crime story* details the commission of property crimes such as vandalism, graffiti and other acts of civil disobedience. In the case of both of these crime frames, considerable attention is typically given to the efforts of the police to apprehend the perpetrator. The

¹¹ McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 305-329.

¹² Ibid., 313.

¹³ Ibid., 313.

carnival frame treats protesters as performers engaging in theatrical entertainment. The *freak show* emphasizes the graphic deviance and oddities of the protesters. The “*Romper Room*” frame portrays the protesters as immature deviants engaged in childish antics. The *riot* frame depicts protesters as purveyors of random acts of violence. The *storm watch* warns society about the possible threats posed by the protestors. The *moral decay* story frame holds up protesters as evidence of general social decay.

Mixed Frames

There are other frames that are less one-sided against the protesters; however, they are rarely used by mainstream media. The *showdown* frame is a confrontation between two or more groups without a designated “bad guy.” The *protest reaction* story frames the protest as a response to some previous event. The *dissection* story is an analysis of the components and practices of a protest group, social movement or subculture. The *psychoanalysis* story frame is an examination of the psychological or social roots of a group. The *association* frame delineates the linkages between the protest group and some other group that may bestow either legitimacy or deviance. The *comparison* frame contrasts a group with some other group to connote either legitimacy or deviance. The *trial* story frame focuses on court proceedings involving the protest group.

Sympathetic Frames

Another group of story frames treats protesters in a positive light. These frames are typically found only in the alternative press. The *creative expression* frame centers around aesthetic, artistic or emotionally expressive acts of a protest group. The *unjust persecution* frame chronicles infractions incurred by the protest group, such as civil rights violations or police brutality. *Our story* lets protesters give their viewpoints in their own words, such as a transcript of an interview. The *we are not alone* frame draws connections between protesters and other like-minded groups to show that the protest group in question is not an isolated phenomenon.

The Balanced Frame

Finally, the *debate* frame is coverage that centers on the issues and viewpoints of the various parties to an issue of public concern. Every effort is made to focus on the issues and represent all sides adequately and fairly.¹⁴

I restricted my analysis in the following ways:

- If the story was about the events of the desegregation (i.e, the registration process, judges’ rulings, etc.), but not about protests or protesters, I did not attempt to code it (or identify a frame within it), but I listed it in the appendices. The range of “protests” includes marches at the Capitol in Atlanta, chanting while Holmes and Hunter registered, and the campus riot.
- If only a part of the story was about the protests or protesters, I coded it based on that part of the story. There had to be at least two paragraphs about protests/protesters to code it. (I decided to limit the coding to items that had two paragraphs because it is difficult to interpret a frame in one paragraph.)
- If more than one protest frame was used, I coded the article based on the frame that was strongest. This was strictly an interpretation of which frame was given more emphasis, usually based on what frame was in headline and/or lead paragraph; I did not count the number of lines framed by each story type or quantify the frames in any way.

¹⁴ Ibid, 312-313.

- I did not code opinion polls as they do not have “frames.”
- I did not code cartoons or photos.
- I did not code reports of public opinion (i.e., lists of quotes from other newspapers, reports about TV news coverage), unless these reports were framed in a larger article. One problem that I ran into with these types of articles is that they were so fragmented that it was difficult to determine a frame. Another problem with these types of articles is that they were really focused more on media coverage than on the protests or protesters.
- I did not code stories that mentioned the protests incidentally (i.e., stories that focused on lack of police response if those stories only mention that the protests occurred). I only coded stories that described the protests, protesters and their feelings, or the consequences of the protests for the protesters (suspension, trials, etc.)
- I did code letters to the editor (that were more than two paragraphs).
- I did code editorials.

To ensure that my study and these protest frame definitions would be easily understood by people reading this study and by anyone wanting to duplicate the study, I worked with another coder to test the definitions of McLeod and Hertog’s story types. She and I each read 32 stories and identified the protest frames used in them. We compared the protest frames we had identified in each the stories. Overall, we had 78 percent agreement, but we agreed that 19 of the 32 desegregation stories had no protest frame. Of the 13 that either or both of us coded, we only agreed on 5 of the frames, an agreement of 38.5 percent. So I refined the definitions to this specific study¹⁵:

- I eliminated the *violent crime story* and the *property crime story* because there is too much overlap with the *riot* frame (see below). There is too much room for interpretation in deciding which acts were “random,” and there is too much room for interpretation in deciding whether “considerable” attention is given to efforts of the police to apprehend the perpetrators. In the interests of creating mutually exclusive frames, I combined these three frames under the *riot* frame definition. I chose to keep the *riot* frame and not the other two because we had coded more articles with the *riot* frame and because few stories covered attempts by the police to apprehend protesters.
- *Carnival frame*: Treats protesters as *performers* engaging in theatrical entertainment. (The carnival frame does *not* apply if protesters are treated like the *crowd* at an entertainment venue.)

¹⁵ We naturally did not spend a lot of time discussing frames that we had not disagreed about, so frames that neither of us saw in the articles are not described beyond McLeod and Hertog’s definitions. I marked the frames that we did identify in stories with *.

- *Freak show*: Emphasizes the graphic deviance and oddities of the protesters. Focuses on unusual appearance of protesters.
- “*Romper Room*” frame*: Portrays the protesters as immature deviants engaged in childish antics. This frame generally implies the protesters and their actions are ridiculous.
- *Riot**: Depicts protesters as purveyors of random acts of violence and property crime (i.e., throwing rocks). Use of the term “school crisis” in an article does not necessarily refer to protest of any sort; usually “school crisis” refers to the desegregation in general.
- *Storm watch**: Warns society about the possible threats posed by the protestors. Can describe behavior that might be implied to lead to violence/problems. Or can observe, “There is no violence, yet.”
- *Moral decay* story*: Holds up protesters as evidence of general social decay.
- *Showdown* frame*: A confrontation between two or more groups without a designated “bad guy.”
- *Protest reaction**: Frames the protest as a response to some previous event. The article must name a specific event; “desegregation” in general is not an event.
- *Dissection* story: An analysis of the components and practices of a protest group, social movement or subculture.
- *Psychoanalysis* story: An in-depth examination of the psychological or social roots of a group.
- *Association**: Frame delineates the *linkages* between the protest group and some other group that may bestow either legitimacy or deviance. This does not have to be an organized group. Stories can link very general portions of the population.
- *Comparison**: Frame *contrasts* a group with some other group to connote either legitimacy or deviance. This does not have to be an organized group. Stories can illustrate differences in very general portions of the population (i.e., those that abide by the law and those that do not). This can be as general as an “us” against “them” argument.
- *Trial* story*: Frame focuses on court proceedings involving the protest group. This also includes investigations that imply the purpose of the investigation is to determine whether to press charges and this includes stories about university discipline. Trial stories include only those trials that are about the protesters, including students and adults. Trial stories do not include an trials involving Hunter and Holmes’ admissions lawsuit.
- *Creative expression*: Centers around aesthetic, artistic or emotionally expressive acts of a protest group.
- *Unjust persecution**: Chronicles infractions incurred by the protest group. This includes punishment that is deemed unfair in the article, including school suspensions.
- *Our story**: Lets protesters give their viewpoints in their own words, such as a transcript of an interview.

- *We are not alone*: Frame draws connections between protesters and other like-minded groups to show that the protest group in question is not an isolated phenomenon. Must be from the protesters' point of view.
- *Debate*: Coverage that centers on the issues and viewpoints of the various parties to an issue of public concern. Every effort is made to focus on the issues and represent all sides adequately and fairly.

This other coder and I coded another 13 stories.¹⁶ When we compared the protest frames we had identified in the stories, we had 73 percent agreement. We agreed on 9.5¹⁷ codes of 13 coded stories. When testing these definitions, I chose news from different papers at random. I tried to pull from middle dates in the paper to ensure I would get a date with more than one story to code. I gave my colleague several days' worth of news from each of the newspapers. We coded several days' worth of news, and then compared our results. In the interests of saving time, after the first test, where we agreed on what stories to code, I marked the stories she should code and we did not test again to see if we agreed what stories should be coded as some type of protest stories. For the three stories that we coded differently, they each had more than one frame and we could each see the other's argument for a certain frame but disagreed about the emphasis because the stories did not have clues in the headlines or leads.¹⁸

Because I was the only person coding for the actual study, I also tested for intracoder reliability on the same 13 articles and I had 100 percent agreement after a period of six months between the first and second codings. Even while I could see another coder's reason for choosing a different frame, I was consistent in my interpretation of the dominant frame.

The protest frames were originally identified by McLeod and Hertog in articles about protesters trying to effect change. Attempting to identify these same frames in articles about protesters trying to

¹⁶ We have a small sample to compare because of my time limitations and my resources to pay a coder. However, this sample covers white and black papers. We compared codes on articles from the *Journal*, January 18; the *Constitution*, January 11 and 13; the *Red & Black*, January 10; and the *Atlanta Daily World*, January 11 and 13. We'd already coded the *Atlanta Inquirer* articles in the first round.

¹⁷ I say 9.5 because my coder identified two frames for one story; she said she couldn't decide between them. I'd coded the story as one of the frames she chose. Because there was a 50/50 chance she would have chosen the same code that I did, I counted that as half agreement.

maintain the status quo gives a frame of reference that should allow discussion of the Georgia newspapers' treatment of protesters and their message. A content analysis of the newspapers, story by story, discloses patterns that can lend understanding to the general coverage of the UGA desegregation by the papers. Primary sources for this project include six Georgia newspapers. I read all of the stories on the University's desegregation during the month of January 1961 and analyzed frames used in all of the articles dealing with protests and conflict over the desegregation.¹⁹ I focused on the month of January 1961 because the court ruling was issued on January 6; Hunter and Holmes enrolled promptly. The month covers the timeframe of the protest stories; by the end of January, there were few stories about the desegregation and even fewer about the protests.

¹⁸ Two of the articles that were the source for disagreement in the intercoder reliability tests I coded as "Romper Room" stories. In Chapter 4, I've taken care to explain all three articles that I identify as "Romper Room" stories.

¹⁹ All 408 articles concerning the University of Georgia's desegregation are listed and described in the appendices beginning on page 87. The articles covering the protests of the desegregation are marked in bold print. These 106 protest articles are the articles analyzed in this study.

CHAPTER 4

STORY ANALYSIS

For this study, I read all of the articles about the UGA desegregation in six newspapers¹ in order to find all of the articles that discussed the desegregation protests and the protesters. There were a total of 408 articles; of these, 106 reported on the protests and protesters. Here I analyze the frames used in these 106 articles.

I found that many articles about the desegregation covered the social protest aspect of the desegregation in addition to some other aspect (i.e., legal maneuverings by the state of Georgia, the university, or the NAACP or an update on Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes' attempts to register). If the article does cover the protests, it is included in the study and the framing of that portion of the article is addressed in the study.

The frames fit into four categories — marginalizing frames, mixed frames, sympathetic frames, and balanced frames — as described by McLeod and Hertog in their article “Social Control, Social Change, and the Mass Media’s Role in the Regulation of Protest Groups.”² Marginalizing frames ridicule or disparage the actions of protesters. Frames that fit in the “marginalizing” category include the “Romper Room” frame; the “riot” frame; the “storm watch” frame; and the “moral decay” story. Mixed frames are “less one-sided against protesters.”³ Frames that fit in the “mixed” category include the “showdown” frame; the “protest reaction” frame; the “association” frame; the “comparison” frame; and the “trial story”

¹ As discussed in Chapter 3, the six newspapers included in this study are *The Red and Black*, the *Athens Banner-Herald*, *The Atlanta Constitution*, the *Atlanta Journal*, the *Atlanta Daily World* and the *Atlanta Inquirer*.

² McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 305-329.

³ *Ibid.*, 313.

frame. Sympathetic frames “treat protesters in a positive light.”⁴ Frames that fit in the “sympathetic” category include the “unjust persecution” frame and the “our story” frame.

The “Storm Watch” Frame, a marginalizing frame

The “storm watch” frame “warns society about the possible threats posed by the protesters.”⁵ I found 14 “storm watch” stories in my analysis; the *Atlanta Inquirer* is the only newspaper that did not use this frame.

Articles employing the “storm watch” frame indicated an anticipation of violence. For example, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* made references to efforts by Athens and university officials to “head off” what they called “apparently anticipated difficulty.”⁶ Another *Journal-Constitution* article began with the slightly ominous statement, “. . . it looked — for now, at least — as if calm will prevail.”⁷ Other articles described incidents and gatherings that implied a potential for trouble:

The two Negroes’ presence on the campus was not without some incidents and a smattering of hooting and jeering, but university officials and most students appeared pleased that there was no violence.⁸

The nearest thing to demonstrations by white students came while Miss Hunter was in Mr. Abney’s office. On the sidewalk and street outside about 300 students gathered, and some of them began chanting segregationist slogans.⁹

At one point, when Miss Hunter was in the journalism building, a core of leaders in the student crowd began to chant: “two, four, six, eight — we don’t want to integrate; eight, six, four, two, we don’t want no gigaboo.”¹⁰

For almost an hour before the arrival of Holmes and Miss Hunter Tuesday afternoon, crowds mounted around the street at the west side of the administration building, where they expected the

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Raleigh Bryans and Gordon Roberts, “Negro Boy Registers at Athens,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 8 January 1961, p. 1.

⁷ Raleigh Bryans and Gordon Roberts, “University, Student Leaders Press For Order On Campus,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 8 January 1961, p. 7.

⁸ Gordon Roberts and John Pennington, “Admission of Negroes Suspended,” *Atlanta Journal*, 9 January 1961, p. 1.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Al Kuettner, “Students Registered at University of Georgia,” *Atlanta Daily World*, 10 January 1961, p. 1.

Negroes to enter. When it was learned that the two, with their attorneys, had slipped in the east side of the building, nearly 100 students pushed their way into the corridor. . . and several took up a noisy chant. . . .¹¹

[Holmes and Hunter's] arrival set off a rowdy cat-calling contest featuring racial epithets with a frequent mixture of jeers and barbs. The comments were ignored, thus, the head was cut from what might possibly have developed into an unruly crowd.¹²

And the articles described troublemakers, implying that people were looking to start trouble:

One person among the group, who refused to identify himself but displayed a University of Georgia ring, attempted to recruit some troublemakers from a throng of bystanders. . . .¹³

At least two men . . . carried long bamboo sticks with pointed ends. They did not use them.¹⁴

The articles also indicated that that university officials and police were on hand to prevent violence. While this information might imply that it is less likely violence will break out, it does, nevertheless, imply that there is a need for officials and police to be on hand to prevent expected violence. Dean William Tate was often credited with maintaining order on the campus:

Dean of men, William Tate shouldered his way into the group and began talking to leaders. He took the identification card of one youth and, when another youth could produce no card, ordered him off the campus. . . .¹⁵

When students pursued police who had arrested one of the trouble-makers and came too close to the dormitory, the ever-present Dean of Men William Tate chased them back single-handedly.¹⁶

Scattered, prankish cat-calling and chanting greeted the Negroes at several points but university officials moved in with determination, lifting the student cards of some leaders and ordering those without cards off the campus.¹⁷

Tuesday night, about 500 students milled around the South Myers area. Police arrested two persons who were exploding firecrackers, and university officials personally patrolled the area to keep demonstrators away from the dormitory.¹⁸

¹¹ Bruce Galphin, "2 Negroes Enroll at University," *Atlanta Constitution*, 11 January 1961, p. 1.

¹² John Britton, "Negro Entry at Georgia Like First Night Opener," *Atlanta Daily World*, 11 January 1961, p. 1.

¹³ Gordon Roberts and John Pennington, "Admission of Negroes Suspended," *Atlanta Journal*, 9 January 1961, p. 1.

¹⁴ Bruce Galphin, "2 Negroes Enroll at University," *Atlanta Constitution*, 11 January 1961, p. 1.

¹⁵ Al Kuettner, "Students Registered at University of Georgia," *Atlanta Daily World*, 10 January 1961, p. 1.

¹⁶ Bruce Galphin, "2 Negroes Enroll at University," *Atlanta Constitution*, 11 January 1961, p. 1.

¹⁷ Al Kuettner, "Students Registered at University of Georgia," *Atlanta Daily World*, 10 January 1961, p. 1.

¹⁸ Bruce Galphin, "2 Negroes Enroll at University," *Atlanta Constitution*, 11 January 1961, p. 1.

In “Two Negroes Re-enter Under Heavy Guard,” the *Journal* stressed the presence of law enforcement officials in the area, including plainclothesmen escorting Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes on campus.¹⁹ The paper also reported on student curfews and press limitations designed to help prevent violence.²⁰ Similarly, *The Red and Black* reported, “Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes resumed classes here this week without incident. . . . However, some 100 state troopers and Athens’ 40-man police force stood by on an alert basis ready to smother any possible outbreak of violence.”²¹

Some of the “storm watch” stories were framed as such because of the subjects on which they focused. For example, *The Red and Black* followed the lead of Dean of Students Joseph Williams to warn of possible violence or demonstrations and to urge students not to participate in any acts that would disgrace the University: “[Williams] warned [a] group of more than 100 students that trouble might appear from persons outside the University and that there are always those in any group who will try to cause trouble.”²²

One article in the *Banner-Herald* even included a KKK prediction of violence: “I firmly believe there will be violence by the student body,” the article quoted a statement issued by C.F. Craig, granddragon of the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.²³

The “Riot” Frame, a marginalizing frame

“Riot” stories “depict protesters as purveyors of random acts of violence.”²⁴ There were 20 “riot” stories in the six papers. Stories using the “riot” frame included descriptions of violence and criminal behavior during the protests:

¹⁹ Gordon Roberts and John Pennington, “Two Negroes Re-enter Under Heavy Guard,” *Atlanta Journal*, 16 January 1961, p. 1.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Tommy Johnson, “Calm Returns Here After Administration Orders Restrictions,” *Red and Black*, 19 January 1961, p. 1.

²² “Non-Violence Urged By Dean of Students In Campus Meeting,” *Red and Black*, 9 January 1961, p. 1.

²³ “Judge Bootle Grants Delay in Two Negroes Entering University,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, 9 January 1961, p. 1.

Bricks and stones were hurled through the windows of the dormitory that housed Miss Hunter. Firecrackers sputtered and crackled with a war-like buzz. Several students were arrested.²⁵

Angry students threw rocks and hot coffee on several newsmen; they yelled obscenity at a girls' dormitory to which a newly admitted Negro girl was assigned; they blasted firecrackers until the hillside sounded like an artillery firing range. Some of the biggest and loudest explosives were defiantly thrown at the feet of police officers, who made little effort to quell the disorder.²⁶

One student was arrested when he stood out on the sidewalk and openly threw firecrackers. A police officer grabbed him and began ushering him away. A horde of students began booing and converging on the officer. Other officers headed them off.²⁷

The articles also described injuries sustained during the January 11 riot. For example, the *Journal* noted, "Several injuries, in addition to officer Ballew, were reported after the violence. [One student] was hurt when a rock crashed through her fourth-floor window and struck her on the forehead and cut her neck." ²⁸

And the articles reported on speculation that held a few unnamed students responsible for organizing the riot and a few unnamed state leaders for encouraging it. For example, the *Journal-Constitution* reported,

It is generally believed by university students and a number of faculty members that 15 or 20 hard-core segregationist students planned, directed and encouraged from afar the unlawful resistance to the Negroes.²⁹

Moreover, persistent reports indicate that this group — some law students and some top campus students — got encouragement from big names in state politics.³⁰

"Riot" articles also blamed city officials, university officials and police for not doing more to prevent the outbreak of violence, especially since there were indications that the violence would occur. (An article in the *Journal-Constitution* indicated that the use of this frame might have been suggested by local public opinion: "[T]he discussions [following the violence] center around WHY the riot was

²⁴ McLeod and Hertog, "Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media's Role," 313.

²⁵ John Britton, "Suspended Students Relax in Atlanta," *Atlanta Daily World*, 13 January 1961, p. 1.

²⁶ "Angry Students Protest At Athens," *Atlanta Journal*, 11 January 1961, p. 1.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Gordon Roberts and John Pennington, "2 Negroes Suspended After Riot on Campus," *Atlanta Journal*, 12 January 1961, p. 1.

²⁹ John Pennington and Gordon Roberts, "Hard Core Spawned Rioting," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 15 January 1961, p. 1.

³⁰ Ibid.

allowed to take place, building up as it did, promising in advance to erupt.”³¹) An article in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* described the escalating violent mood on campus:

Students over the weekend had burned crosses and an effigy, shot firecrackers and raised Cain. . . . their mood was more playful than mean. . . . On Monday night, a thousand marched in the street; three crosses were burned; the Confederate flag was flying. The mood was still playful, but more violent. . . . The crowds and jeering were larger on Wednesday. . . . That night, a more violent riot occurred. School officials were slugged, as were police; rocks went through Miss Hunter’s dormitory windows.³²

The *Journal* noted, “If anybody ever tried to set up preventative measures before late Wednesday night — when it was already too late and students were a howling mob defying police and university officials with bricks and fists — there were no outward signs of it.”³³ Also in the *Journal*, Gordon Roberts asserted, “the university had not prepared its students for the arrival of Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes, the two Negroes who broke the segregation barrier at the university.”³⁴ The *Inquirer* said, “Clearly the preparations made were not enough to cope with a crowd which set fires, fought policemen and consistently used the tactics, language and behavior of the KKK, whose literature was circulated during the assault aimed at an 18-year-old girl. . . .”³⁵

Occasional quotations in the white papers showed some conflict about blaming the students. For example, one article quoted officials suggesting that the riot was not completely the students’ fault. After explaining, “The disturbance came in the wake of additional tension created by Georgia Tech’s 89-80 basketball victory over the University of Georgia team in a disputed decision,” the *Banner-Herald* stated, “[Athens Police Chief E.E.] Hardy said outside agitators capitalized on student tenseness built up by the basketball game.”³⁶ On the other hand, the majority of the “riot” stories pushed readers to recognize the seriousness of the violence and to recognize that the students were responsible. Student editor Terry Hazelwood chastised his fellow students in an editorial: “The rock thrown from this crowd hit a girl on

³¹ Ibid.

³² Pat Watters, “Headline Makers,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 15 January 1961, p. 20.

³³ John Pennington, “Opposition to Riots Lacking,” *Atlanta Journal*, 12 January 1961, p. 7.

³⁴ Gordon Roberts, “Firmness Keeps Campus Order,” *Atlanta Journal*, 17 January 1961, p. 2.

³⁵ “Eyes of the World on Ga.,” *Atlanta Inquirer*, 14 January 1961, p. 1.

³⁶ “Patrol Removes Both Students to Atlanta Homes,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, 12 January 1961, p. 1.

the leg, but it could well have hit her head and killed her. . . . It would just have been an accident. . . . It would have been you who were to blame. Not one person who participated in that exhibition last night would have done so by himself. When you and your room-mate came up beside him, though, it was different.”³⁷ Similarly, an editorial in the *Journal* cited criminal behavior by the students:

It was being reported here that a member of the House of Representatives was quoted as saying he did not believe students could have been involved in any rock throwing in the riot.

The disbelievers should speak to Dean Tate about the riot. He was struck by an undergraduate for the first time in his career as dean of men. He was hit by a rock. Numerous firecrackers were bounced off his back and tossed around his feet.

Let disbelievers also speak with Dean Williams, who pleaded with unheeding students to desist in their rock throwing and curse-shouting, and who finally retreated into the girls’ dormitory to seek help from the State Patrol.

Let disbelievers speak to Chief of Police E.E. Hardy, who swore in City Court two days ago that shortly after students besieged Myers Hall following a ball game, rocks and bottles were flying and police officers were their targets. And he will tell of the university student who, once arrested by officers from a rock throwing crowd, fought like a tiger until he was taken away from police by other students who assaulted officers also.

Let the disbelievers talk to Marcia Powell of Columbus, a student journalist who was struck by a rock on Tuesday night and who sadly watched the havoc wrought against the girls’ dormitory by students on Wednesday night.

Let them ask Terry Hazelwood of Decatur, editor of the student newspaper, *The Red and Black*, who stood shaking his head in disbelief as fellow students stoned police cars and police officers.

These witnesses to what happened would tell the disbelievers did throw rocks, a lot of them.³⁸

An article in the *Journal* quoted Georgia’s Lieutenant Governor Garland Byrd: “Riots are ugly things.

They can cause death or permanent injury to those taking part as well as those caught in their path.”³⁹ And

the article quoted Senator Carl Sanders: “Violence and bloodshed never solved or helped any matter no matter how crucial. Death or permanent injury to one innocent student at the university would be a blot on the history of this state and too great a price to pay.”⁴⁰

“‘We’ll Obey’ Aderhold Says,” a “riot” story by John Pennington and Gordon Roberts, began with officials’ assurances that law and order would be maintained as the university readmitted Hunter and Holmes per Bootle’s order. The focus of the article was the prevention of further violence. To that end,

³⁷ Terry Hazelwood, “Your Responsibility,” *Red and Black*, 11 January 1961, p. 1.

³⁸ John Pennington, “Campus Mood Again Academic,” *Atlanta Journal*, 19 January 1961, p. 2.

³⁹ Charles Pou and Fred Powledge, “Vandiver Invokes Peace Power,” *Atlanta Journal*, 12 January 1961, p. 1.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

the story included a description of previous violence and efforts to prevent possible future outbreaks. In describing previous violence, Pennington and Roberts wrote, “[W]ild rioting broke out Wednesday night around the dormitory to which [Charlayne Hunter] had been assigned and. . . after police finally quelled rock throwing and other violence with tear gas, Dean Williams ordered both Negroes removed from the school.”⁴¹ Pennington and Roberts reported on investigations and attempts of police to discover those responsible for the riots.

Two “riot” articles also drew attention to unintentional victims of the violence. The *Journal* ran a brief UPI report that looked at how the riots affected the girls who lived in Center Myers, the dorm to which Charlayne Hunter was assigned. It reported that some parents came to pick up their daughters; other girls “said they planned to lock themselves in their rooms and barricade their doors with dressers and beds during the outbreak.”⁴² “Coeds Terrified by Mob at Dorms” discussed white, female students’ reactions to the riot. One student was quoted: “Some of the girls went into hysterics. We didn’t know what was happening and we couldn’t go to the windows and look out.”⁴³ Two girls said they were not frightened by their classmates but by the threat that the Klan would come.⁴⁴

Two “riot”-framed stories in white papers indicated that criticism was only for the behavior of rioting students and not meant to be interpreted as criticism for segregationist views. An unsigned editorial in the *Athens Banner-Herald* stated, “We support legal opposition to integration, but we must strongly deplore violence.”⁴⁵ And the *Journal* quoted Governor Vandiver, who said he was “just as opposed to integration . . . as anyone” when he criticized citizens who had contributed to the riot.⁴⁶

The *Atlanta Daily World* criticized the racist origins of the riot, when it used the word “prejudice”: “Those who seek to be polite called it an unruly demonstration. Others who knew the facts of

⁴¹ John Pennington and Gordon Roberts, “‘We’ll Obey’ Aderhold Says,” *Atlanta Journal*, 14 January 1961, p. 1.

⁴² “Coeds Planned To Block Doors,” *Atlanta Journal*, 12 January 1961, p. 34.

⁴³ Barbara Milz, “Coeds Terrified by Mob at Dorms,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 13 January 1961, p. 1.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ “Planned Disaster Strikes Hard Blow Against Freedom,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, 13 January 1961, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Charles Pou and Fred Powledge, “Vandiver Invokes Peace Power,” *Atlanta Journal*, 12 January 1961, p. 1.

life about all types of agitation unhesitantly labeled what they saw a howling mob. . . . The ugly head of prejudice was etched crudely on hand-painted signs that read, ‘Go home, N...ers.’”⁴⁷ And several of the papers invoked very unflattering descriptions of the protesters: “an ugly-tempered crowd of approximately 500 students,”⁴⁸ “a howling group of hard-core leaders,”⁴⁹ “the savage jeering face of violence,”⁵⁰ and “a *mob* of students and adults.”⁵¹

The “Romper Room” Frame, a marginalizing frame

“Romper Room” story frames “portray protesters as immature deviants engaged in childish antics.”⁵² I identified three “Romper Room”-framed stories in UGA’s desegregation coverage. These stories ranged from treating college students’ antics as childish to ridiculing adults who were protesting in Atlanta.

One news report described childish actions by students:

Crowds of students pressed into the building chanting ‘Two-four-six-eight, we don’t want to integrate. . .’⁵³

A dean collared a young male student who was carrying a Negro rag doll by a string around its neck. . .⁵⁴

Similarly, an editorial, written by Harold Martin in the form of a letter to his son (a student at UGA) also ridiculed students’ actions: “If the law says that Negro students must be admitted to the University, that’s that, and no amount of flag waving and shouting and marching in the world is going to change it.”⁵⁵

Emphasizing his opinion that the protesters were immature, Martin said, “You are just a freshman, and in normal times freshmen don’t amount to much. But in a crisis like this, a man is a man, no matter whether

⁴⁷ John Britton, “Suspended Students Relax in Atlanta,” *Atlanta Daily World*, 13 January 1961, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Gordon Roberts and John Pennington, “2 Negroes Suspended After Riot on Campus,” *Atlanta Journal*, 12 January 1961, p. 1.

⁴⁹ John Britton, “Suspended Students Relax in Atlanta,” *Atlanta Daily World*, 13 January 1961, p. 1.

⁵⁰ “Eyes of the World on Ga.,” *Atlanta Inquirer*, 14 January 1961, p. 1.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* (emphasis added)

⁵² McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 312.

⁵³ “Students Continue Classes As Usual,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, 11 January 1961, p. 1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Harold Martin, “An Open Letter to Son at Athens,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 11 January 1961, p. 4.

he is a freshman of [*sic*] a senior.”⁵⁶ Martin encouraged his son to “say and do the thing that will keep down trouble instead of stir it up.”⁵⁷

In another “Romper Room” story, *Constitution* reporter Hunter James ridiculed adult protesters in Atlanta. In a humorous front-page piece that describes 12 protesters carrying signs decrying integration, James tells how uncommunicative the women were. While they claimed to represent “White Mothers of America,” they declined to clarify whether that was a “national organization.”⁵⁸ “Could be” was one woman’s stock answer to any question the group was asked.⁵⁹ The article quoted signs carried by the women: “God Segregated — The Devil Integrated;” “We Mothers Want Segregation — We Will Not Accept Integration;” and “White People Have Rights Too.”⁶⁰ The article also explained a sign reading “Me Too — But Segregated” by saying “That one meant they wanted public schools like anybody else but not integrated.”⁶¹ The article continued to poke fun at the walkers: “About 3:30 p.m. the women called it quits for the day. Several of them looked at the bottom of their shoes to see if they had worn holes in them. . . . ‘Doesn’t make any difference,’ one of the women said. ‘There’s more where these came from. A pair of shoes ain’t much sacrifice for our way of life.’”⁶² The article also quoted one man who had fallen in behind the marching women: “‘People ought to understand how we feel. . . . We just don’t want our children spotted.’”⁶³

The “Moral Decay” Frame, a marginalizing frame

The “moral decay” frame “holds up protesters as evidence of general social decay.”⁶⁴ There were eight “moral decay”-framed stories that covered UGA’s desegregation protests.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Hunter James, “12 Women March Around Capitol,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 11 January 1961, p. 1.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 313.

The *Inquirer* had the most critical “moral decay”-framed story — it accused parents of purposefully raising racist children:

Our children were nourished at home, in respectable homes, on a steady diet of tender criminality, tender bigotry, so that the word ‘nigger’ became easy for them to say in private or in public, sprawled over bed sheets in full view of the television camera. Race, sex and religion were ground together in convenient tablet form, sugar-coated with a state’s rights-old Confederacy mixture, and fed like vitamin pills to our youth to augment and supplement the normal diet of hate and malice.

Thus fortified, some of our children, led by the insane and the sick, brought shame down upon our heads at the University of Georgia last week. With sorrow and shame, we must now pick up the pieces and rebuild the moral integrity of our state and community.⁶⁵

Most of the “moral decay”-framed stories criticized riotous behavior rather than racist beliefs. In another “moral decay”-framed article in the *Inquirer*, Reverend John A. Middleton wrote about the riot at UGA, saying that the words “student” and “riot” should be opposites. He said,

That students should take part in a riot is all but incredible. The word STUDENT and RIOT do not belong in the same context. In their basic meaning these words are poles apart. The word STUDENT means study, reason, and thoughtfulness. The word RIOT is the exact opposite. It means anything but reason or careful thinking. In spite of the fact that these two words are poles apart, they met in the same persons (strangely enough) on the 175-year-old University of Georgia campus on January 11, 1961 — “A night that will live in infamy.” And now to crown that infamy with ignominy the governor of the state could muster a hundred troopers to stop Negro students from praying on the State Capitol grounds, but could not muster a single state trooper to quell the rioters on the University campus.⁶⁶

The *Banner-Herald* printed a letter to the editor that used the “moral decay” frame to denounce the riotous behavior of some UGA students. The letter said, “The fact that this ‘hooliganism’ was planned and engineered by ‘outsiders’ does not relieve our student body and citizenry of their responsibilities as law-abiding persons to conduct themselves with dignity and restraint. . . . Regardless of the pros and cons of segregation, most of us must surely deplore the use of violence as a means of maintaining the status quo. Such actions as last night’s can only lead to a state of anarchy.”⁶⁷

The *Constitution* reported on a “moral decay”-framed sermon given by the minister of one of the student churches, criticizing student demonstrations that included effigies and cross burning. The

⁶⁵ Dr. Arthur C. Banks, “A Black Week for Georgia,” *Atlanta Inquirer*, 21 January 1961, p. 1. (This editorial was originally a radio address by Dr. Arthur C. Banks, a professor of political science at Morehouse College in Atlanta.)

⁶⁶ Rev. John A. Middleton, “The Bible Speaks,” *Atlanta Inquirer*, 21 January 1961, p. 2.

⁶⁷ Clyde R. Ray, “Hooliganism Criticized by Reader,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, 15 January 1961, p. 4.

minister, Rev. Russell Edwards of the Wesley Foundation, was quoted as saying, “. . . effigy hanging is a throw back to voodooism.’ Another throw back, he said, was the burning of a cross on the college track field Saturday night. Mr. Russell said this was another example of ‘a twisted cross — as bad in its way as the cross which Hitler twisted in Germany.’”⁶⁸

And the *Constitution* reported on a “statement of concern” about the rioting at UGA. According to the statement, which was issued by 10 state organizations, the signers felt the riot could have been prevented and that suspending Hunter and Holmes was a mistake that should be reversed immediately. The article quoted the statement:

It is with a profound sense of sorrow that we have witnessed the breakdown of law and order in our state. The disturbances which have occurred on the historic campus of the University of Georgia have done irreparable harm to the reputation of the university and to the image of Georgia as expressed in its motto: Wisdom, Justice and Moderation. . . . The suspension of the two Negro students solved nothing. It can be interpreted only as an abdication of constitutional government in the face of mob violence. Such a retreat will encourage continued breaches of community order. . . .⁶⁹

“Moral decay” stories also criticized state officials and police. The author of one of the *Inquirer* articles criticized Georgia officials, claiming,

Here was the awful spectacle of white leadership, from the Governor on down, that had abdicated its moral and legal duties over the years, that had surrendered its power, its prestige, its reason into the hands of the lunatic fringe, the irresponsibilities [*sic*], the mentally and morally sick people of the community. Confident that events would never touch or hurt them, responsible white leaders never bothered to discipline or reprimand this lunatic fringe or the members of its own group.⁷⁰

In the *Atlanta Journal*, an unsigned editorial deplored the riot and the praise one Georgia official had for the rioters. The lead read, “The peaceful integration of the University of Georgia and the preservation of honor and dignity in the state collapsed Wednesday evening in shameful fashion. Most shocking of all was a statement by Peter Zack Geer, the governor’s executive secretary, praising members

⁶⁸ “Students Rally in Chapel to Keep University Open” *Atlanta Constitution*, 9 January 1961, p. 1.

⁶⁹ “State Organizations Deplore ‘Collapse of Law and Order,’” *Atlanta Constitution*, 13 January 1961, p. 12. (The statement was signed by the Active Voters; Atlanta University Women’s Club; Fernbank PTA, Legislative Committee; Georgia Council of Human Relations; HOPE, Inc.; League of Women Voters of Athens; League of Women Voters of Georgia; Margaret Mitchell PTA, Legislative Committee; United Church Women of Georgia, Christian Citizenship Committee; and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, Atlanta Branch.)

⁷⁰ Dr. Arthur C. Banks, “A Black Week for Georgia,” *Atlanta Inquirer*, 21 January 1961, p.1.

of a campus mob scene. . . .”⁷¹ And the editorial concluded, “Until Wednesday night, the worst was behind us. The actual entrance of the two Negro students had been accomplished with good order and restraint. It could have been kept that way. But it wasn’t. The opportunity to embarrass the university, its administration, and perhaps even the governor was too much for small, spiteful and demagogic minds to resist.”⁷²

Constitution Editor Eugene Patterson censured the state patrol, the mob, the suspension of the wrong students, and the statement by Geer, which implied approval of the riot. Patterson appealed to parents’ protective instincts with his lead — “What occurred in Athens Wednesday night was a failure of law enforcement involving your daughters.”⁷³ He criticized the state patrol for showing up late and he criticized state authorities for “surrender[ing] to the wishes of the mob, through suspension of the two students the mob set out to run off.”⁷⁴ He ends the article saying, “Segregation, integration or usurpation aside, God help Georgia if we try to justify what happened Wednesday night.”⁷⁵

The “Protest Reaction” Frame, a mixed frame

A “protest reaction” story “frames the protest as a response to some previous event.”⁷⁶ This frame treats a protest as an expression and not as a random act. I found six “protest reaction” stories in the desegregation protest coverage; only the white papers used the “protest reaction” frame.

A “protest reaction” story in the *Constitution*, “200 Students Hang Effigy On Campus,”⁷⁷ explained, “Some 200 chanting and singing University of Georgia students protested a federal court order to desegregate the school Friday night by stringing up a blackfaced effigy on the archway entrance to the

⁷¹ “The Athens Tragedy,” *Atlanta Journal*, 12 January 1961, p. 26.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Eugene Patterson, “When Men Mob a Women’s Hall,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 13 January 1961, p. 4.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 313.

⁷⁷ An interesting note is that the headline proclaims “200 students,” a number which the article attributed to police estimates; the article also reported “Dean Tate estimated that ‘not more than 50 boys’ took part in the demonstration while student leaders estimated ‘around 500.’”

main campus.”⁷⁸ To further support the “protest reaction” framework, the article reported, “A student spokesman said, ‘Our purpose was to demonstrate how we feel. We don’t like integration being crammed down our throats. It’s unfair.’”⁷⁹ The article goes on to quote students opposed to integration and students opposed to closing the school.

An article in *The Red and Black* listed UGA student demonstrations through January 10 and described them as reactions to legal decisions to admit Hunter and Holmes: “Federal Court Judge William A. Bootle’s decision to declare Friday that two Negro students be admitted to the University of Georgia ‘immediately’ touched off a series of history-making events at the oldest chartered state university.”⁸⁰ The article describes the hanging of a Hamilton Holmes effigy and “numerous cross burnings” as well as a parade of more than 1,000 students in protest of an anticipated statement by the governor that the University funds would be cut off.

One article in the *Banner-Herald* framed student protests as a response to legal decisions and legislative uncertainty (i.e., Bootle’s order to admit Hunter and Holmes, the governor’s threat to close the University, and threats that the school would lose state funding if integrated). The article explained, “News of Governor Ernest Vandiver’s decision to cut off funds to the University of Georgia Monday night touched off a student demonstration that stopped traffic as it moved through the streets of downtown.”⁸¹

In another story, the *Journal* covered a pro-segregation demonstration by the KKK in Atlanta. On January 11, in “Klan Demonstrates at State Capitol,” Raleigh Bryans quoted the Ku Klux Klan grand dragon, C.L. Craig, saying that if Herman Talmadge had established private schools in Georgia then there would be no integration problems. Another man, wearing a suit decorated with the Confederate battle flag and claiming to be a UGA graduate, advocated closing the university. Bryans also quoted picket signs carried in the demonstration: “One sign read ‘Legislature going to sell out . . . blaim [*sic*] Herman

⁷⁸ “200 Students Hang Effigy On Campus,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 7 January 1961, p. 1.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ “Bootle’s Decision Begins Historic Series of Events,” *Red and Black*, 10 January 1961, p. 1.

⁸¹ “Students Parade From Woodruff to Famed Arch,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, 10 January 1961, p. 1.

Talmadge.’ Others read ‘We will not give up,’ ‘We want segregation,’ ‘White people will fight for their rights,’ and ‘We will not accept integration.’”⁸²

The “Comparison” Frame, a mixed frame

“Comparison” stories “contrast a group with some other group to connote either legitimacy or deviance.”⁸³ Fourteen protest stories used the “comparison” frame.

Four articles compared the UGA desegregation with the other school desegregations. The *Journal* compared the situation at UGA to rioting at the University of Alabama when Autherine Lucy entered as the first black student there. The editorial was written by Phil Smith, who covered “the turmoil when the University of Alabama saw its first integration.”⁸⁴ Smith recapped the events of rioting at the University of Alabama, which resulted in the expulsion of Lucy and 20 white students. Smith encouraged readers to compare Alabama’s integration with Georgia’s. He noted, “What started as an innocent fraternity riot along University Avenue’s fraternity row — a riot not at the outset racially inspired — soon turned into a demonstration against Autherine.”⁸⁵ Smith ended the article noting, “Almost everyone recognized that the name of the University of Alabama had been severely damaged.”⁸⁶

The Red and Black compared the University of Georgia desegregation to the desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957. The point was to urge UGA students to protest desegregation peacefully — “turn the news of these rational forms of protest over to the press and other news media for publicity. Just as much good in the end will be accomplished, and the University will not have to bear the brand of another ‘Little Rock’ scandal.”⁸⁷ The article stressed that demonstrations were

⁸² Raleigh Bryans, “Klan Demonstrates at State Capitol,” *Atlanta Journal*, 11 January 1961, p. 23.

⁸³ McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 313.

⁸⁴ Phil Smith, “Mob Drove Out Autherine Lucy,” *Atlanta Journal*, 12 January 1961, p. 16.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ “Student Leaders,” *Red and Black*, 19 January 1961, p. 4

not the answer, saying, “The question is no longer that of segregation or integration, as that has already been answered. The question now is will we have law and order or will violence prevail?”⁸⁸

In another *Red and Black* article, student editor Terry Hazelwood responded to demonstrations (that occurred before the January 11 riot), urging students to be responsible and to protest peacefully. To make his point of encouraging fellow students to avoid on-campus demonstrations or violence, Hazelwood references protesters at other Southern institutions, implying that UGA students should be better: “We can remain calm, levelheaded, and think before taking action which we might later regret, or, we can act in the same futile, violent manner in which students at other southern institutions have already done, and gain nothing.”⁸⁹ He encourages students to voice protest through other means — letters and phone calls to state representatives. He says, “Students here at the University are varied in their opinions as to the disposition of the current problem. By and large, we all want open, segregated schools. Whether we get what we want or not will be something else. Whatever the outcome of our current crisis, we must all, at any cost and in any event remain level-headed, rational, and think before we take any action.”⁹⁰

Constitution publisher Ralph McGill also urged students to act with decency. “Destiny has given to [students at the University of Georgia] a chance to erase the picture of the ‘Ugly Southerner’ so starkly and disturbingly shown the nation and the world at Little Rock and New Orleans,” he said in a front-page editorial. “The South is better than that.”⁹¹ He urged students to give the media positive pictures of white students greeting Hunter and Holmes, to overcome “the pictures made of the unhappy disorders already staged by witless students who have forgotten they are at the university to learn how to be more civilized. . . .”⁹²

Ten of the “comparison” articles compared protesters with “decent” people in a way that reflected poorly on the protesters. Some editorials directly urged readers to join the “good” people who were

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Terry Hazelwood, “Your Responsibility,” *Red and Black*, 9 January 1961, p. 1.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ralph McGill, “For Students at the University,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 11 January 1961, p. 1.

⁹² Ibid.

obeying the law. Some articles reported on groups who were encouraging others to abide by the law. Other articles simply criticized the “bad” people who rioted and praised the “good” people who were handling the situation without breaking the law.

Student editor Terry Hazelwood urged students to be a part of the law-abiding student body and not one of the “outsiders.” Hazelwood asked, “Which side do you want to be on? Are you willing to play into the hands of these outsiders to commit yourself to the scorn and ridicule of the nation or will you help your local leaders maintain order [sic] and sanity during this crisis.”⁹³

In the *Constitution*, Ted Lippman encouraged the majority of students — “intelligent ladies and gentlemen” — not to let the segregationist unruly minority speak louder than them. The editorial compares the majority to the minority of students: “Who speaks for the students of the University of Georgia? Is it the 2,776 who signed a petition urging that the university be kept open or the group that wired the governor expressing a desire for ‘open and segregated’ schools? Is it the editors of the student newspaper urging ‘gentlemanly conduct’ or a band of students hanging a Negro in effigy?”⁹⁴

The *Inquirer* ran an unsigned editorial, titled “One Worth a Thousand,” that referred to a telegram Hunter received saying that one supporter or decent person in Athens “is worth a thousand of the others,” meaning those who chanted anti-integration rhymes or who hung Holmes in effigy. The article stressed the decency to be found in Athens: “All signs indicate that the great majority of the University administrators, faculty members and students are conducting themselves like the civilized human beings they are. . . .”⁹⁵

An unsigned editorial in the *Journal* praised the majority of Georgians who “[took] the court-ordered integration of its university in stride.”⁹⁶ Analyzing the situation, the editorial said, “The big issue is the worth of public education and whether Georgia is willing to wreck this carefully and expensively

⁹³ Terry Hazelwood, “Your Responsibility,” *Red and Black*, 10 January 1961, p. 1.

⁹⁴ Ted Lippman, “Who Speaks for University Students?,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 10 January 1961, p. 4.

⁹⁵ “One Worth a Thousand,” *Atlanta Inquirer*, 28 January 1961

⁹⁶ “The Gift of Knowledge,” *Atlanta Journal*, 11 January 1961, p. 24.

erected system for the sake of a dramatically useless suicidal gesture.”⁹⁷ The article compared the majority with the minority, the law-abiding with the violent, those for education with those against it:

[I]n this crisis the great majority has come through nobly. The common sense and the restraint with which most of the students, taxpayers and politicians have accepted the inevitable is reason for pride in our state today and is a thing which Georgians of the future will remember with gratitude.”⁹⁸

In the *Constitution*, “Most Students Show a Face of Bravery, Decency” quoted some students who downplayed the sense of disorder portrayed in much of the news media. The article compared the students who “were trying to preserve the good name of the university” with those “see[n] in the midst of television pictures of milling crowds and jeering students.”⁹⁹ Reporter Barbara Milz included examples of positive actions by students:

Jack, a 19-year-old sophomore. . . single-handedly beat out the fire on a straggly cross set ablaze by high-spirited freshmen.¹⁰⁰

These . . . young, pretty and well-scrubbed girls . . . booed the handful of men who jeered Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes.¹⁰¹

The article also included criticism and condescension of some protesting students:

Fuzzy-cheeked freshmen and some others may still try to raise a Confederate flag and yell. But the majority of students are working quietly and individually for the good name of the institution and its students.¹⁰²

Sophomore men in particular were irked by a freshmen demonstration on campus and on Athens streets Monday night. These “older” heads emphasized, “Those are still boys. They’re young yet.”¹⁰³

Constitution editor Eugene Patterson also used a “comparison” frame to contrast the two groups of students on campus: “Thousands of University students showed good breeding under stress. The few who felt no shame in dogging and goading two less comfortable beings did, of course, provide

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Barbara Milz, “Most Students Show a Face of Bravery, Decency,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 11 January 1961, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

photographs which displayed their bullying across the country. Some of them even made page one of the *New York Times*, with their mouths open. But the insensitive few did not dominate the campus.”¹⁰⁴

Bill Harrell contributed an editorial to the *Constitution* in which he described the two groups of Georgia citizens: “the majority of citizens. . . want the University of Georgia to stay open because they want the educational processes of the state to continue, because they respect the law and are opposed to violence” and “the other element. It had its say, with rocks last week.”¹⁰⁵ Harrell called on “the good side, which is the real side, of Georgia to stand up and be counted. . . . Otherwise, Georgia is a doomed state. The lawless would rule. Schools and universities would close. We would become a state of ignoramuses.”¹⁰⁶

The *Constitution* also ran “Georgia, As Others See Us;” this editorial by Eugene Patterson uses articles in *The New Yorker* and *The Milwaukee Journal* to show how others in the nation viewed the disorder on the UGA campus. Patterson quoted *The New Yorker*, which sarcastically rebuked the rioters:

There was, to begin with, the little band of scholars who, on hearing that the new students were in the office of the registrar, rushed into the corridor screaming, ‘Two, four, six, eight! We don’t want to integrate!’ . . . The following evening was devoted to field work in the Southern social sciences. Five or six hundred students gathered outside the dormitory occupied by one of the new arrivals, Charlayne Hunter, to ascertain whether such a mob, armed with stones, fertile in obscenity, and untouched by any sense of fundamental human decencies, had the power to frighten one girl.¹⁰⁷

Patterson’s article noted that the Milwaukee paper also reported on “the shame of Georgia,” but balanced that with reports of the faculty petitions to reinstate Hunter and Holmes as well as reports that Vandiver promised to uphold education. Patterson says “the attitudes which will prevail in Georgia are those of good and honorable people. . .,” referring to those mentioned in the Milwaukee paper.¹⁰⁸

Additionally, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* covered a student movement designed to counter the riot. This “comparison” frame was suggested by the subject. According to this story, approximately 50 students gathered to urge students to obey the law. One student was quoted saying, “We are not trying to

¹⁰⁴ Eugene Patterson, “Let the Means of Force Die Now,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 12 January 1961, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ Bill Harrell, “This Week: Georgia’s Second Chance,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 16 January 1961, p. 4.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Eugene Patterson, “Georgia, As Others See Us,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 28 January 1961, p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

change views. We are trying to save the university.”¹⁰⁹ Students drafted a flier urging white students to treat Hunter and Holmes with civility. The article paraphrased the message students were trying to spread: “You are either on the side of law and order and for upholding the reputation of the university and the students, or you are on the side of violence.”¹¹⁰

The “Association” Frame, a mixed frame

Similar to stories with “comparison” frames, “association” stories “connote either legitimacy or deviance” by comparing groups. “Association” stories “delineate linkages between the protest group and some other group that may bestow either legitimacy or deviance.”¹¹¹ All of the association articles in this study imply deviance. News articles linked rioters to the KKK directly and indirectly. Editorials linked the rioters to the KKK and claimed that the riot would help Communism.

One news report in the *Journal* quoted an official to link the rioters to the KKK: “An official of the Georgia State Chamber of Commerce Friday declared that ‘some politicians’ and ‘the KKK’ are claiming credit for the disturbances at Athens — actions which he said were hurting youth and the economy of the state.”¹¹²

An unsigned editorial in the *Constitution* sought to shame students who participated in the riot by pointing out they were now affiliated with the KKK: “The University of Georgia students who gave themselves to the unacceptable uses of mob action Wednesday night can, therefore, judge how they were used now that Athens Police Chief E.E. Hardy has identified his prisoners. The chief’s men collared, at the scene near the women’s dormitory, eight members of the Ku Klux Klan. . . . Thus the students involved in the riot may . . . reflect on the kind of company they chose to be in.”¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ “Campus Leaders Ask Peace,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 15 January 1961, p. 1

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 313.

¹¹² Charles Pou, “Some Politicos Claim Riot Aid,” *Atlanta Journal*, 13 January 1961, p. 1.

¹¹³ “A Mob’s Victory is Poor Peace,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 13 January 1961, p. 4.

Constitution publisher Ralph McGill clearly drew a line between the rioting protesters and the law-abiding citizens involved with the UGA desegregation. McGill criticized Klan members for their involvement and chastised students who allowed themselves to be used by Klan members. After describing nine men who were arrested for involvement with the riot as “admitted Klansmen” and establishing that they carried revolvers to the riot, McGill said, “The rioting students, too, were for the period of their cursing attack on one of the university buildings, linked in emotion, mind and purpose with the armed men who had come to do whatever evil they could.”¹¹⁴

The *Banner-Herald* reprinted a WAGA-TV editorial linking the riot to tactics used by Communists and Hitlerites. The editorial asserted, “There is evidence that last night’s wild riot was not just the exuberance of college youth taking advantage of a chance to let off steam. It had the earmarks of a planned and prepared demonstration, with the planning and participation extending beyond the campus and student body.”¹¹⁵ To support the assertion and demonstrating an “association” frame, the article referred to “published reports of adult bystanders urging on the demonstrators and loudly guaranteeing to provide their bail in case of arrest. Is this inciting to riot? Doesn’t this fit a pattern that the Communists and Hitlerites have used? Doesn’t rioting and mob action fit the Communist pattern — regardless of the issue? Who was behind the Wednesday night riot? Was it rabid segregationists or forces using the emotion generated by that issue?”¹¹⁶

McGill also makes the riot out to be prime communist propaganda in “A Late Night Game.” McGill claimed the riot fed the hate-America campaign and destroyed the image of democracy. He said,

The thousand or more participants in the late night game where two Negro students were the opposing team, will, of course, not care that in Moscow they are welcomed with joy as invaluable aids to communism’s steady, unrelenting campaign to prove America’s claim to democracy and individual freedom is a lie. The Red Chinese radio and printing presses will have the results of this night game distributed to millions within weeks. And their headline will be: “This Is Democracy and Freedom in America.”¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Ralph McGill “Winning ‘Varsity Letters,’” *Atlanta Constitution*, 14 January 1961, p. 1.

¹¹⁵ “State Authorities Must Not Permit Mob Rule,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, 15 January 1961, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ralph McGill, “A Late Night Game,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 13 January 1961, p. 1.

Two of the “association” stories in the *Constitution* also show elements of the “comparison” frame. After linking protesters to communists and the KKK, the articles contrast those groups with stories of decent behavior by students and faculty:

What the Communist propaganda will not tell is that on the night the Negro girl was in a university dormitory more than 50 other girls came to her dorm to make her feel welcome. They will not tell that the student newspaper put out an extra to urge students to obey court orders and their administration.¹¹⁸

There is another and brighter side to this coin. More than half the faculty of the University, outraged by the affront to decency, humanity and the good name of the institution, met and signed a request that the Negro students be readmitted.¹¹⁹

The “Showdown” Frame, a mixed frame

There was only one “showdown” story in the coverage of UGA’s desegregation; a “showdown” frame portrays “a confrontation between two or more groups without a designated ‘bad guy.’”¹²⁰ In “State Barred From Cutting Off School Funds; Students Enroll; Defiance Eased,” which ran in the *Daily World*, UPI reporter Al Kuettner pits the protesting students against faculty members and students who want to keep peace and order:

Dean of Men William Tate was quickly approached by about 20 male students who wanted to argue about admission of the Negroes. He told them calmly, ‘This is not what we wanted but it is what we have and we must be men enough to make the best of it. They have fully qualified and are now registered students just as you are.’¹²¹

The “Trial” Frame, a mixed frame

A story using the “trial” frame “focuses on the court proceedings involving the protest group.”¹²² My tally of “trial” stories also includes any articles involving university disciplinary measures and stories of investigations into the riot as these stories implied that the investigations were to determine what, if

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ralph McGill “Winning ‘Varsity Letters,’” *Atlanta Constitution*, 14 January 1961, p. 1.

¹²⁰ McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 313.

¹²¹ Al Kuettner, “State Barred From Cutting Off School Funds; Students Enroll; Defiance Eased,” *Atlanta Daily World*, 11 January 1961, p. 1.

¹²² McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 313.

any, charges would be brought against protesters. I found 20 “trial”-framed stories in the protest coverage of UGA’s desegregation. The *Inquirer* was the only newspaper that did not include a “trial” story.

The “trial” stories covering court proceedings were very similar in their coverage. They usually named the men and students being charged and gave a list of charges; sometimes they explained the potential sentences. The articles were careful to identify KKK members. Typical reports included:

Eight students and nine adults were arrested during the rioting. . . . Eight of the adults were identified . . . as members of the Ku Klux Klan. . . . The students were immediately released but the adults were held pending an investigation of their records. . . . Three of the adults were charged with disorderly conduct and release on \$27 bond. The six others were charged with carrying deadly weapons.¹²³

The defendants were called before Judge Price at 10 a.m. on a charge of violating a city ordinance, disorderly conduct — carrying weapons to a public gathering. . . . Defense attorney Venables’ line of cross-examination of the police officers pointed up that no officers had seen the men throw anything at the riot; 15 or 20 minutes elapsed between the rock-throwing incident and the arrest of the five in a separate car in a location somewhat removed from the scene of the riot; the pistols were not found until the following morning when the cars were searched, and the Klansmen had not had the pistols on their persons.¹²⁴

Magistrate Olin Price said there was sufficient evidence of charges of carrying firearms to a public meeting and unlawful assembly to warrant grand jury investigation. He ordered the men bound over on bonds of \$500 each.¹²⁵

The six klansmen were charged with carrying weapons to a public gathering and were freed under \$500 bond. Three other adults picked up during the demonstration did not appear in court and forfeited their bonds.¹²⁶

. . . 12 college students were called up on charges resulting from the anti-desegregation riot on the University campus Wednesday night. Most of them were charged with disorderly conduct, and one with discharging a firecracker.¹²⁷

Six forfeited \$27 bonds; one pleaded guilty, said he had learned a lesson, and paid a \$27 fine; one case was non prossed for lack of evidence; three cases were dismissed, and one was postponed.¹²⁸

¹²³ “Justice Department Probes Mob Action at the University,” *Atlanta Daily World*, 13 January 1961, p. 1.

¹²⁴ John Pennington, “6 Klansmen Bound Over in Athens,” *Atlanta Journal*, 17 January 1961, p. 1.

¹²⁵ Bruce Galphin and Barbara Milz, “5 in Klan Held for Grand Jury” *Atlanta Constitution*, 18 January 1961, p. 1.

¹²⁶ Al Kuettner, “Six Bound Over to Grand Jury on Charges Stemming From Riot on University of Georgia Campus,” *Atlanta Daily World*, 18 January 1961, p. 1.

¹²⁷ John Pennington, “Three Klansmen Forfeit Bonds” *Atlanta Journal*, 13 January 1961, p. 1.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

The indictment accuse[d] the students of carrying a banner bearing inflammatory words and exhorting other persons to make an assault on the dormitory where Charlayne Hunter, a Negro student from Atlanta, is staying.¹²⁹

Both indictments — the one against the suspended students and the one against the klansmen — charged that the defendants ‘in a violent and tumultuous manner’ committed unlawful acts of violence in connection with an anti-desegregation riot on the University of Georgia campus on the night of last Jan. 11. These acts included, according to the indictments, cursing, the throwing of rocks at a girls’ dormitory, the throwing of rocks at police officers and their cars and physical assault on police officers.¹³⁰

Other “trial” stories reported on investigations into the riot: The *Constitution* reported that the FBI and a special legislative committee were sent to Athens to investigate the riot. In the federal investigation, the Civil Rights Act of 1960 came into play: “That act makes it ‘a criminal offense to impede or obstruct federal court orders such as the federal court order requiring admission of Negro students to the University of Georgia,’” the article quoted the U.S. attorney general.¹³¹ The *Journal* reported, “If the findings indicate a possibility that the Civil Rights Act was violated by the riot, all evidence will be turned over to the civil rights division of the Justice Department for use in court proceedings against individuals or organizations which are suspected of being guilty.”¹³² The *Daily World* reported that the FBI investigation had been ordered “to determine whether any federal law had been violated in the rioting Wednesday night and the subsequent removal of two Negro students from the school.”¹³³

“Trial” stories also covered disciplinary actions by the university. The *Constitution* reported on warnings by university faculty that students participating in violence would be removed from the university.¹³⁴ The *Journal-Constitution* reported that at least 10 students had been suspended.¹³⁵ The

¹²⁹ “2 Students Face ‘Rioting’ Trial,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, 20 January 1961, p. 1.

¹³⁰ John Pennington, “2 Students Indicted For Riot Roles,” *Atlanta Journal*, 19 January 1961, p. 1.

¹³¹ “FBI, State Open University Probes; 8 in Klan Here Seized at Athens” *Atlanta Constitution*, 13 January 1961, p. 1.

¹³² Harold Davis, “FBI Probing Athens Riot,” *Atlanta Journal*, 13 January 1961, p. 1.

¹³³ “Justice Department Probes Mob Action at the University,” *Atlanta Daily World*, 13 January 1961, p. 1.

¹³⁴ “University Pledges to Prevent Rioting,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 14 January 1961, p. 1.

¹³⁵ John Pennington, Gordon Roberts and Douglas Kiker, “U. Issues Anti-Riot Warning” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, p. 1.

article also reported on investigations of the riot, including FBI surveillance of student leaders who had voiced segregationist views.

In another “trial” story, the *Journal* reported that George Smith, speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, would represent one of the UGA students indicted for participating in the on-campus riot.¹³⁶

The “Our Story” Frame, a sympathetic frame

In what appears to be an attempt to understand the students’ frames of mind, the *Athens Banner-Herald* ran an “our story”-framed article in which AP reporter Kathryn Johnson interviewed students. The article, “Students Adopt Attitude of Curiosity, Tolerance,” gives students a chance to comment on desegregation. Johnson wrote of the attitude on campus as Hunter and Holmes attended their first classes, before the riot of that night. However ‘students’ is not synonymous with ‘rioters’ or ‘protesters’ so the article is not necessarily representative of the students that participated in the riot. Johnson quoted several students, most of them anonymously, and summed up their reactions by saying, “None of the students said they wanted integration. But none said they would give up their college education for the sake of segregation.”¹³⁷

The “Unjust Persecution” Frame, a sympathetic frame

“Unjust persecution” stories “chronicle infractions incurred by the protest group.”¹³⁸ There were 10 “unjust persecution” stories in the white papers and none in the black papers.

One “unjust persecution” story focused on an interview with a student who had been suspended for participating in the riot. The student claimed he only held up a banner and was not involved in

¹³⁶ Gordon Roberts and Charles Pou, “Speaker is Lawyer in University Case,” *Atlanta Journal*, 23 January 1961, p. 2.

¹³⁷ Kathryn Johnson, “Students Adopt Attitude of Curiosity, Tolerance,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, 12 January 1961, p. 1.

¹³⁸ McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 313.

throwing rocks or assaulting anyone. The student mentioned rumors that students would not get in trouble if they kept their demonstrating within legal limits.¹³⁹

The other nine “unjust persecution” frames followed the lead of state officials who were sympathetic to the students who were suspended for participating in the on-campus riot. These stories focused on political pressure to reinstate the students and to create programs for students to avoid integrated schools. The *Constitution* reported that the Georgia House of Representatives (unanimously) and the Georgia Senate (39-9) urged “the reinstatement of students suspended for their parts in segregation demonstrations at the University of Georgia . . .”¹⁴⁰ *The Red and Black* reported that “. . . the Georgia legislature passed a resolution asking reinstatement of thirteen students suspended in connection with the demonstrations at the University. . . . Rep. George Smith worked in favor of the issue, explaining his position by saying that the backgrounds of students were conducive to their reactions, and that they were entitled to a second chance.”¹⁴¹ The papers quoted legislators’ arguments for the students:

The resolution about reinstating the white students said that legislators ‘do not condone or advocate violence in any form,’ but it was ‘only natural’ for the students to ‘resent’ the admission of the two Negroes, who broke the traditional color bar at the university.¹⁴²

‘Although violence is not condoned,’ says the proposed resolution, ‘it is felt that certain acts which have taken place on the campus at the University of Georgia would not have taken place if students had been allowed to speak freely and assemble peaceably.’¹⁴³

[House Speaker George Smith] said that “we in politics have taught” the students to resist integration and that Governors Eugene Talmadge, Herman Talmadge, Marvin Griffin and Vandiver all ‘hammered on it’ in their time.¹⁴⁴

An AP article in the *Banner-Herald* revealed that two South Georgia legislators were planning to propose a bill that would fund \$1,600 annual scholarships to “any students discharged from the University of Georgia for taking part in demonstrations against integration.”¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ Gordon Roberts, “Campus Rumor: ‘No Trouble’ Vow”, *Atlanta Journal*, 20 January 1961, p. 2.

¹⁴⁰ “Reinstate Students, Legislature Asks” *Atlanta Constitution*, 19 January 1961, p. 1.

¹⁴¹ Tom Blalock, “Legislature Asks Return for Suspended Students,” *Red and Black*, 19 January 1961, p. 1.

¹⁴² Margaret Shannon and Raleigh Bryans, “Resolution Backs Ousted Students,” *Atlanta Journal*, 17 January 1961, p. 1.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ “Restore Students, Legislature Asks,” *Atlanta Journal*, 18 January 1961, p. 1.

The *Journal* reported on various measures supported by Georgia senators and representatives trying to deal with school integration in general and the integration of UGA in particular. Among the suggestions made by state politicians were segregation of the sexes, “scholarships for any students expelled from the university for taking part in what the representatives called ‘peaceful and orderly’ anti-integration demonstrations,” and a pupil placement plan.¹⁴⁶

One article even reported on apparent blackmail — the article noted that Roy Harris, a member of the Board of Regents, accused Georgia state officials of encouraging students to riot. He would not name the officials to which he referred, but he threatened to name them if white students were suspended for riot involvement.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ “Two State Solons Ask Special Bill For Scholarships,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, 16 January 1961, p. 1.

¹⁴⁶ “Solons Let Fly With Many Angles on Segregation Issue,” *Atlanta Journal*, 16 January 1961, p. 9.

¹⁴⁷ Charles Pou, “Harris Says High Officials Linked to University Riot,” *Atlanta Journal*, 17 January 1961, p. 8.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF FRAMING

A total of 106 stories in the six papers deal with the protests and the protesters. There are 408¹ articles about the desegregation in the six papers. The majority of the articles deal with the political progress of Hamilton Holmes' and Charlayne Hunter's law suit for admission to the University of Georgia and various positions taken by the judicial system and legislature. Some articles also analyze the conduct of news media on campus to report on the desegregation.

In comparing the number of protest-specific stories to the total number of desegregation stories in each paper, I found that the coverage of protests made up 18 to 41 percent of the desegregation coverage in each paper. Approximately 41 percent (nine out of 22 articles) of *The Red & Black's* desegregation coverage focused on the protests; the *Athens Banner-Herald* featured 28 percent protest coverage; the *Atlanta Daily World*, 18 percent; the *Atlanta Inquirer*, 31 percent; *The Atlanta Constitution*, 23 percent; the *Atlanta Journal*, 28 percent; and the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* combined editions, 25 percent. The total number of protest stories (106) is 26 percent of the total number of desegregation stories (408) in all of the papers.

Table 1: Percentage of Protest Stories
(compared to the number of desegregation stories in each newspaper)

	Red & Black	Athens Banner-Herald	Atlanta Daily World	Atlanta Inquirer	Atlanta Constitution	Atlanta Journal	Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Percentage of desegregation stories that were protest stories	41%	28%	18%	31%	23%	28%	25%

¹ In the appendices, I list the opinion polls dealing with the protests for reference and I include them in the total count of articles, but, because they do not employ frames, I do not include them in my analysis even though some do focus on the protests.

Table 2: Number of Occurrences of Story Frames by Newspaper

Frame category	Story type	Red & Black	Athens Banner-Herald	Atlanta Daily World	Atlanta Inquirer	Atlanta Constitution	Atlanta Journal	AJC (Sunday)	Total Number of Stories by Story Type
marginalizing	moral decay	0	1	0	2	3	2	0	8
marginalizing	riot	1	4	2	1	2	8	2	20
marginalizing	Romper Room	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	3
marginalizing	storm watch	3	4	2	0	1	4	2	16
mixed	association	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	5
mixed	comparison	3	0	0	1	6	3	1	14
mixed	protest reaction	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	6
mixed	showdown	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
mixed	trial	0	7	3	0	5	6	1	22
sympathetic	unjust persecution	1	1	0	0	2	6	0	10
sympathetic	our story	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total number of stories about protests		9	21	8	4	26	32	6	106
Total number of stories about desegregation		22	76	45	13	114	114	24	408

Table 3: Percentage of Occurrences of Story Frames by Newspaper

Frame category	Story type	Red & Black	Athens Banner-Herald	Atlanta Daily World	Atlanta Inquirer	Atlanta Constitution	Atlanta Journal	AJC (Sunday)	Total Percentage of Stories by Story Type
marginalizing	Moral decay	0	5%	0	50%	12%	6%	0	8%
marginalizing	riot	11%	19%	25%	25%	8%	25%	33%	19%
marginalizing	Romper Room	0	5%	0	0	8%	0	0	3%
marginalizing	storm watch	33%	19%	25%	0	4%	13%	33%	15%
mixed	association	0	5%	0	0	12%	3%	0	5%
mixed	comparison	33%	0	13%	25%	23%	9%	17%	13%
mixed	protest reaction	11%	5%	0	0	8%	6%	0	6%
mixed	showdown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1%
mixed	trial	0	33%	38%	0	19%	19%	17%	21%
sympathetic	unjust persecution	11%	5%	0	0	8%	19%	0	9%
sympathetic	our story	0	5%	0	0	0	0	0	1%
Total number of stories about protests		9	21	8	4	26	32	6	106

Table 4: Number of Occurrences of Story Frames by Type of Newspaper

Frame Category	Story Type	Athens papers	Black papers	Atlanta papers	Total number of Stories by Story Type
marginalizing	moral decay	1	2	5	8
marginalizing	riot	5	3	12	20
marginalizing	Romper Room	1	0	2	3
marginalizing	storm watch	7	2	7	16
mixed	association	1	0	4	5
mixed	comparison	3	1	10	14
mixed	protest reaction	2	0	4	6
mixed	showdown	0	1	0	1
mixed	trial	7	3	12	22
sympathetic	unjust persecution	2	0	8	10
sympathetic	our story	1	0	0	1
Total number of protest stories		30	12	64	

The Red and Black

The *Red and Black* ran four articles with marginalizing frames; three were “storm watch” stories and one was a “riot” story. The paper printed four stories using mixed frames: three “comparison” stories and a “protest reaction” story. And the paper had one story with a sympathetic frame — an “unjust persecution” story. The paper ran a total of 22 articles dealing with the desegregation; nine of these dealt with the protests and protesters.

Athens Banner-Herald

The *Athens Banner-Herald* ran a total of 76 stories about the desegregation; 21 of the stories dealt with the protests and protesters. Ten stories used marginalizing frames: four “storm watch” stories, four

“riot” stories, one “Romper Room” story, and one “moral decay” story. The paper also used mixed frames for seven stories: one “association” story, one “protest reaction” story, and seven “trial” stories. Two *Athens Banner-Herald* articles used sympathetic frames: one was an “unjust persecution” story and another was an “our story” story. This was the only “our story”-framed article in the study; however, it must also be noted that it was from the perspective of students and not necessarily student protesters, so it is not the truest form of the “our story” frame.

The Atlanta Constitution

The Atlanta Constitution ran a total of 114 stories on the desegregation; 26 were specifically about the protests and protesters. The *Constitution* printed eight stories using marginalizing frames, sixteen stories using mixed frames and two stories using sympathetic frames. Both of the articles employing sympathetic frames were “unjust persecution” stories. The stories using marginalizing frames included two “riot” stories, two “Romper Room” stories, three “moral decay” stories and one “storm watch” story. The mixed-frame stories included two “protest reaction” stories, six “comparison” stories, three “association” stories, and five “trial” stories.

Atlanta Journal

In the *Atlanta Journal*, there were 114 stories about the desegregation; 32 were specific to the protests. The *Journal* ran 14 stories with marginalizing frames, 12 stories with mixed frames and six stories with sympathetic frames. The stories that marginalized the protesters included eight “riot” stories, four “storm watch” stories, and two “moral decay” stories. Mixed-frame stories included two “protest reaction” stories, three “comparison” stories, one “association” story, and six “trial” stories. All six stories using sympathetic frames were “unjust persecution” stories.

Atlanta Journal-Constitution Sunday Combined Editions

In 1961, it was the custom of the *Atlanta Journal* and *The Atlanta Constitution* to print joint Sunday editions. In January 1961, three combined Sunday editions covered the UGA desegregation, including a total of 24 stories. Six of these stories focused on the protests and protesters. The combined Sunday editions of the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* featured a total of 24 stories about the desegregation — six were about the protests and protesters. The issues included four stories using marginalizing frames: two “storm watch” stories and two “riot” stories. The paper also ran two stories with mixed frames: one “trial” story and one “comparison” story.

Atlanta Daily World

The *Atlanta Daily World* ran 45 articles on UGA’s desegregation. Eight of the stories dealt with the protests and protesters. The paper printed four stories with marginalizing frames and four stories with mixed frames. The marginalizing stories included two “riot” stories and two “storm watch” stories. The stories employing mixed frames included one “showdown” story and three “trial” stories.

Atlanta Inquirer

The *Atlanta Inquirer* ran 13 stories dealing with the integration; four of the stories focused on the protests and protesters. The paper used marginalizing frames for three stories: one “riot” story and two “moral decay” stories. Using a mixed frame, the *Inquirer* also ran one “comparison” story.

All Six Papers

Of the 106 stories that specifically cover the protests and protesters, there are 47 stories that use marginalizing frames, 48 stories that use mixed frames, 11 stories that use sympathetic frames and no stories that use a balanced frame.

The “debate” story is the only balance-frame story type identified by McLeod and Hertog, who define it as “coverage that centers on the issues and viewpoints of various parties to an issue of public

concern.”² Analysis of these stories about UGA’s desegregation — and the lack of the “debate” frame — supports Gitlin’s claim “that news involves the novel event, not the underlying, enduring condition; ... the fact that ‘advances the story,’ not the one that explains or enlarges it.”³ Not one story in the six papers discussed the desegregation of the university as an issue. The closest these papers came to a debate was discussing the option of open, integrated schools vs. closed schools. These open vs. closed school articles focused on education, not on understanding the reasons people were for or against segregation or discussing integration — and its effects or lack thereof — at other U.S. schools.

The majority of the stories framed the protests with the “riot” story frame (20 stories) and “trial” story frame (22), which includes the ensuing trials as well as the investigations. There were also 16 “storm watch”-framed stories. The violence or promise of violence, the investigations, and the trials were all events to be reported on. These events are considered “the latest news,” and reporters are looking for the latest news.

The papers took a very moral tone with both news reports and editorials. There were eight “moral decay”-framed stories — these stories held the protesters up as evidence of a lacking society. The “comparison” stories (14) and the “association” stories (5) also generally held a moral tone — pointing out the KKK’s involvement in the riot, comparing the rioting techniques to Communist ways, and comparing rioters unfavorably with decent, law-abiding, non-violent citizens and students. All of the papers spoke of disapproval for the protesters.

The Athens Papers

Both *The Red and Black* and the *Athens Banner-Herald* ran a large number of “storm watch” stories. Of the nine stories (dealing with the protests and protesters) in *The Red and Black*, three were “storm watch” stories. Four of the *Banner-Herald*’s 21 stories (dealing with the protests and protesters) were “storm watch” stories. The readers of these papers had the most to fear from possible outbreaks

² McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 313.

³ Gitlin, 263.

violence, so this information would be valuable to readers. However, it can also be argued that this reporting creates an atmosphere of anticipation — a self-fulfilling prophecy, one might say. The *Athens Banner-Herald* mirrored the white Atlanta papers with its high number of “riot” and “trial” stories.

The White Atlanta Papers

Out of a combined total of 64 articles focusing on the protests, *The Atlanta Constitution* and the *Atlanta Journal* ran a combined 12 “trial” stories and 12 “riot” stories. Again, these stories focused on the “events” — the breaking news. These papers also ran 10 “comparison” stories, which took on a moral tone that condemned the actions — but not necessarily the sentiments — of protesters. The two papers also ran a fairly high number of stories sympathetic to the protesters. All eight of the sympathetic stories were “unjust persecution” stories, and use of this frame in seven of the “unjust persecution” stories originated from the legislature’s push to have suspended students reinstated.

The Black Atlanta Papers

Not surprisingly, neither the *Atlanta Inquirer* nor the *Atlanta Daily World* ran stories sympathetic to the protesters. The *Inquirer* took a very moral tone — two of its four articles dealing with the desegregation were framed as “moral decay” stories. Surprisingly, the *Atlanta Daily World*’s use of frames mirrors that of the *Atlanta Constitution*, the *Atlanta Journal* and the *Athens Banner-Herald* — two of the *Daily World*’s eight stories were “riot” stories and three were “trial” stories.

The *Daily World* and *The Red and Black* were the only two papers not using the “moral decay” frame in their reports and editorials. One understands that students would be hesitant to criticize themselves or their fellow students as socially deficient. However, it is surprising that the *Daily World* refrained from such criticism.

Minority Opinion vs. Majority Opinion

In addition to comparing news frames used among the papers that covered the UGA desegregation protest, it is important to look at these frames in reference to other protest stories — to compare coverage of different protests in different contexts. For a reference point, I turn to the McLeod and Hertog study on which I based my study.

In June 1995, McLeod and Hertog published “Anarchists Wreak Havoc in Downtown Minneapolis: A Multi-level Study of Media Coverage of Radical Protest.”⁴ They studied the impact of several factors on protest coverage of anarchist protests in Minneapolis in 1986, 1987 and 1988. One factor included in the study is the use of frames. They looked at five frames used in news stories about protests; these frames were “circus/carnival,” “riot,” “confrontation,” “protest” and “debate.”⁵

To better understand how journalists may use frames in news stories about protests, I looked for similarities and differences between frames used in the anarchist protest stories studied by McLeod and Hertog and the frames used in desegregation protest stories analyzed in this paper. The anarchist protests represent a minority group seeking to effect change or at least express a minority opinion. The desegregation protests represent a group expressing a majority opinion and seeking to maintain the status quo. Comparison of coverage on the two groups’ protests shows the similarity in coverage despite the differences in the protesters’ intentions.

McLeod and Hertog describe the “riot” frame: “In the riot frame . . . [t]he anarchists, no longer simply oddballs, have become criminals. They lash out indiscriminately, equally endangering all members of society. Lawbreaking is a major emphasis and the police become central characters. . . .”⁶ Similarly, when reporters used the “riot” frame to cover the desegregation protests, they focused on the danger to society, even pointing out white female students as victims. The “riot” frame used in

⁴ James K. Hertog and Douglas M. McLeod, “Anarchists Wreak Havoc in Downtown Minneapolis: A Multi-level Study of Media Coverage of Radical Protest,” *Journalism & Mass Communication Monographs* 151 (June 1995): 1-48.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

desegregation coverage also focused on lawbreaking and attempts of police to keep order — and chastised police and authorities for not doing a better job of keeping order. McLeod and Hertog found that reporters asked anarchists “to explain not their critique of society, but their use of foul language or their run-ins with police. Why did they disturb the peace? Why were they so violent? Anarchist reactions to these questions often fulfill the objectivity requirement to let the protesters give their side of the story, even though this is not the story they wish to tell.”⁷ I did not find that student protesters were regularly quoted in the “riot” articles covering the desegregation protests. When they were quoted in other types of articles, they often refused to give their names, so we must consider it possible that they refused to talk with reporters rather than assume that reporters blocked them from the stories.

McLeod and Hertog also identified the “confrontation” frame in their 1995 study. In the subsequent 1999 article, upon which my study is based, this frame is called the “showdown” frame. They describe the “confrontation” frame as “treat[ing] the anarchists and the police as combatants, much like a sporting event. On a few occasions, confrontation between anarchists and bystanders was portrayed. Confrontation stories focused on the tactics and actions of the groups involved. Deeper political and economic discussions were usually left out of stories employing this frame.”⁸ Some of the “riot” stories described in my study demonstrate a tendency toward the “confrontation” frame, but the idea of “police vs. protesters” was overshadowed by the implication that the protesters were out of control and dangerous. Additionally, the “riot” stories characterize protesters as “bad,” which precludes their being identified as “showdown” stories.⁹ The only “showdown” story I identified in my study of the desegregation protests was a story by a UPI reporter in the *Daily World*, and it pitted the faculty and non-protesting students against the protesting students. I imagine the readers of the *Daily World* viewed the protesting students as “bad guys,” but the article did not use descriptions as such.

⁷ Hertog and McLeod, “Anarchists Wreak Havoc,” 20.

⁸ Ibid., 21

⁹ According to McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 313, “The showdown frame is a confrontation between two or more groups without a designated ‘bad guy.’”

McLeod and Hertog also identified a “protest” frame in their 1992 study. They defined this frame as “acknowledg[ing] the anarchists as a legitimate political voice. The conferral of legitimacy does not necessarily imply supportive or positive portrayal, but treats the anarchists as a group presenting a political viewpoint that deserves attention.”¹⁰ This frame was not included in McLeod and Hertog’s 1995 article. Several “mixed” frames and the “sympathetic” frames in the 1995 article offer the possibility of conferring legitimacy on the protesters, but the articles that covered the desegregation at UGA used these frames to connote deviance or to excuse the students on the grounds that they were brought up to resist integration. None of the desegregation protest articles treated the protesters as “a legitimate political voice” despite the fact that several articles in the white papers did agree with the protesters anti-integration politics and even advocated different means of protesting (i.e., letters, telegrams and phone calls to the governor and legislators).

Finally, McLeod and Hertog identified a “debate” frame, “which de-emphasized physical actions involved in the conference and marches. The marches and meetings acted as a springboard for discussion of philosophical conflicts and contradictions. The debate frame was very rare in mainstream media coverage, but provided the basis for the majority of [the alternative] *Fifth Estate*¹¹ coverage.”¹² I found no “debate” stories in my study of UGA’s desegregation riots. Because of the protest reversal — advocating the status quo and not change — one might expect that the mainstream papers would have served the function of alternative papers in protests for change, but this was not the case. The message was not up for debate. The focus was on the actions of protesters.

¹⁰ Hertog and McLeod, “Anarchists Wreak Havoc,” 21.

¹¹ “The *Fifth Estate* is recognized by [anarchist] movement members as one of the most important anarchist publications in the United States.” McLeod and Hertog, “Anarchists Wreak Havoc,” 8.

¹² Hertog and McLeod, “Anarchists Wreak Havoc,” 22.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study presents an unusual scenario through which to study media coverage of a protest group. The protesters voiced the opinion held by a majority — most white Georgians were opposed to integrated schools. The protesters were not a minority, except that they chose to express themselves through violence, and the majority of Georgians apparently disapproved of this type of expression. Generally speaking, protest groups are a minority trying to *cause* change. In this study, the protesters were a part of a majority adamantly *resisting* change. Nonetheless, the analysis of frames used in media coverage of the desegregation protests reflect the frames identified in McLeod and Hertog's study of the mass media's role in the regulation of protest groups.

Social Control

The analysis of desegregation protest coverage indicates that *The Red and Black*, the *Athens Banner-Herald*, *The Atlanta Constitution* and the *Atlanta Journal* attempted to influence public opinion to prevent violence during the UGA desegregation. While the scope of this study does not allow judgment on the newspapers' effect on the protests of the UGA desegregation, it is apparent that the newspapers sought to prevent rioting in Athens. The newspapers condemned the protests and rioting through editorials and articles and appealed directly to citizens and students to refrain from rioting. My analysis shows that every marginalizing frame that these six Georgia newspapers used can be used in a way that might prevent rioting. "Storm watch" stories can report on groups trying to prevent violence — in the case of UGA, perhaps students decided not to participate in the riots after reading about respected student leaders urging fellow students to avoid violence. Additionally, "storm watch" stories can indicate the presence of police or other authorities that might make potential troublemakers less likely to cause trouble in the area. The "riot" frame can criticize rioters in a way that might make them feel a minority; the result

may make readers less likely to participate in protests. The “riot”-framed stories in this study were often critical of state authorities, which might have put pressure on local officials, state leaders and police to maintain order. As for the “Romper Room” frame — readers might discount a protest message if the press portrays protesters as childish. Therefore, the general public might be less likely to become involved in a protest. The “moral decay” frame criticizes protesters’ beliefs and their actions. Even if protesters are not compelled to examine their beliefs and their actions, such articles may prevent the public from paying attention to the message or supporting the protest.

Several of the mixed frames could also be used in ways that might prevent violent protests. The “comparison” frame frequently projected create negative images of the protesters. Writers pointed to previous school desegregations to create negative connotations. In effect, the stories asked, “Do you want to be that person whose picture you saw in the paper in 1957 — the person who was screaming at a child in Little Rock? Do you want people to talk about the University of Georgia the way they talked about the University of Alabama when Autherine Lucy was expelled?” The “comparison” articles also looked around for contrasting positive pictures: “Don’t you want to be like this student leader?” The “association” frame could work in much the same way: “Do you really want to link yourself to the KKK? Think about that before you throw the next rock.” The “showdown” frame might work the same way. If this frame pits two groups against each other, then readers might feel compelled to take sides. If readers have been exposed to criticism of protesters, they may be prone to side against the protesters. Similarly, the “trial” frame bestows the protesters with an identification of “criminal” and may create a negative opinion of the group.

The two black papers covering UGA’s desegregation used mostly the same frames as the white papers to report on the desegregation protests at UGA — minus the sympathetic frames, understandably. The *Atlanta Inquirer* ran only four protest stories so it is not prudent to draw conclusions on such a small sample; however, the high percentage of moral decay stories (50 percent) does bear mention. According to Charlayne Hunter-Gault, the *Inquirer* grew out of dissatisfaction with the way the conservative *Atlanta*

Daily World covered the Student Movement.¹ Because the paper grew out of the Civil Rights Movement, it just makes sense that it would speak out strongly against the desegregation protests, and the “moral decay” frame is the most direct frame for this.

The fact that *Daily World's* coverage was similar to that of the white papers might be attributed to the fact that a number of the *Daily World's* stories were written by Al Kuettner, a white UPI reporter. This would inevitably lead to similar coverage: the UPI reporter was writing for any newspaper — white or black — and he was not writing from the black perspective.² On the other hand, someone at the *Daily World* still chose to run the stories, which were framed similarly to the stories in the white papers. Why were the stories framed similar to the white papers' stories? For starters, all six papers shared the same negative opinion of the riot — and as such, marginalized rioters, whether intentionally or not. Were the black papers attempting to exert social control? It is more likely that they were simply expressing the views of blacks. After all, these papers were started to give a voice to blacks — to bolster and support the black point of view. It is doubtful that the *Daily World* or the *Atlanta Inquirer* had many white readers — and they would certainly have had very few segregationist readers. So there would be little chance of social control resulting from their coverage — at least in terms of immediate effects. Perhaps, though, other media outlets would have picked up their stories and the national realm of public opinion would have come to bear on the Athens protesters. The title of the *Inquirer's* “riot” story — “Eyes of the World on Ga.” — does reference public opinion, so the editors were obviously aware of its power.

Being aware of the power that exists, though, is very different from effectively harnessing that power. Especially when there are so many contradictions, in theory and in practicality. McLeod and Hertog define social control as “communicative actions, intentional or unintentional, that comment in

¹ Hunter-Gault, *In My Place*, 140, 218-219.

² In the introduction to *The Press and Race*, Davies makes an interesting point: “The segregation story [of the South] proved especially vexing for the wire services, with served both Northern and Southern newspapers, whose editors were always scanning the wires for evidence of bias.” (p. 11) Additionally, in his essay “Jimmy Ward and the Jackson *Daily News*” with Judy Smith, Davies notes, that segregationist Jimmy Ward's newspaper generally ran balanced wire stories about desegregation events, although the headlines were somewhat slanted. Davies and Smith note that the staff-written articles were “more one-sided, speculative, and opinionated.” (p. 91-92)

some way on the appropriateness or value of the behaviors . . . of some group or individual.”³ From “the rock thrown from this crowd . . . could well have killed [the girl it hit]”⁴ to “witless students who have forgotten they are at the university to learn how to be more civilized. . . .”⁵ — all four white newspapers were very vocal on what they considered inappropriate behavior. In a similar scenario, Jacobs found that black newspapers criticized black rioters in Los Angeles after both the Watts riots in 1965 and the Rodney King riots in 1992.⁶ Unlike anti-integrationists in Athens, Georgia, in 1961, the black rioters in both Los Angeles riots were the customary minority group attempting to create social change or at least call attention to social injustice. Like the white papers in Athens and Atlanta, the black papers covering the Los Angeles riots supported the apparent intentions of the rioters but criticized their means. In his analysis of early reports of the Los Angeles uprisings following the Rodney King verdict in 1992, Jacobs found black papers more critical of black rioters than the mainstream media:

One of the most surprising things about the news coverage of the Los Angeles uprisings was that the *Chicago Defender* and *Los Angeles Sentinel* were more critical of the rioters than those writing in the mainstream press. The *Chicago Defender* described the rioting as “totally wrong and [it] should not be justified by any responsible person.”⁷

[C]ritical evaluations in the *Chicago Defender* and *Los Angeles Sentinel* were similar to those made in 1965 during the Watts uprisings; the destruction was the wrong means toward expressing protest, because it destroyed much-needed African-American infrastructure. But there was a crucial difference between 1965 and 1992. In 1965, African-American public statements made in Chicago and Los Angeles were made in a discursive environment dominated by criticism of the rioters in the mainstream press of Chicago and Los Angeles. In 1992, however, the “deployment of deviance” against the rioters was almost completely missing from the mainstream media.⁸

These findings illustrate that the so-called alternative press can also bring to bear attempts at social control. And that overall sympathetic media can be critical even as they are sympathetic.

³ McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 305.

⁴ Terry Hazelwood, “Your Responsibility,” *The Red & Black*, 11 January 1961, p. 1.

⁵ Ralph McGill, “For Students at the University,” *Atlanta Constitution*, January 11, p. 1.

⁶ Jacobs, 56, 119-120.

⁷ Ibid., 119.

⁸ Ibid., 119-120.

The Message

In several stories about the UGA desegregation protests, the protesters' message is validated. For example, the editorial in the *Athens Banner-Herald*: "We support legal opposition to integration, but we must strongly deplore violence."⁹ But there are few places that the protesters actually expressed their message in the newspapers, and even fewer where the message was not ridiculed. One student was quoted as saying, "Our purpose was to demonstrate how we feel. We don't like integration being crammed down our throats. It's unfair."¹⁰ Ideally the story would take the message a little further and explain why this was unfair — and counter this explanation with someone arguing that segregation is unfair. In practice, reporters covering the desegregation at UGA quoted more objectionable versions of the message, perhaps to illustrate ignorance. For example, "We just don't want our children spotted."¹¹

In addition to the sympathetic frames — "our story" and "unjust persecution" stories — the "protest reaction" story is a good opportunity for protesters to get their messages across through the mass media. However, my study demonstrates that the message can easily get lost in these frames. The "our story" article published in the *Athens Banner-Herald*¹² quoted students in general, not just protesters — and actually it is not clear if *any* of the quoted students participated in the riot. So these opinions were not necessarily the opinions of the protesting students. In most of the "unjust persecution" stories, legislators defended students who were suspended for participating in the on-campus disorders. These legislators defended the students by claiming their constituents believe that segregation is right or by saying that the students should be given a second chance, that it was not their fault they were raised to believe in segregation. While legislators defended the students, they did not do a good job of arguing the cause or expressing the message. The "protest reaction" frame suffers a similar fate. While it does allow reporters to explain the protest in the context of a message (i.e., the students objected to the desegregation order or

⁹ "Planned Disaster Strikes Hard Blow Against Freedom," *Athens Banner-Herald*, 13 January 1961, p. 1.

¹⁰ "200 Students Hang Effigy On Campus," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 7 January 1961, p. 1.

¹¹ Hunter James, "12 Women March Around Capitol," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 11 January 1961, p. 1

¹² Kathryn Johnson, "Students Adopt Attitude of Curiosity, Tolerance," *Athens Banner-Herald*, 12 January 1961, p. 1.

they objected to news that the school would close), it does not necessarily give the protesters a voice and that leaves a great deal of room for reporters and readers to misinterpret the protesters' message.

Further, my analysis shows that the black papers did not use these three frames that are somewhat conducive to explaining protesters' messages. They withheld the explanation for the protests — probably because it was obvious but also likely because they did not want to validate or give meaning to the protests. It is likely that the mainstream press often takes this stance on protests when mainstream public opinion disagrees with the minority message of the protesters.

But why did the white newspapers not devote more time to the desegregation protesters' message, especially if they agreed with it as some claimed to do? And why did the black newspapers not devote more time to the protesters' message, or arguing against the protesters' message? Why did the newspapers not use the "debate" frame? The scope of this study only allows for speculation here. Perhaps the editors felt that the arguments were so obvious and so well known that it was not necessary. In a black paper, do you really need to argue for the issue of integration? Actually, the same goes for arguing segregation in the white papers in 1961. On the other hand, why did McLeod and Hertog's anarchists not get their message across during the Minneapolis protests? Is it because the mainstream thinks the ideas are ridiculous? Life without government sounds like nonsense; why even look into it? Ditto for the segregationist arguments — "spotted children"¹³ . . . how can anyone begin to take the argument seriously? To top that off, who is going to listen to serious social or philosophical arguments from a rock-throwing mob?

On the other hand, perhaps the social arguments for and against desegregation were just outranked by more pressing concerns, such as maintaining law and order and saving the university.

¹³ Hunter James, "12 Women March Around Capitol," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 11 January 1961, p. 1

Are Your Priorities in Order?

A letter to the editor in the *Athens Banner-Herald* captures the essence of this study. In the letter, Clyde R. Ray of Athens said, “Regardless of the pros and cons of segregation, most of us must surely deplore the use of violence as a means of maintaining the status quo. Such actions as last night’s can only lead to a state of anarchy.”¹⁴ This letter does more than criticize students for their violent behavior; it offers insight into the UGA desegregation protest coverage by Georgia newspapers. The newspapers and “decent” citizens like Ray were sending the message to protesters that nothing gives them the right to break the law. The issue of desegregation might have been discussed more by the papers had it not been overshadowed by the bigger issue of maintaining law and order.

Studies like the one by McLeod and Hertog¹⁵ imply that media are opposed to the messages of protesters, and that might be the case. But in this study, it is apparent that even when the media agree with the message, as the white papers claimed to do, they will still fall into the protest frames that marginalize protesters engaging in riotous behavior.

It appears that media have a hierarchy of priorities. During the desegregation events, the white papers focused on upholding law and order, then the value of education. Perhaps the segregated way of life did not receive editorial attention because the first two priorities were so important. Observations that Jacobs made in his study of media coverage of LA riots suggest the same recognition of a hierarchy of priorities. In his analysis of the Watts uprisings coverage, Jacobs notes that the *New York Amsterdam News*, a black paper, was able to focus on the “historical depth of white racism and paternalism . . . [b]ecause the *New York Times* had . . . re-framed the plot of ‘insane rioters’ to a plot of the incomplete extension of social rights.”¹⁶ Jacobs argued that other black papers (in Chicago and Los Angeles) had to

¹⁴ Clyde R. Ray, “Hooliganism Criticized by Reader,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, 15 January 1961, p. 4.

¹⁵ “The media are supposed to play a role as a change agent. Unfortunately, as numerous studies from the mass communication literature have shown, the media all too often end up protecting the status quo. Moreover, the literature shows that the media act to constrain other groups, such as social protesters, who attempt to effect social change, especially when the protest groups become more extremist and militant.” McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 326.

¹⁶ Jacobs, 73.

confront and dispute coverage in the mainstream media (in Chicago and Los Angeles); these black papers “attempted to re-frame the plot of insane rioters [used by the mainstream papers], and to emphasize that the urban revolt had been caused by the failure of mainstream society to listen to African-American leaders.”¹⁷ In other words, the black papers’ first priority was to offer a narrative that furthered understanding of the black situation in response to criticism in mainstream media. If that criticism was not present, the black papers could move on to a deeper discussion of race issues. Similarly, in his analysis of media coverage of violence following the Rodney King verdict in 1992, Jacobs notes, “If there was disapproval of the violence, it was overshadowed and overwhelmed for a time by the disapproval of the verdicts and the focus of blame on the Simi Valley jurors.”¹⁸ In this case, the mainstream media’s first priority was the apparent breakdown of the judicial system. Jacobs notes,

[T]he narrative of public outrage and criticism of the verdicts served to unite rioters and the public together against the jurors. . . . Rather than emphasizing a law-and-order theme as the *Los Angeles Times* and *Chicago Tribune* had done during the 1965 Watts uprisings, all of the mainstream news narratives about the 1992 uprisings were crafted in a way that focused, for the most part sympathetically, on the motivations of the rioters.¹⁹

From these collective observations, one can theorize that law and order is a priority theme for mainstream and even some alternative media. However, it appears possible that the judicial system is held to an even higher standard than public citizens and that the media will focus on a breakdown of the judicial system over a breakdown in public order.

This hierarchy of priorities is often discussed in relation to a theory mass communication researchers call “agenda-setting.” The agenda-setting theory “suggests that people *think about* what they are told . . . but at no level do they think *what* they are told.”²⁰ In other words, the media define the importance of topics — a hierarchy of priorities — for the public, and, while the public will likely focus on these topics, public opinion on these topics may follow a direction different from that suggested in the

¹⁷ Ibid., 66.

¹⁸ Ibid., 121.

¹⁹ Ibid., 120.

²⁰ McQuail, 356. He is quoting from J.S.M. Trenaman and D. McQuail, *Television and the Political Image* (London: Methuen, 1961).

media. The issue of civil rights was such a big topic in 1961 that one would expect little agenda-setting effects to result from coverage of civil rights stories. People were already talking about the issue.

However, news at the local level may have focused discussion on sublevels of the civil rights issue or topics linked to the larger issue of the civil rights issue, such as education and the maintenance of law and order within the community. On a national or global level, the civil rights story was the big issue; the University of Georgia and the behavior of students and local citizens were ancillary topics. However, in Athens and in Georgia (where people stood to lose the university and where people might have been hurt by violence), the press may have helped local citizens to understand that saving the university and the maintenance of law and order were more important (for white citizens) than the issue of civil rights.²¹ This new focus on different priorities in specific local contexts may encourage local discussion and result in consensus on the “ancillary” topics that are vital to communities.

Frames come into play in this hierarchy of media priorities because frames are the organizational tool of reporters. Frames are used to simplify very complex events and ideas into manageable narrative form. In the process of organizing stories into frames, reporters prioritize facts, sources, quotations, and even images. If information is irrelevant to the frame of the story or if it complicates the story, it may be left out, even though that information may be important to the overall story. This power of the frame over the inclusion or exclusion of facts and opinions is why the “balanced” (or “debate”) frame is so important as an ideal to be pursued. The “balanced” frame embraces the complicated nature of issues and seeks to further discussion in the public arena.

The Missing Balanced Frame

Not one “balanced”-frame story is included in the study of UGA’s desegregation coverage; none appeared in the six newspapers that I studied. After asserting that the “balanced” frame is rarely used in

²¹ Ira B. Harkey did the same thing in the *Pascagoula Chronicle* in Mississippi. He framed civil rights in economic terms, arguing that the state needed black workers for industry to survive. See David Bennett’s essay in Davies, *The Press and Race*, 193.

mainstream media, McLeod and Hertog offer a theory as to why the “balanced” frame is absent from newspapers: “news frames of the protest paradigm emphasize actions rather than the issues of a protest in a way that protects the illusion of objectivity. Reporting concrete actions is safe. . . . By contrast, issues are more difficult to cover ‘objectively.’”²² To strive for the ideal “balanced” frame, a reporter covering the UGA desegregation would have had to delve deeply into the racial tensions of the time, dealing with irrational racist opinions, talking with blacks who sought basic civil rights, and researching the success and failures of integrated schools in other parts of the country. How could any reporter appear objective with such a charged subject? Even if “both sides” are fairly represented, “each side” is likely to perceive the reporter as favoring the “other side.” Perhaps reporters are subject to social control — fear of public opinion or worse. Perhaps reporters (for black papers or white papers) feared calling wrath upon themselves if they wrote an article that offered any appearance of supporting integration.²³ After all, some reporters and cameramen were attacked for simply being at the scene of a riot.

Lack of the “balanced” frame and focus on the protests also indicates, as Gitlin suggests in *The Whole World is Watching*, “that news involves the novel event, not the underlying, enduring condition; the person, not the group; the visible conflict, not the deep consensus; the fact that ‘advances the story,’ not the one that explains or enlarges it.”²⁴ The focus on the event naturally leads readers to focus on the actions instead of furthering discussion of an issue in the public arena, which might lead to consensus or some resolution of the deeper issue. In fact, during the UGA desegregation, the violence became the *issue*.

There are a few articles in the *Constitution* and the *Journal* that indicate reporters were somewhat interested in discussing the issue of desegregation. These articles might have been turned into “balanced”-framed stories, but four were one-sided and opinion-oriented rather than analysis of all sides of the issue of segregation in education. The other two were more factual but did not really address the *issues*

²² McLeod and Hertog, “Social Control, Social Change and the Mass Media’s Role,” 314.

²³ For evidence that reporters and editors had reason to fear retribution for publishing unpopular opinions, see “Ira B. Harkey, Jr., and the *Pascagoula Chronicle*” pages 173-207 in *The Press and Race*.

²⁴ Gitlin, 263.

surrounding desegregation. These stories may have been written in response to the protests or simply in response to the desegregation. These four opinion stories were in *The Atlanta Constitution*. In “Interposition At Its Best!,” Ralph McGill argued for keeping the school open. In doing so, he wrote, “Going to school is not a social gathering. Students always have broken into volunteer groups of associates. Going to school is sitting at a desk and being taught. It is coming to school and going home. There is nothing social about it. The courts have in no manner invaded private life.”²⁵ Eddie Barker also wrote an editorial supporting desegregation after he spoke with a white woman who had lived in Alaska and attended the church where Charlayne Hunter’s father was chaplain. He quoted the woman who was outraged the first day she realized she was in a church with a black minister, “. . . as the Negro chaplain began to speak, I was hearing the words I had been hearing all of my life. He was preaching the same Bible. . . . He was educated and his sermon was prepared well.”²⁶ Charlayne Hunter’s father had supported this woman through a difficult time, and the woman came to believe “that everyone should have the right to an education. . . .”²⁷ Celestine Sibley wrote two editorials for the *Constitution* in which she suggested people really think about segregation. In one, she said, “Most of us love the people we know, no matter their color, and only a few of those. Most of us like some Negroes better than some white people and vice versa.”²⁸ In another, Sibley reported that a Georgia legislator was encouraging students to treat Hunter and Holmes with “cold, distant civility;” she noted, “It frightens me to think of teaching my child to freeze out another girl very like herself except for the color of her skin.”²⁹ The factual story in the *Constitution* was an overview of a report by the Civil Rights Commission, which

²⁵ Ralph McGill, “Interposition At Its Best!,” *The Atlanta Constitution*, 12 January 1961, p. 1.

²⁶ Eddie Barker, “All Have Right to Education, Southerner Learned in Alaska,” *The Atlanta Constitution*, 12 January 1961, p. 4.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Celestine Sibley, “Only the Good Lord Himself Loves the Whole Human Race,” *The Atlanta Constitution*, 12 January 1961, p. 5.

²⁹ Celestine Sibley, “Cold, Distant Civility to Negroes Can Be a Two-Edged Sword,” *The Atlanta Constitution*, 13 January 1961, p. 5.

showed the inequality of educational opportunities for blacks in Georgia.³⁰ The *Journal* printed a story on the state of desegregation in other Southern colleges: only Louisiana had desegregated undergraduate programs; some schools had desegregated graduate programs.³¹ The article listed the number of black students in various Southern colleges, but it did not address how desegregation affected the schools or how students at the schools were adjusting to the change. While all of these articles advocated desegregation, they did not delve into the issues and they did not give voice to the protesters' support of segregation.

Practical Advice for Negotiating Protest Frames

Protesters should not let their demonstrations violate a higher priority. If the newspaper or its readers feel threatened, the protesters' message will be subordinate to coverage of that threat and regulation of that threat. McLeod and Hertog found that when anarchists were interviewed in "riot" stories, they were often asked questions that focused on their actions. I would venture to advise protesters that they should take full advantage of the media's attention if they receive it. Reporters often take their cues for frames from their sources. For example, all but one of the "unjust persecution" stories about UGA's desegregation followed a frame suggested by the legislators. While official sources are more likely to suggest frames, there is a potential for protesters to suggest ways to frame stories. Regardless of what questions are asked, protesters should keep their basic messages in their answers. Protesters should even consider answering different questions from those they are asked. Politicians do it all the time. Reporters do not always think to ask the question that protesters want to answer. Sometimes protesters should take the initiative to introduce their messages or interpretations of their actions to the reporters' interviews.

³⁰ "Rights Study Raps Georgia for 'Inequality' in Education," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 16 January 1961, p. 9.

³¹ "Louisiana Colleges Already Integrated," *Atlanta Journal*, 10 January 1961, p. 23.

Politicians, too, stand to gain from this study. When politicians are the subject of criticism from protesters, they should know that they have the power to suggest marginalizing frames to reporters just by commenting on the actions and antics of protesters. On the other hand, when politicians choose to support some push for social change — or to resist social change — they should understand that they are more likely to be invited to explain to the media and their readers/viewers what the message is. They can help focus the stories on the meaning of actions during times of protest and social conflict.

Editors and reporters should be more conscious of the frames they use. They should ask themselves: Does this story focus on the event or the issue? How can I represent all sides of the issue? Additionally, reporters should be aware of how they choose frames; the sympathetic frames in the Georgia newspapers in this study followed frames set by legislators. How often do reporters take cues about frames from people in authority positions? Does this story focus on the event or the issue? If it focuses on the event, what is the best way to incorporate the issue? If it focuses on the issue, does it represent all sides fairly? If a point of view is missing, should it be added to this story or should a counter story be added to the paper to give an alternate view of the issue? Both reporters and editors should be wary when they realize they are covering events. They should question: Is the event really bigger than the issue? News media should work in advance of protests. Organized protest groups send press releases and invitations to their demonstrations. Reporters should take advantage of the advance notice to interview protest leaders; it is much easier to focus on the message without the antics and it is much easier to write an in-depth story about a movement when the deadline is not that day.

Journalism instructors should educate students on the use of frames. Students should be aware of how easy it is to fall into the trap of filling in the blanks of a frame “template.” They should understand the difference between the event and the issue. They should be made aware that a protest or demonstration is often a “statement about the world” and they should learn to understand the issue behind the “statement.”

Constitution writer Bruce Galphin “took the UGA faculty to task for its failure to challenge the white supremacist notions that their students brought with them to college. . . . [H]e . . . thought that if the

faculty had been more forthright in its teaching about race, the riot might have been averted.”³² By the same token, one might argue that had the Georgia newspapers been more forthright in challenging white supremacist notions — or probing the *issue* of desegregation — then the riot might have been averted.

The possibility that the newspapers might have led a discussion on race relations and the possibility that the articles that were printed *did* avert violence and *did* create a community of anti-violence open the door to questions and theories about media effects. What would have happened had the papers started discussing desegregation earlier? Surely Georgians could see it coming as early as 1954 with *Brown v. Board of Education*? Did the moralizing editorials in the newspapers invoke the fear of ostracism in rioters? Are articles deploring some form of deviance more effective if they feature pictures of “deviants” they seek to put in their place? Many students refused to be quoted by name when sharing anti-integration sentiments with reporters covering UGA’s desegregation; how does identification affect deviants? Did naming student rioters affect the rioters’ — named or unnamed — decisions about participating in future demonstrations?

As media theorists study current protest phenomena, they will learn more about the relationship between the media and social protests and will help reporters and article subjects — the established subjects such as lawmakers and the unestablished subjects such as protesters — understand the potential power of the media to influence social movements. In the meantime, leaders of protest movements should understand the difficult situation they are in: they garner attention when they protest; however, the media are likely to focus on the method of delivery rather than the message. Even when the majority protests, the message — the *issue* — gets lost in the event.

As Demers and Viswanath point out, “The synthesized [social control-social change] model . . . redirects scientific inquiry away from the question of whether the media are agents of control or change to the question of identifying the conditions or circumstances that lead media to initiate or promote — or fail to initiate or promote — social change or social control. From a public policy perspective, the goal then

³² Cohen, “Two, Four, Six, Eight, We Don’t Want to Integrate,” 632.

becomes one of determining how to actively destroy, construct or recreate social structures that lead to the production of media content which help to reduce if not eliminate social problems and social injustice.”³³

The onus is on protest groups not to sabotage their own messages by violating the hierarchy of priorities. Protesters must understand the media that will cover their protests, or at least the media that might cover their protests. They must understand that the hierarchy of priorities is viewed in different contexts by different publications, and they must understand these contexts and work within them if they want to maximize the possible effects of media coverage. It is important for media theorists to probe the idea of this hierarchy. Who or what determines the order of priorities? Is it public opinion? Is it the reporters and editors? Is it journalistic tradition that is passed unwittingly from generation to generation? How does this hierarchy affect the reporting of protests and social conflict? How do priorities differ among types of media and among types of communities? Does the hierarchy of priorities further the consensus role of the media? Would making journalists more aware of the priorities make them more conscious of the frames they use? Would it result in a greater use of the “balanced/debate” frame? If so, how would the role of mass media change?

While this “debate” story is ideal, and might have helped to deal with the issue of desegregation in Athens, it is important to note that even without the “debate” story, the media may have played an important role in the eventual success of the UGA desegregation; the newspapers’ condemnation of rioting may have prevented greater violence. If so, the marginalization that other media researchers have condemned may serve a useful purpose. Small-town Athens, Georgia, may have seen itself in a mirror or in its neighbors’ eyes and decided not to continue violent protest. It is fairly apparent that the media were protecting one status quo — law and order — but it is also important to note that by doing so they were promoting social change by encouraging segregationists to accept desegregated schools.

³³ Demers and Viswanath, 6.

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APPENDIX A

ARTICLES IN *THE RED & BLACK*

The following is an annotated list of articles concerning UGA's desegregation published in The Red and Black, the student newspaper at the University of Georgia, during January 1961. The articles in bold concern desegregation protests and these are the articles I analyzed in terms of their frames.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 1961

1. **"Bootle Orders University to Admit Negro Students"**
Following a deck that suggests the decision sets a 'precedent,' the article addresses the ruling itself that the university had discriminated against Hunter and Holmes and the stipulation of immediacy in the judge's ordering their enrollment. The article mentions the state has "numerous laws prohibiting the use of state funds for operation of integrated state schools and colleges."

MONDAY, JANUARY 9, 1961

2. **"Your Responsibility"**
Responding to demonstrations before the January 11 riot, student editor Terry Hazelwood urges students to be responsible and to protest peacefully. He stresses the importance of the university's reputation and warns of possible attempts by media to sensationalize. Highlighting the importance of individual responsibility, he asks, "How would you feel if suddenly in the middle of such a demonstration everybody else was not there, the photographers snapped a picture, and your photograph appeared across the country as the sole violent demonstrator?"
3. **"Negroes Fail to Register"**
Student reporter Tommy Johnson interprets the nationwide scope of the story when he mentions how many newspeople were on campus to cover the story: "a fleet of newsmen and photographers representing papers and magazines across the country." The story follows Charlayne and Hamilton's registration process and reports on student reaction: "A crowd of interested students milled around outside [the registrar's office], but there was no demonstration whatever."
4. **"Bootle Delays Integration"**
This article reports that Bootle stayed his own order, explaining that he stipulated the appeal must be handled quickly. The article stated, "[The stay] would also give the Georgia Legislature which convened in Atlanta today a chance to repeal a law shutting off funds to an integrated state school."
5. **"Non-Violence Urged By Dean of Students In Campus Meeting"**
A meeting with student leaders was called by Dean of Students Joseph Williams to urge students to do their part to prevent violence on campus. According to the article, "[Williams] warned the group of more than 100 students that trouble might appear from persons outside the University and that there are always those in any group who will try to cause trouble." Student leaders voiced opposition to violence and promised to support the university. In addition, Williams was quoted, "I have faith the school will stay open."
6. **"State Legislators Believe Ruling Prevents Closure"**
This article addresses the students' biggest concern: would the school be closed? Legislators commented generally that the school probably would have been closed if Bootle had not stayed his integration order. However, several legislators also commented that they did not want to see the school closed.

7. “Campus Leaders Ask Students to Follow Non-Violence Course”

A poll of 10 student leaders “asked to give their opinion on the crisis facing University students” resulted in five opinions “for segregation,” five specifically concerned with “open schools,” and one specifying “open and segregated” schools. Three students said they were against violence and six were opposed to anything that would disgrace the university.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1961

8. “Your Responsibility”

Warning against “yankee publications” looking for sensational news, Hazelwood describes CBS pressmen urging students to “Wave your fists in the air about something” for the cameras. “Are we going to play into their hands? Are we going to let them make fools of us and add to the existing confusion?” Hazelwood asks. He also praises Dean Tate for his ability to control excited crowds of students.

9. “Negro Students Prepare For Wednesday Classes”

The headline and the article both note the immediacy with which Charlayne and Hamilton will desegregate the University. This article by Tommy Johnson reports on the last of the registration procedure completed by both Charlayne and Hamilton. Johnson made one reference to the crowds on campus during this time: “A crowd of some 1,500 students and newsmen” and “The crowd, including some agitators attempting to stir up some excitement, awaited Hunter and Holmes’ arrival. . . .”

10. “Bootle’s Decision Begins Historic Series of Events”

This article, run without a byline, presents a list of UGA student demonstrations in chronological order and with a brief description but without interpretation by the writer(s).

11. “Bootle’s Order Stops Vandiver”

Also run without a byline, this article explains that the governor cannot close the school immediately. Judge Bootle’s temporary injunction against state officials would prevent university funds from being cut off, the article reported; however, the next step in the legal progression would be a hearing “on whether the injunction should be made permanent.”

12. “Campus Leaders Ask Students to Follow Non-Violence Course”

The same opinion poll that ran on January 9 ran in the January 10 issue.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1961

13. “Your Responsibility”

On January 11, the student newspaper published a handbill, rather than a full issue of *The Red and Black*, featuring an editorial by Hazelwood. Focusing on the violence of the night before which disgraced the University, Hazelwood asked, “Are you proud . . . ?” Hazelwood particularly stressed the danger of crowds gathering and that each student should take responsibility to prevent being part of crowds: “Not one person who participated in that exhibition last night would have done so by himself. When you and your room-mate came up beside him, though, it was different.”

THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1961

14. “Legislature Asks Return for Suspended Students”

Tom Blalock reported on actions by legislators to have students who were suspended for involvement in demonstrations at the University reinstated and to commend those faculty members who did not sign petitions in relation to the desegregation. The article also revealed that the FBI, a state legislative committee and the Clarke County grand jury were investigating the events surrounding the desegregation.

15. “Your Business”

Critical of the legislature for interfering with University suspension policies, in this editorial Hazelwood supports the authority of university officials. Further, he warns that political pressure on universities can cause the schools to lose accreditation.

16. “Calm Returns Here After Administration Orders Restrictions”

A report on measures to ensure no more outbreaks of violence on campus, this article notifies readers that 100 state troopers and 40 Athens police are on alert in case of trouble. Additionally, the article notes, Charlayne and Hamilton had police escorts, women students were under curfew, and investigations continued.

17. “Student Leaders”

This opinion piece is directed at student leaders, who — according to this article — are responsible for maintaining nonviolence. The article encourages free speech through proper channels. Further, the article encourages, “turn the news of these rational forms of protest over to the press and other news media for publicity. Just as much good in the end will be accomplished, and the University will not have to bear the brand of another ‘Little Rock’ scandal.”

18. “Our Picture”

Hazelwood opens his column talking about how UGA students’ actions affect public opinion and national foreign policy. He uses examples of letters he has received from across the nation to show what others think of the students and ends encouraging students to “pick up our broken pieces and carry on.”

19. “Scape Goat”

While neglecting to cite specific examples of media coverage, this editorial praises media coverage in general: “. . . with few exceptions, they [the media] are to be very highly commended. Their coverage was true, accurate, and in good taste.” The article goes on to say that the media generally acted with discretion and in some cases were able to advise university officials based on their past experiences.

20. “Student Opinions”

In this opinion poll, six students were asked “Do you think student leaders have taken a position of leadership in the recent crisis at the University?” One student reported, “I feel that students are being led by outside interference and home town opinion instead of by campus leaders.” Another said, “I feel that the majority have upheld their position by calling for no violence.” However, one criticized, “. . . I have heard of no attempt by any of our ‘leaders’ to disperse any of the so-called mobs.”

21. “Papers of Nation, State Report on Crisis Here”

The student paper printed excerpts of UGA desegregation coverage from *New York Times*, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, *Macon News*, and *Rome News-Tribune*. The New York paper presented students as almost accidental participants, as manipulated by outsiders; the Chicago article was a sarcastic depiction of cruel students at UGA; the Macon article was aimed at the legislature, urging legislators not to pass ridiculous laws; and the Rome paper was critical of Roy Harris, saying even in opposition to integration, education must be supported.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 1961

22. “Legislature Reacts To Campus Rulings On Student Activity”

Reporting on the legislature’s resolution that would both censure UGA faculty and prohibit inhibitions to students’ free speech and right of assembly, Tom Blalock ended his article with the note that the University System Chancellor warned “invasion of the university’s jurisdiction could mean loss of accreditation.”

APPENDIX B

ARTICLES IN THE *ATHENS BANNER-HERALD*

The following is an annotated list of articles concerning UGA's desegregation published in The Athens Banner-Herald, the student newspaper at the University of Georgia, during January 1961. The articles in bold concern desegregation protests and these are the articles I analyzed in terms of their frames.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 8, 1961

1. **"Appeal May Stay Negroes' Entry Into University"**

This article, reporting on the appeal filed by the Georgia Attorney General, stresses the possibility that the University of Georgia might close because of the 1956 appropriations act denying funds to schools offering co-education of whites and blacks.

2. **"Student leaders Pledge to Support University"**

Joe Zellner reported on open communication at UGA aimed at preventing violence — mainly in the form of a meeting of Dean Joe Williams with leaders of various student groups and petitions, including one supporting an open school.

MONDAY, JANUARY 9, 1961

3. **"Judge Bootle Grants Delay in Two Negroes Entering University"**

This Associated Press article gives background information on the UGA desegregation, a sense of the feeling on campus, and hints at the possible maneuvers in the legal case. The reporter explains about the 1956 law, suggesting that the school will remain segregated, the school will close, or Georgia law will have to change. The article describes Hunter and Holmes' attempts to register. The article also describes protests on campus and predicts future violence: "A cross was burned on the edge of the University campus..." and "In Atlanta, ... granddragon of the Ku Klux Klan issued a statement in which he said... 'I firmly believe there will be violence by some of the student body.'"

4. **"Tense Legislators Begin New Session"**

Also an AP piece, this article reports that the question of UGA's segregated status — and open status — is the main concern of the legislators. The Senate pro-tem and House floor leader "emphasized they favor segregation, but ... the state cannot get along without education." The article went on to cover the proposed highway bond program as discussed in the legislative session.

5. **"Four Conditions Made In Judge Bootle's Stay"**

AP reporter Kathryn Johnson wrote that Bootle insisted his stay was to allow for fair appeal procedures and was not in any way related to the 1956 law that demanded funds be cut off to integrated schools. Bootle stipulated that the appeal must be handled quickly.

6. **"Student Petition Goes to Solons"**

This article emphasizes that education is the top priority for students, although there was disagreement among students about the "racial issue." Joe Zellner wrote the article which stated 2,776 students had signed a petition in favor of keeping the University open.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1961

7. **"Bootle Issues Injunction Stopping Vandiver From Cutting Off Funds"**

The deck of this article, which read "Judge Schedules Hearing to Decide on Permanency," explains the precarious position of the University. This position was the main point of the article; the AP reporters ended by saying "Attendance was reduced at the University classes, many students having

departed for their homes after hearing news that Vandiver planned to close it and order a holiday the rest of the week.”

8. “Justice Receives State’s Petition”

This AP article outlines the latest developments in the legal battle.

9. “New School Bill Proposal Planned”

Another AP article, this one reported that some Georgia legislators were making plans to reopen the University if it were closed in accordance with laws cutting off funds.

10. “Students Parade From Woodruff to Famed Arch”

Apparently, “News of Governor Ernest Vandiver’s decision to cut off funds to the University of Georgia Monday night touched off a student demonstration that stopped traffic as it moved through the streets of downtown.” This article, run with no byline, reported that ultimately 1,000 students participated in the demonstration “lead [sic] by a seemingly small, well-organized band of students.”

11. “Crowd Watches 2 New Students Register Monday”

This story covered Charlayne and Hamilton’s movements around campus as they registered and the movements of the crowds that followed them. The second paragraph refers to anticipation of disorder: “Numerous good-natured cheers went up from the crowd, but no acts of violence or discriminatory words resulted. William Tate, Dean of men, mingled among the students, newsmen, and photographers to make sure no misbehavior flared up.” The last paragraph reports on symbolism on campus: “While these proceedings were taking place, a small Confederate flag was seen flying at half staff on the porch of a fraternity house on Lumpkin.”

12. “Methodists Back Athens”

According to this news brief, two church groups “expressed confidence in and support of the clergy and members of the churches of Athens, the administration and student body of the University as they take positive leadership in producing a stable Christian atmosphere in which social changes can take place without disruption of orderly processes.”

13. “Vandiver Moves For Open Schools”

This AP article is really a profile of Vandiver, suggesting that the situation in Athens was making for hard decisions for the governor. Vandiver’s decision to keep the University open is the main point, followed by a description of Vandiver himself: his service to the state, his family, his hobbies, and his accomplishments.

14. “Continuance of University Sessions Up to Legislature”

A.F. Pledger wrote a “Daily Meditations” column for the *Banner-Herald*; in this one, Pledger wrote that integration was tolerable while closing the university would be intolerable. The article urged legislators to “[r]epeal as quickly as possible that section of the 1956 appropriations act which cuts off funds to integrated schools. . . .”

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1961

15. “Students Continue Classes As Usual”

On this first day of classes for Charlayne and Hamilton, “no crowds gathered. There was just the usual flow of bright-eyed students. . . . There were no jeers or cat calls.” This article discusses the legal battle over cutting off funds, Charlayne and Hamilton’s registration, and ends with brief descriptions of protests by students: “Crowds of students pressed into the building chanting ‘Two-four-six-eight, we don’t want to integrate...,’ “A crowd of about 1,000 students gathered in front of the dormitory late Tuesday night, some shouting and shooting off a few firecrackers; Three were arrested...,” “A dean collared a young male student who was carrying a Negro rag doll by a string around its neck....”

16. “University Is Calm As Negroes Attend Classes”

AP reporter Kathryn Johnson compared Hunter and Holmes’ calm first day of classes with demonstrations that had occurred in previous days. She then described Hunter and Holmes in terms of

their accomplishments and their families and she included statements by Hunter and Holmes about their current situation in Athens.

17. **“Aderhold Praises Cooperation in University Crisis”**

Aderhold gave a press conference where he commended the faculty and student body for their cooperation. Louis Griffith, assistant to the president, attributed most student crowds to curiosity and urged reporters and photographers not to congregate as they tended to attract crowds.

18. **“Students Gather at Center Myers; Several Arrested”**

This article described a student demonstration the night before Charlayne and Hamilton first attended classes at UGA. The protest took place near the dormitory where Charlayne lived. “Most of the action seemed confined to fireworks,” the article reported, and “several students were arrested for shooting fireworks.” The article also mentioned that students threw rocks and doused a photographer with hot coffee. Where the article jumped to page two, the article changes focus to describe Charlayne and Hamilton’s first day of class.

19. **“2 State Leaders Hold Firm Today on School Funds”**

The state auditor and the speaker of the House were quoted in this article interpreting the 1956 appropriations act to mean that any public school funds must be suspended once a school is desegregated. Others argued such a measure would require some action by a state official. Bootle’s order enjoining Vandiver and others from cutting off funds to UGA seemed to complicate the matter rather than make it simpler.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1961

20. **“Patrol Removes Both Students to Atlanta Homes”**

The Wednesday night riot resulted in suspension of Charlayne and Hamilton. This article goes over the details of the riot and the legal appeal of the suspension.

21. **“Vandiver Gives Order Removing Negro Students”**

This Associated Press article contains the full text of the governor’s decision to suspend Charlayne and Hamilton.

22. **“Full State Backing Asked In Protecting University”**

This front-page editorial questions why the riot occurred, asks what the state will do to prevent future disturbances, and asserts that troublemakers should be prosecuted.

23. **“Official Report Given on Disorder”**

The mayor of Athens gave a statement clarifying the performance of the State Patrol in the Athens riot, specifically criticizing their delayed response. This article gives the full text of Mayor Snow’s statement.

24. **“Students Adopt Attitude of Curiosity, Tolerance”**

AP reporter Kathryn Johnson wrote of the attitude on campus as Charlayne and Hamilton attended their first classes, before the riot of that night. She quoted several students, most of them anonymously, and summed up their reactions by saying, “None of the students said they wanted integration. But none said they would give up their college education for the sake of segregation.”

25. **“Police, Fireman Suffer Injuries”**

This brief report detailed some injuries and property damage that resulted from the “rioting demonstration” at UGA.

26. **“Irresponsible Reporting Should Be Eliminated”**

In this “Daily Meditations” column, A.F. Pledger urged media companies to investigate charges by the editor of the student newspaper that some reporters and photographers were “inciting students to violence.”

FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1961

27. “Planned Disaster Strikes Hard Blow Against Freedom”

This editorial describes the riot scene, blaming the demonstration on out-of-town leaders and stressing that participants were a minority of students. Urging a Clarke County investigation, the article proclaims, “We support legal opposition to integration, but we must strongly deplore violence.”

28. “Faculty Group Seeks Return of Negro Students”

Petitions by both students and faculty were the subject of this article. More than half of the UGA faculty signed a resolution asking that Charlayne and Hamilton be reinstated after their suspension. Students also signed petitions deploring violence that had taken place.

29. “Bootle is Asked to Reverse Suspension”

This article briefs readers on the legal details surrounding a request that Judge Bootle force the reinstatement of Charlayne and Hamilton. The article also reveals that both the FBI and the Georgia legislature had begun investigating the riot.

30. “Alumni President Gives Report On School Crisis”

Marvin B. Peters, president of the UGA alumni society, called on UGA alumni and friends as well as Georgia citizens to support the University through the desegregation.

31. “Some 1,200 Sign Petition Backing Athens Leaders”

Citizens of Athens signed a petition in support of Athens and University leaders.

32. “Harris Delivers Radio Statement on University”

In an AP report on statements made by the vocal segregationist member of the Georgia Board of Regents member Roy Harris, Harris was quoted as saying the riot at UGA took place because “the governor, the legislature, and the school administration didn’t have the nerve to deal with the situation [so students] took it in their own hands.”

33. “Legislature Turns to Campus Probe”

While the last half of this AP report dealt with routine legislature business, the first half informed readers that the Georgia House of Representatives had formed a committee to investigate the riot.

34. “University’s Administrative Leaders Receive Praise”

This article, written by Bill Harrell and originally printed in the *Atlanta Constitution*, was written in response to criticism of two UGA officials. Harrell spoke on behalf of Deans Joe Williams and William Tate, especially Tate, for their service to the university, especially during the crisis involving the desegregation riot.

35. “There’s No Excuse For Staged News”

Referring to a *Red and Black* editorial, this article condemns reporters for “directing” the news rather than reporting it.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 15, 1961

36. “Papers Censure Mob’s Violence, Urge Law, Order”

The *Athens Banner-Herald* printed excerpts about the riot from papers across the nation and the state.

37. “Leaders Remind Athenians, Others of Conduct Rules”

The *Banner-Herald* reprinted statements made by the chief of police and by University officials. These statements included expectations about peaceful behavior and consequences of more violence.

38. **“We Must Take Precautions to Preserve Law, Order”**

This editorial urges peaceful protest, giving petitions as an example, and urges students not to participate — actively or as bystanders — in demonstrations, which can quickly get out of hand. Further, the editorial urges punishment for anyone who violates the law.

39. **“Garroway Gives ‘Georgia Report’”**

An editor’s note critical of TV reporter Dave Garroway for slanted reporting that showed only negative actions by UGA students and Georgia officials precedes the AP article about Garroway’s coverage of the UGA riot.

40. **“Faculty Resolution Has 350 Names”**

Reprinting the entire resolution asking that Charlayne and Hamilton be reinstated, this article updates the count of signers — “more than 350 University of Georgia faculty.”

41. **“Vandiver Gives Statement on Riot”**

The text of Governor Vandiver’s statement is printed. Vandiver denies any delay on his part in dispatching the State Patrol to the scene of the riot. He blames Mayor Snow and President Aderhold for not contacting him quickly.

42. **“Grand Jurors Slate Hearings”**

This article briefly mentions that hearings in relation to charges from the riot will begin the next Monday.

43. **“Williams Criticizes Garroway Remark”**

UGA Dean of Students Joe Williams said he was interviewed by Dave Garroway for Garroway’s NBC program. Williams’ statement contradicted Garroway’s claim that he had tried unsuccessfully to reach University officials for comment.

44. **“New Enrollees Plan to Return Monday”**

State Police would be on hand to help prevent violence when Charlayne and Hamilton returned, this article reported. The article also reviewed their suspension and the court ruling that ordered them readmitted.

45. **“State Authorities Must Not Permit Mob Rule”**

The Banner-Herald reprinted a WAGA-TV editorial condemning and questioning the outbreak of violence on the Athens campus and comparing the riotous behavior to that of Communists and Hitlerites.

46. **“Hooliganism Criticized by Reader”**

Clyde R. Ray of Athens, Ga., wrote to the Athens Banner-Herald deploring the riotous behavior of some UGA students. “The fact that this ‘hooliganism’ was planned and engineered by ‘outsiders’ does not relieve our student body and citizenry of their responsibilities as law-abiding persons to conduct themselves with dignity and restraint.”

MONDAY, JANUARY 16, 1961

47. **“Two Negro Enrollees Back on Campus”**

After reporting that Charlayne and Hamilton had returned to the University with no disturbance, this article added background information on the desegregation.

48. **“Prowler Pulls Gun on Campus at Myers Hall”**

A man “reportedly searching for” Charlayne Hunter pulled a gun on a University security guard and took the guard’s gun before fleeing.

49. **“Giddens Praises Aderhold and Staff for Stand”**

Minister Howard Giddens praised University officials for their handling of the school’s crisis and voiced his belief in the people of Georgia to handle the changes.

50. "Charlayne Hunter Gives Interview to Newsmen"

This AP article quotes Charlayne about her reasons for going to UGA and her plans to return to campus.

51. "Two State Solons Ask Special Bill For Scholarships"

This AP article revealed that two South Georgia legislators were planning to propose a bill that would fund \$1,600 annual scholarships to "any students discharged from the University of Georgia for taking part in demonstrations against integration." The article also revealed that some legislators agreed with Regent member Roy Harris that UGA President O.C. Aderhold should be asked to leave; other unnamed legislators spoke for their constituents saying Harris, not Aderhold, should resign.

52. "Telegram Shows Student Backing"

According to this AP report, Students for Public Education sent a telegram to several UGA student leaders: "We know the majority of students at the University of Georgia were appalled by last Wednesday night's riots. We hope that thinking students will speak out and not let the rabid minority embarrass you again. We're with you."

53. "Legislature Meets on Georgia Crisis"

Mercer Bailey of the AP reported that some legislators were considering compromise while others would fight school integration as long as they could. He also said that a federal judge "relieved the General Assembly from having to take action [in the UGA desegregation] by issuing court orders knocking down one specific state segregation statute and preventing state officials from interfering with the operation of an integrated university."

54. "Bar University Visits – Howard"

This AP report says that Representative Pierre Howard planned to ask the Georgia General Assembly to adopt a resolution barring visitors from the University and urging the governor to protect Hunter and Holmes. The report also noted that Senator Howard Overby has issued a statement urging the repeal of all segregation laws so the state could control school integration.

55. "Georgia's Shrill Agitators Upset Quiet College Town"

Reprinted from the *Dayton (Ohio) Daily News*, this editorial by Jim Fain, who spent his childhood in Georgia, insists that Athens "is not the sort of place to react violently to anything or cruelly to anyone." Fain blamed much of the riot trouble on Roy Harris, whom he said influenced Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas during the time the Little Rock schools were desegregated.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1961

56. "Grand Jury Calls For Reassurance to Keep Peace"

This piece relates the full text of the Athens-Clarke Grand Jury presentment requesting Governor Vandiver to help prevent recurrence of disorder.

57. "Governor Replies to Jury Request"

Vandiver claimed he would be glad to help quell disorders, but he hesitated to set a precedent by sending state troopers when not requested by the local government. He said he had 100 patrolmen ready if "disturbances exceeded the ordinary kind of gathering."

58. "Student Group Asks Respect of Equal Rights"

Officers of the U.S. National Student Association sent a telegram to Vandiver expressing concern about the way Hamilton and Charlayne had been treated.

59. "University Has 'Quiet Night' With Integration"

Giving a brief explanation of the court orders that resulted in the second attempt for Charlayne and Hamilton to attend UGA and a mention of measures to prevent a recurrence of violence, this article reports that a rumored demonstration had failed to take place the night before.

60. "Six Men Slated for Trial on Weapons Charge"

Police testified against six men — five who admitted to being Klan members — on charges relating to the UGA riot. All were indicted and held for trial.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1961

61. "Calm Continues At University For Third Day"

The crowds had died out on campus, this article reports, suggesting little need for the plainclothesmen accompanying Charlayne and Hamilton. "Miss Hunter and Hamilton Holmes . . . received scant attention from white students on their third day. A white boy was seen politely holding open a door for the Negro girl," the article ended.

62. "Arnold Praises Aderhold, Staff For Good Work"

UGA student Loran Smith wrote this article quoting Board of Regents Chairman Robert O. Arnold, who praised the university president and administration for "an excellent job in handling the University's recent integration problem."

63. "State Assembly Sees Light Day"

AP reporter Mercer Bailey wrote on bills to be proposed in the House of Representatives, including measures related to school desegregation. Particular to UGA, the House Rules Committee "approved . . . a resolution demanding readmission of University of Georgia students ousted for taking part in demonstrations which followed the admission of two Negroes."

64. "Large Papers Give Views on Developments in Athens"

The *Athens Banner-Herald* reprinted "sample comments from newspaper editorials" in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *New York Times*, and the *Chicago Daily Tribune*. All three were critical of the anti-integration riot.

65. "City, University Officials Praised"

The *Banner-Herald* printed this editorial that aired on a local radio station (WGAU). In part, the editorial commended city and university officials, the students who petitioned to keep the school open, and faculty members who petitioned in favor of the university's administrators. Further, the editorial condemned all the people who participated in the violence, Roy Harris "for his intemperate outbursts," and "TV performer Dave Garroway for talking unctiously [*sic*] about brutal mob rule in Georgia and how New York elementary justice demanded that the rioting students be suspended, just as if none of them were."

THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1961

66. "Athens Ministers Adopt Resolution On School Crisis"

The Athens Ministerial Association adopted a resolution supporting the University of Georgia and asking the General Assembly "to take no action that would reflect upon the character of the University administration and faculty, and to refrain from any action that would jeopardize the academic accreditation of the University or impair its progress."

67. "Six Men Indicted On Riot Charges By Grand Jurors"

After naming the six men arrested on charges associated with the UGA riot, five of whom admitted KKK membership, this article listed the crimes with which the men were charged: "violence by cursing, use of threatening language, throwing stones at Athens police cars, fire trucks and private cars, and through windows of the dormitory to which Miss Hunter had been assigned." The article went on to report that the legislature "urged the reinstatement of 13 white students suspended . . . for participating in the . . . demonstration" and that the Georgia Senate officially commended the faculty members who did not sign the faculty petition.

JANUARY 20, 1961

68. “2 Students Face ‘Rioting’ Trial”

Two male UGA students were named in this article which reported on the charges against them. “The indictment accuse[d] the students of carrying a banner bearing inflammatory words and exhorting other persons to make an assault on the dormitory where Charlayne Hunter, a Negro student from Atlanta, is staying.”

69. “Jurors Protest Violent Actions”

The Clarke County Grand Jury commended university officials and faculty as well as city and county officials and students who avoided violent action. The jurors also condemned the citizens, outsiders, and students who displayed violence on the UGA campus.

JANUARY 22, 1961

70. “Georgians Are Indebted to Clarke County Grand Jury”

This unsigned front-page editorial praised the Clarke County Grand Jury for investigating the violence at UGA and issuing 11 indictments stemming from the riot.

71. “School Officials Issue Discipline Actions Report”

This article gave the highlights of disciplinary actions taken against 27 students for involvement in the riot.

72. “Student Group Seeks to Keep University Open”

The Students for Constructive Action, concerned that the university would lose its accreditation because of political interference, urged “parents and friends of UGA students” to contact legislators “expressing faith in the faculty and administration of the University.”

73. “All Georgians Should Support the University”

A.F. Pledger, in this “Daily Meditations” column, points out that most Georgia leaders are molded in the state’s university system—many at the university in Athens. Pointing out how much the university had improved in recent years, Pledger criticizes legislators for threatening the school with censure that could cause a loss of accreditation or alienate faculty members and university officials.

74. “Atlanta Church Raps Geer, State For Crisis Talk”

Members of Sardis Methodist Church sent a letter to the governor’s office expressing disapproval of executive secretary Peter Zack Geer’s comments praising the courage of rioting students.

75. “True Character of Athens Not Harmed By Riot”

Tom Williams wrote for the *Banner-Herald*, “The people [of Athens] condemn mob action and demand full penalty for those who instigated and committed this deplorable crime. The town’s spirit is seen in petitions from clerical, civic, and business groups commending the University and city officials for the manner in which they conducted themselves and for doing their best in the face of overpowering forces. These people recognize that the majority of students conducted themselves well.”

76. “Red and Black Takes Stand on Legislature”

The *Athens Banner-Herald* ran a story summarizing student editor Terry Hazelwood’s front-page editorial criticizing legislators for attempting to interfere in university disciplinary measures following the riot.

APPENDIX C

ARTICLES IN *THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION*

The following is an annotated list of articles concerning UGA's desegregation published during January 1961 in The Atlanta Constitution. The articles in bold concern desegregation protests and these are the articles I analyzed in terms of their frames.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1961

1. "2 Negroes Ordered Admitted to UGA"

This article announces Judge Bootle's decision ordering Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes admitted to the University of Georgia immediately; the emphasis is on the text of Bootle's decision.

2. "Cutting Off Funds? Vandiver Won't Say"

The January funds for the University of Georgia were not officially approved before Bootle's decision. While some assume the 1956 appropriations act, which includes a clause limiting state funds to "schools and colleges providing separate education for white and colored races," mandates cessation of those state funds; one "legal source" insists cutting off the funds is not automatic but would require action by state officials.

3. "University Shutdown is Opposed"

Key legislators and other state officials voice opposition when faced with the threat of having to close the University.

4. **"200 Students Hang Effigy On Campus"**

White student protesters hang an effigy of Hamilton Holmes at the arch. Students are reacting to the announcement of Bootle's order. Much of the article was given to quoting student opinion. An interesting note is that the headline proclaims "200 students," a number which the article attributed to police estimates; the article also reported "Dean Tate estimated that 'not more than 50 boys' took part in the demonstration while student leaders estimated 'around 500.'"

5. "Text of Court Order Admitting Negroes to University"

The *Constitution* reprinted the full text of Bootle's decision, which takes up the better part of two pages.

MONDAY, JANUARY 9, 1961

6. "Legislators Fight For School"

The early part of the article was devoted to criticism of the governor and the previous year's legislature, but the lead and the majority of the article suggested state legislators were in favor of keeping the University open.

7. "Vandiver Decision on Cutoff Near as University Looks to Assembly"

Governor Vandiver's closed meetings with state leaders were reported and news of his anticipated decision concerning school funds was announced. The article also reported the possibility Charlayne and Hamilton would attend classes before the governor could act. Much of the article was devoted to quoting legislators concerning their position for keeping the University open or closing it.

8. "Assembly Priority Pledged University"

Two key legislative leaders, Rep. Frank Twitty and Sen. Carl Sanders (House floor leader and president pro tem, respectively) were quoted in support of keeping the University open, based on their comments on a televised panel show.

9. “Students Rally in Chapel to Keep University Open”

Students collected 2,600 names on a petition to keep the University open. On the other hand, other students sent telegrams to Vandiver and the General Assembly urging the maintenance of segregation in an open university. Changing topics abruptly, the article also covered a sermon given by the minister of one of the student churches, criticizing student demonstrations that included effigies and cross burning.

10. “Open Schools Leader Lauds Georgians”

An open-schools advocate from Louisiana compared Georgia’s situation favorably to the crisis that took place when New Orleans schools were desegregated. Complimenting news media and public officials for helping to prepare the public, the Louisiana woman particularly noted Georgia’s initiative in developing the Sibley Commission to study segregation in the state.

11. “HOPE Praises Sanders, Twitty Closure Fight”

The HOPE organization, “dedicated to keeping public schools open despite state laws providing for closing any school that is integrated,” sent telegrams to Sanders and Twitty, commending their efforts to keep UGA open.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1961

12. “4 Jailed in Student Flareup”

Under a deck proclaiming “1,000 Demonstrate on Athens Campus,” this article reported that students reacted with a protest march when they heard Vandiver had announced he would close the University. The article emphasizes Dean Tate’s role in calming the event.

13. “Gov. Vandiver Closes University Until Repeal of Fund Cut-Off Law”

While Vandiver supports repeal of the 1956 appropriations act, he says the act leaves him no choice but to close the University. (Author’s note: Because newspapers reported “Weeklong Holiday Planned at Athens” as the *Constitution* did in the deck for this article, later accounts blamed newspapers for many students’ decisions to pack their bags and take a vacation.)

14. “Judge Tuttle Kills Delay at University”

The article reported both Bootle’s decision to grant a stay of his desegregation order and Tuttle’s decision to reverse the stay. (Bootle was a U.S. District Court judge; Tuttle was a federal judge for the U.S. Court of Appeals.)

15. “It’s a Solemn Opening Day for Worried Legislators”

This article mentioned UGA only to say that the legislators applauded when they heard the stay was announced. “This means the university will not be closed today,” said the Speaker of the House when he made the announcement.

16. “Georgia Looks to the Legislature”

This unsigned editorial praises Vandiver for advocating the reopening of the University and places the responsibility of keeping the University open on the shoulders of the legislators. “[The governor] asked the Legislature not to abandon public schools. The people are behind the governor in that, and they are looking to the Legislature for strong men to do the job.”

17. “Marvin Griffin Set Fire to A Lot of Kitchens”

Referring to former Governor Marvin Griffin’s comment that Vandiver should get out of the kitchen if he couldn’t stand the heat of the integration controversy, this editorial opinion accused Griffin of “start[ing] the fire with the 1956 law providing for cutoff of funds to the institution in case of court-enforced integration.” Judge Bootle cited this law as proof of deliberate discrimination.

18. “Who speaks for University Students?”

This editorial encourages the majority of students — “intelligent ladies and gentlemen” — not to let the segregationist unruly minority speak louder than them. The editorial compares the majority to the minority of students: “Who speaks for the students of the University of Georgia? Is it the 2,776 who signed a petition urging that the university be kept open or the group that wired the governor

expressing a desire for ‘open and segregated’ schools? Is it the editors of the student newspaper urging ‘gentlemanly conduct’ or a band of students hanging a Negro in effigy?”

19. “Text of Judge Bootle’s Order Granting Delay at University”

The paper printed Bootle’s decision to stay his order admitting Hunter and Holmes. The decision postponed admitting the two students to allow time for an appeal. Bootle claimed, “every litigant has the right of an appeal” and he denied that the stay had anything to do with the appropriations act and the threat that the University would be closed. Bootle further mandated that the appeal would take place quickly, denying the state the opportunity of stalling.

20. “Judge Tuttle’s Edict Setting Aside Stay”

The paper printed the text of Tuttle’s order. (Tuttle of the U.S. Court of Appeals denied the argument for appeal was sufficient to justify denying constitutional rights to Hunter and Holmes while waiting for the appeal.)

21. “Keep University Open, Ask 2,700 Students in Petition”

A petition signed by one-third of the student body urged that the school be kept open; the petition specifically recognized differences of opinions among students on the race question.

22. “Text of Vandiver’s Letter: Funds Cutoff Is Only Choice”

Vandiver wrote to Lt. Gov. Garland Byrd and Speaker of the House George Smith II saying that the section of the 1956 appropriations act concerning integrated schools would have to be repealed or the University closed. The *Constitution* printed his letter in its entirety.

23. “Judge Tuttle Led GOPs In Georgia”

This is a personality profile of the “jurist who . . . set aside . . . Bootle’s stay in the University of Georgia case.”

24. “Must Save Schools, Byrd Tells Senate”

Lt. Gov. Garland Byrd urges the Senate to settle the desegregation problem. The article cites his vague suggestions that there might still be ways to maintain segregated schools.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1961

25. “For Students at the University”

Ralph McGill wrote a front-page editorial urging students to act with decency. “Destiny has given to [students at the University of Georgia] a chance to erase the picture of the ‘Ugly Southerner’ so starkly and disturbingly shown the nation and the world at Little Rock and New Orleans,” he said, urging students to give the media positive pictures of white students greeting Charlayne and Hamilton.

26. “U.S. Judge Bars Fund Cutoff; Supreme Court Denies Delay”

The deck for the article, “Governor Blasts Bootle’s Decision,” sums up the main point; Vandiver was angry at the injunction that prevented the state from withholding funds from the University. He accused Bootle of usurping legislative and executive duties. The article emphasized that the legislature declined further action, waiting to see if the injunction was permanent before deciding whether to repeal the law in question.

27. “2 Negroes Enroll at University”

Holmes and Hunter were officially enrolled. While the article describes crowds gathering around the two new students, the writer stressed there was no violence. The article was complimentary toward Dean Tate for his ability to control crowd situations. However, descriptions of the crowd’s behavior would have indicated the potential for violence.

28. “12 Women March Around Capitol”

In this humorous piece that describes 12 protesters carrying signs decrying integration, the writer tells how uncommunicative the women were. While they claimed to represent “White Mothers of America,” they declined to clarify whether that was a “national organization.” “Could be” was one

woman's stock answer to any question the group was asked. The granddragon of the KKK volunteered that some appeared to be Klan Auxiliary.

29. "Lawmakers Rip Court's Inroads"

Legislators objected strenuously to having Bootle act before them. Some claimed they had planned to repeal the 1956 law. Others simply stated they were pleased the University would continue operating uninterrupted.

30. "Aderhold Expresses Gratitude For Student-Faculty Cooperation"

The *Constitution* printed the statement issued by University President Aderhold to the effect that he was "deeply grateful . . . for cooperation" on campus, from the governor, members of the General Assembly, the chancellor and Board of Regents, and other citizens during the confusion surrounding the desegregation of the University.

31. "Most Students Show a Face of Bravery, Decency"

"The majority of students were working quietly and individually for the good name of the University and its students," this article reported, quoting some students who downplayed the sense of disorder portrayed in much of the news media.

32. "Many Legislators Are Alumni Or Have Children at Georgia"

Beyond naming some legislators who say they would vote to close the University and naming some of those who have vowed to fight closing the school, this article demonstrates how personal this decision was to some of the legislators, claiming 44 percent of the Senate and 33 percent of the House were alumni and 15 percent of the legislators had children in school at the University in 1961.

33. "Other 'Albatrosses' Are Flying Around"

This editorial plays on a speech where Vandiver likened the 1956 appropriations act to an albatross. The author asserts that state power loses to federal when there is a discrepancy, and he urges the legislature to repeal the 1956 law.

34. "Vandiver's Blowup Followed By Bravery"

While this unsigned editorial praises Vandiver's decision to keep the University open, it criticizes the legislators for dragging their feet so long the courts had to step in and then criticizing the courts for usurping powers.

35. "Ernie Did Not Duck or Dodge"

In this editorial, *Constitution* Editor Eugene Patterson encouraged Vandiver's stand for an open University and encouraged a similar stand with public schools, which were scheduled to be integrated in September 1961.

36. "An Open Letter to Son at Athens"

Harold Martin wrote an editorial piece for the *Constitution* in the form of a letter to his son, a student at UGA. Martin encouraged his son to "say and do the thing that will keep down trouble instead of stir it up." Martin further advised, "If the law says that Negro students must be admitted to the University, that's that, and no amount of flag waving and shouting and marching in the world is going to change it." And finally, Martin expressed sympathy for the black students entering a hostile environment, urging his son to treat them with courtesy.

37. "Text of Bootle's Restraining Order"

The *Constitution* printed the full text of the sudden order issued by Bootle, which prevented Vandiver or State Auditor B.E. Thrasher from withholding state funds from the integrated University.

38. "Text of Vandiver's Wire to Judge: 'Must Register the Strongest Protest'"

The *Constitution* printed Vandiver's telegram message to Bootle, calling his action preventing the cutoff of funds "interference in the administration of state law and what amounts to usurpation of the legislative prerogative of the General Assembly. . . ."

39. "Assembly Isn't Bound by Writ, Grayson Hints"

A senator from Savannah suggested that the General Assembly could act despite court orders preventing the state from cutting off funds to the University.

40. "No Closings, Ask 314 of 318 Letters"

The majority of correspondence addressed to members of the House and Senate favored keeping the public schools open. While most letter-writers opposed integration, they opposed closing schools even more strongly.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1961

41. "Interposition at Its Best"

Ralph McGill's front-page editorial indicated that the issue of desegregation should be dealt with definitively in the situation at the University to avoid rehashing the same issues when public schools were desegregated as they were scheduled to be the following September. McGill was emphatic on the subject of keeping the University open, calling those who thought otherwise "psychopathically rabid." He also reasoned, "Going to school is not a social gathering. Students have always broken into volunteer groups of associates. Going to school is sitting at a desk and being taught. It is coming to school and going home. There is nothing social about it. The courts have in no way invaded private life."

42. "Vandiver Orders Patrol to Remove Negroes After Wild Demonstrations"

As conservator of the peace, Vandiver ordered Charlayne and Hamilton removed from campus to restore order. Vandiver defended his decision, citing the importance of the safety of all students, especially Hunter and Holmes.

43. "2,000 Are Quelled by Tear Gas"

Describing the scene of the riot, the article leads with the efforts of city police to control the disturbance, expounds upon protesters' actions (throwing rocks and firecrackers at the dormitory and at police, university officials, and newsmen; 'battling' with police; starting 'dozens' of small fires; chanting), and included criticism of the tardy state patrol. The article looks back at the first day, reporting on various forms of protest (four students walked out of a class; some students yelled chants and comments at Hunter and Holmes) and mentioning that there were some friendly receptions extended to Hunter and Holmes.

44. "U.S. Ready to Rule in Fund Snarl"

State Treasurer George Hamilton was withholding all state funds from the entire University system because of confusion over the 1956 law and Bootle's temporary injunction. The article refers to another situation in which Hamilton demonstrated considerable stubbornness in refusing to administer state funds. The article also explains the judicial procedure, which would settle the funding issue.

45. "Senate Calls on Governor to Resist Inroads by Courts"

Legislators urged Vandiver to resist "interference" in state policy by the federal court system. In addition, they discussed a resolution that would voice their resentment of such interference.

46. "There Is No Excuse for this 'Staged News'"

The *Constitution* deplores the behavior of some reporters, citing a *Red and Black* article that reports media-related incidents on campus.

47. "Let the Means of Force Die Now"

Patterson voices his pride in the state. While acknowledging the few who did not, he concentrates on students who behaved properly: "Thousands of University students showed good breeding under stress." And he says, "A nation appalled by the performances of Faubus in Arkansas and Davis in Louisiana discovered Vandiver of Georgia to be a Southern governor who obeys the law and puts the education of the young ahead of an old politics when it wears out." He goes on to praise Sanders and Twitty for providing positive leadership in the legislature.

48. “Only the Good Lord Himself Loves the Whole Human Race”

Ridiculing segregationists, Celestine Sibley points out that most people judge people they know based on individual merit rather than skin color, suggesting people should do the same with strangers.

49. “Governor, University Win Praise”

The paper reports on the national broadcast show, *Today*, where Chet Huntley praised state and school officials and students for their acceptance of the integration.

50. “Atlanta Methodists Call on State to Save Schools”

The paper reports on an official resolution by church groups urging open schools.

51. “Charlayne Learns From News, Too”

The headline refers to a paragraph in the article: “[Charlayne] admitted an avid interest in current newspaper coverage of her entry into the university, but said: ‘I’ve been reading the accounts, not so much for information — I know what’s going on — but to learn how bigtime reporters get their leads and ideas’ for stories.”

52. “Georgians a Great People, Charlayne’s Father Says”

This Associated Press article gives voice to Charlayne’s father. His pride in his daughter is obvious: “If Charlayne has been given the opportunity, then it is accomplished.” He also discussed his thoughts as a Methodist minister when Charlayne converted to Catholicism.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1961

53. “A Late Night Game”

Ralph McGill makes the riot out to be prime communist propaganda, saying it feeds the hate-America campaign and destroys the image of democracy.

54. “FBI, State Open University Probes; 8 in Klan Here Seized at Athens”

The FBI and a special legislative committee were sent to Athens to investigate the riot. In the federal investigation, the Civil Rights Act of 1960 came into play: “That act makes it ‘a criminal offense to impede or obstruct federal court orders such as the federal court order requiring admission of Negro students to the University of Georgia,’” the article quoted the U.S. attorney general.

55. “Coeds Terrified by Mob at Dorms”

This article cites white, female students’ reactions to the riot. Students admitted they were expecting a demonstration; “there’d been so much talk about it,” one said. Another said, “Some of the girls went into hysterics. We didn’t know what was happening and we couldn’t go to the windows and look out.” An 18-year-old who did look out became frightened when someone threw a firecracker in her direction; she said, “We can’t study, we can’t sleep, and we can’t think. Under these conditions, how are you going to get an education?” Two girls said they were not frightened by their classmates but by the threat that the Klan would come.

56. “Professors Ask Return of Negroes”

Three hundred faculty members sign a resolution asking Hunter and Holmes be readmitted to school; 1,000 townspeople sign a petition of confidence in city and university officials.

57. “U.S. Judge to Weigh Suspension”

This article discusses the anticipated action resulting from a motion Charlayne and Hamilton’s lawyers made against the constitutionality of their suspension. The article also discusses the constitutional points associated with withholding the state funds from colleges because of desegregation.

58. “Patrol Took 2 Hours to Arrive, Athens Says”

Including both city criticism of and the state patrol’s defense of the patrol’s late arrival the night of the riot, this story quotes Vandiver saying he sent the patrol as soon as he was notified of the need.

59. "A Mob's Victory is Poor Peace"

The mob won once, the unsigned editorial says, we can't let it happen again. The article also seeks to shame students who participated in the riot: "The University of Georgia students who gave themselves to the unacceptable uses of mob action Wednesday night can, therefore, judge how they were used now that Athens Police Chief E.E. Hardy has identified his prisoners. The chief's men collared, at the scene near the women's dormitory, eight members of the Ku Klux Klan.... Thus the students involved in the riot may ... reflect on the kind of company they chose to be in."

60. "When Men Mob a Women's Hall"

In this opinion piece, Patterson censures the state patrol, the mob, the suspension of the wrong students, and a statement by one of Vandiver's aides, which implied approval of the riot.

61. "Why Are Some Dixie States Different?"

Encouraging leaders to lead Georgia in the right direction, this editorialist writes, "If Georgia fails, it will not be because our people are less great than the others, it will be because our leaders are."

62. "Cold Distant Civility to Negroes Can be a Two-Edged Sword"

Celestine Sibley suggests it is harmful to encourage young people to treat Charlayne and Hamilton coldly, as some urged. She encourages sympathy.

63. "Statement Setting Up House Probe"

Based on Speaker of House George Smith's statement, the *Constitution* reported on a legislative subcommittee formed to investigate the riot and events surrounding the desegregation of the university.

64. "Twitty Says Georgians May be Easing Views"

Based on a television interview with Twitty, this article quotes the legislator praising the General Assembly for restraint during the desegregation crisis, deploring violence, and predicting a 'change' beginning in the way Georgians feel about integration.

65. "State Organizations Deplore 'Collapse of Law and Order'"

Ten organizations issued a "statement of concern" about the rioting at UGA. According to the statement, the signers felt the riot could have been prevented and that suspending Charlayne and Hamilton was a mistake that should be reversed immediately.

66. "Both Negro Students Planning to Return to Classes"

"We aren't especially interested in breaking down barriers," said Holmes in an interview the day after the riot. Hunter said, "I would go back if given the chance with whatever it entails."

67. "Text of Bootle's Order Forbidding Fund Cutoff"

Finding "immediate irreparable injury, loss, and damage" to all UGA students, including Charlayne and Hamilton, would result from indefinite closing of the university if state funds were cut off, Bootle signs an order preventing state officials from withholding funds. The *Constitution* printed the full text of the decree.

68. "Many Georgians Won't Let Mobs Decide Issue, Chet Huntley Says"

This Associated Press article covered the broadcast of the NBC Huntley-Brinkley Report where Chet Huntley reported on telegrams he received from Georgians, suggesting that "there are a lot of people there who don't intend to have their decisions made for them by a mob on the university's Ag Hill." Four legislators sent telegrams to Huntley commending his report the night before where he praised the university, a little prematurely, for the absence of violence in their desegregation.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1961

69. "Winning 'Varsity Letters'"

In this front-page editorial, Ralph McGill clearly draws a line between the rioting protesters and the law-abiding citizens involved with the UGA desegregation. He criticizes Klan members for their involvement and chastises students who allowed themselves to be used by Klan members. He praises

University faculty members who signed the petition to ask the return of Hunter and Holmes. McGill also criticizes legislators for fostering an environment that appeared to encourage the rioting.

70. “Judge Orders Negroes Reinstated; Protection Promised by Vandiver”

Bootle declares that law cannot be dictated by the occurrence of violence and demands that Hunter and Holmes are returned to the University immediately.

71. “University Pledges to Prevent Rioting”

This article emphasizes various investigations being conducted on campus, including a probe by the FBI. University officials promise action against any students involved in action that might lead to violence and describe actions they are taking to prevent further violence.

72. “But Athens Must Ask For Help”

The governor will provide help to Athens police only when he is notified that city officials are incapable of dealing with the situation. He refuses to have the State Patrol on hand although he has them stationed nearby.

73. “Let the Nation Look At Us Now”

This *Constitution* editorial compares Georgia to states that have made poor decisions regarding desegregation, including Virginia where the public schools were closed, Louisiana where the governor defied federal law, and Arkansas where federal troops came in to enforce federal law because the governor refused to do so.

74. “Choice: Local Control or Court Decrees”

The writer of this editorial urges graceful acceptance of desegregation, pointing out, “The alternative to operating Georgia schools under laws acceptable to the courts and retaining local control is to operate them under federal court orders. Mobs cannot operate schools but they can destroy them.”

75. “All Can Agree with This: Shut Up, Roy Harris”

In a vote of confidence for President Aderhold, the *Constitution* quotes a House representative advising Harris to “shut up” after Harris criticized Aderhold and threatened to fire him.

76. “Federal Versus State Power”

Critical of the less-than-helpful attitude of the state patrol during the riot, Eugene Patterson urges state leaders to enforce the law: “We have seen that the federal power acts only when we do not.”

77. “Text of Order Returning 2 Negroes to University”

The *Constitution* printed the entire text of the order to readmit Charlayne and Hamilton.

78. “Text of Statement by Governor Vandiver”

The *Constitution* printed the entire text of a statement issued by Vandiver, who was responding to the order to reinstate Charlayne and Hamilton.

79. “Riot Insults U.S. Dignity, Senator Says”

A New York senator voiced criticism of the disorder at UGA.

80. “Hamilton Releases Funds to University.”

After talking with Bootle on the phone, State Treasurer George Hamilton released the \$2 million in state funds to the University System. Hamilton asserted, “My position all along has been to follow the law, and Judge Bootle’s order is now law.” Before the phone call, Hamilton apparently felt “Judge Bootle’s order was ambiguous. . . .”

MONDAY, JANUARY 16, 1961

81. “Visitor Ban is Urged for Campus”

This article describes a resolution that would be presented to the General Assembly that day, asking the legislators to bar “all visitors from the UGA campus and urging the governor to prosecute any troublemakers to the limit of the law.”

82. "University to Grant Transfers"

UGA officials announced that women who lived in Center Myers, the dormitory to which Charlayne was assigned, could move to other quarters. However, the writers added, "The university statement didn't say where coeds who move out of the dormitory would be put. The university previously told the Negro applicants that it has a housing shortage." The university further announced steps to help prevent disruptions on campus, including limiting access to buildings to students, faculty, and university employees.

83. "Guard at Negro's Dorm Disarmed By Gunman"

This article reported on an armed white man who went to Center Myers looking for Charlayne. (She was in Atlanta at the time.)

84. "Let's Not Fumble the Ball Again"

Urging responsible behavior from citizens and praising Vandiver's acceptance of his responsibility to keep the school open, this editorial reiterates the threat, "Either the state preserves order or the federal officials will."

85. "This Week: Georgia's Second Chance"

"This week students of the university and the state as a whole have an opportunity to restore, at least in part, the good name of Georgia. It is a second chance to show to the world that law and decency speak for Georgia, not rocks and a mob consisting of some students aided or egged on by a few adults unrepresentative of the majority of citizens of this state," claimed the author of this opinion piece.

86. "All Have Right to Education, Southerner Learned in Alaska"

This story tells of a white woman from Mississippi who moved to Alaska with her husband who was in the service. Upon arriving in Alaska, she attended church only to find a black minister. Faced with the choice of embarrassing her husband if she walked out, she sat through the sermon and began to respect the preacher and to realize he read the same Bible she did. Over the years, the minister helped the woman through difficult times and her respect for the man grew. She decided that all people should have the right to an education regardless of race. That minister, as it turns out, was Charlayne's father.

87. "Athens Chaplains Try to Instill Golden Rule"

Religious leaders try to direct behavior on campus. This article quotes from various sermons.

88. "Here is Text of Resolution to Protect Athens Students"

The *Constitution* printed a resolution that one representative planned to submit to the House. The resolution encouraged the suspension of Charlayne and Hamilton to be revoked and that the University ban visitors, restricting access to campus to students, faculty and employees.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1961

89. "University Stays Quiet"

The city and the university maintained order the Monday that Charlayne and Hamilton were readmitted to the school. However, several girls living in Center Myers stayed with nearby family and friends that night.

90. "His Emotional State Made Him Tool for Instigation of Trouble"

This editorial page story offers hope that Georgia's students, when given time to consider, will conduct themselves appropriately. The story tells of a middle-of-the-night phone call by a student to a state senator. The student insists he would rather the university be closed than integrated. Hours later the senator received a letter from the young man apologizing for his call, saying that he "was urged into making that call by persons unknown to me and I am sure now they were in no way connected with the university. Also, on clear and rational thinking, I do not want the University closed for any reason. My education means more to me than my emotions."

91. "U.S. Judges' Arrest Asked If Riot Comes"

Three Georgians sent a telegram to Vandiver requesting Bootle and Tuttle be arrested for inciting a riot if more disorders occurred in Athens.

92. "Scott Faculty Commends University's"

Sixty-seven of 75 faculty members at Agnes Scott signed a telegram agreeing with the convictions and actions of UGA's faculty and supporting their belief that the government should ensure uninterrupted operation of schools.

93. "Geer's Comments on Riot Called 'Vile' By South"

When speaking at a PTA meeting, one House Representative criticized comments by Roy Harris, Board of Regents member, and Peter Zack Geer, executive secretary to the governor, that seemed to support the rioting at UGA.

94. "'Whether to Continue' Decisions Are Voiced"

Run in the Women's section, this article quoted female students and their parents concerning feelings about the girls continuing their studies at UGA. According to the article, most women and their parents had decided to let neither desegregation nor disorders on campus interrupt their schooling.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1961

95. "5 in Klan Held for Grand Jury"

Five Ku Klux Klansmen and one other man were held over for investigation by the Clarke County grand jury. The article reports that the campus has been quiet during the two days since Charlayne and Hamilton returned to their classes.

96. "School Crisis Briefs"

Four briefs reported on official action by various agencies around Georgia concerning opinions on the UGA desegregation. The Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers passed a resolution commending Aderhold's actions. Petitions from Crisp County citizens urged Vandiver to uphold segregation. The Savannah Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution in favor of keeping Georgia schools open in the face of desegregation. Also, one brief revealed that the results from the legislative investigation would probably be available in a few days.

97. "Disarmer of Dorm Guard Arrested and Ruled Insane"

The man who went to Myers Hall asking for Charlayne Hunter was found in a nearby county still carrying the gun he had seized from a University policeman. The man was declared insane and admitted to the Milledgeville State Hospital.

98. "For Georgia"

This column by Doris Lockerman, run on the Women's pages, addresses the pitiful opinion much of the nation held for southern leaders. She criticizes Georgia leaders, specifically Board of Regents member Roy Harris, Governor Vandiver, and executive secretary to the governor Peter Zack Geer, for speaking against desegregation and supporting the students who participated in on-campus protests.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1961

99. "6 Atlantans Indicted in Athens Riot"

After a lead which reported five Klansmen and one other Atlanta man were indicted on riot charges associated with disorder at the University, the article goes on to report that Charlayne and Hamilton had attended classes for three days "without incident." The article then names all six men indicted and details the charges against them.

100. "Reinstate Students, Legislature Asks"

Unanimous in the House and 39-9 in the Senate, state legislators urged "the reinstatement of students suspended for their parts in segregation demonstrations at the University of Georgia. . . ." The Senate also voted to commend faculty members who refrained from signing petitions regarding desegregation. The article quotes politicians for and against each measure.

101. "Discipline Is the Duty of University Officials"

The *Constitution* printed an editorial supporting University officials' right to suspend students and criticizing politicians for interfering. "[University officials] deserve support and praise, not censure and intimidation, from the legislature and other politicians."

102. "Text of Assembly's Suspension Resolution"

The *Constitution* included the whole of the legislature's resolution urging that UGA students suspended because of the riot be reinstated.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 20, 1961

103. "Vandiver, State Sigh With Relief"

Political editor Reg Murphy wrote this rambling piece on political turmoil in the state, including the events at UGA: "Negro students were admitted to the university . . . riots . . . they were withdrawn . . . put them back, said the courts . . . they were back . . . fire some faculty members, said the Legislature . . . 'We cannot abandon public education,' said the governor." [Author's note: Ellipses in original article.]

104. "Probers Rap University Ban on Gatherings"

The House of Representatives committee investigating the events surrounding the UGA desegregation released their report, which criticized the University for restricting students' rights to protest the desegregation. Further, the report accused newsmen of attracting crowds and increasing confusion on campus.

105. "Mercer Council Hails Conduct of Aderhold"

The Mercer University Council sent a letter to UGA President Aderhold expressing admiration of his and his faculty's actions in "handling the integration crisis."

106. "2 Students, 3 More in Klan Indicted at Athens"

This article reports on the indictments of five more people involved with the Athens riots and updates readers to the stalled progression of the trial involving six others who were previously indicted. The article also mentions that the two black students "attended classes Thursday without incident for the fourth consecutive day."

107. "Petition Signing Profs. They're citizens, too!"

In a column supporting the right of UGA professors to express their opinions to the government, Doris Lockerman says, "The arrogance with which they [our leaders] censure, by indirection, the freedom of thought and conscience of hundreds of faculty members who signed the petition at Athens has done great harm to the course of education in Georgia no matter which turn the segregation question takes."

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1961

108. "Let's Hear the Jurors; They Saw it Happen"

This editorial cites the Clarke County grand jury's commendation of the UGA administration and faculty while criticizing the legislature's attempt to "interfere with [the school's] administration."

MONDAY, JANUARY 23, 1961

109. "Athens Calm With Return of Negroes"

Both the campus and the city of Athens had settled down, according to this article. Even the threat that the University would lose accreditation because of political pressures seemed a thing of the past.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1961

110. "University Can Resolve Its Own Problem Best"

This three-paragraph opinion on the editorial page commended the Georgia General Assembly for refraining from passing resolutions that would have complicated matters at UGA.

111. "His Curriculum Includes Violence"

Eugene Patterson's column, critical of Roy Harris' praise for rioting students, quoted *The Union Recorder of Milledgeville*, saying the Board of Regents should call for Harris' resignation.

112. "Maybe a Long, Large Laugh is Needed With Integration"

On the editorial page was this glimpse of the reception offered to Charlayne and Hamilton since the disorder was over. The article shows that many students were coldly silent while some few offer smiles or nods.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 1961

113. "How do Negroes Really Feel?"

Celestine Sibley's editorial is a general comment on black attitudes based on letters she has received from blacks. She quotes a letter specific to the situation at UGA: "it would be 'a very strange and naive Negro attending any recently integrated Southern college who would expect other than riots and coldness to await him. . . . In fact . . . what the average Negro in such a situation would hope for at the best is coldness. . . . The Negro is surprised at the self deceit that leads white Southerners to believe Negroes expect to be treated as other human beings."

FRIDAY, JANUARY 28, 1961

114. "Georgia, As Others See Us"

Eugene Patterson uses articles in *The New Yorker* and *The Milwaukee Journal* to show how others in the nation view the disorder on the UGA campus. *The New Yorker* sarcastically rebuked the rioters. The Milwaukee paper also reported on "the shame of Georgia," but balanced that with reports of the faculty petitions to reinstate Charlayne and Hamilton as well as reports that Vandiver promised to uphold education. Patterson says "the attitudes which will prevail in Georgia are those of good and honorable people. . .," referring to those mentioned in the Milwaukee paper.

APPENDIX D

ARTICLES IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL

The following is an annotated list of articles concerning UGA's desegregation published in The Atlanta Journal during January 1961. The articles in bold concern desegregation protests and these are the articles I analyzed in terms of their frames.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1961

1. **"Two Negroes Hail Court's Athens Edict"**

Journal reporters Fred Powledge and Gordon Roberts wrote that Judge Bootle's ruling meant "the two Negroes could enter the university as early as Monday." Included in the article were statements by Charlayne, Hamilton, and their parents.

2. **"Twitty Sees No Shutdown"**

Political editor Charles Pou probed the possibility that the university would be closed. In the article, Pou said most state politicians thought that the school should be kept open. Tacked onto the end of the article, a statement by Atlanta Mayor William Hartsfield offered confidence that state leaders would follow the "mandates of the law," admitting the two black students and protecting Georgia's educational system.

3. **"Negro Boy Goes to Athens for Immediate Enrollment"**

Three reporters combined efforts in this article to explain Judge Bootle's decision that Charlayne and Hamilton be admitted to the school. The story also addresses Hamilton's appearance at UGA to register.

4. **"Crosses Lit By Students at Athens"**

Friday night, after Judge Bootle's ruling that Charlayne and Hamilton be admitted to the University of Georgia, students staged an on-campus protest in the middle of the night. The article described groups of students burning crosses and hanging an effigy as well as the efforts of university officials to contain the protests. The article did not quote student protesters. Instead, leaders of student organizations were quoted opposing violence and urging "students to accept the facts and act as college students."

5. **"Text of Order Admitting Negroes to University"**

Two pages were taken up with the full text of Bootle's order, interrupted only by pictures of Charlayne and Hamilton.

MONDAY, JANUARY 9, 1961

6. **"Judge Says Negro Entrance; Vandiver Offers No Solution"**

Reporting from Macon, in this article, Margaret Shannon explained the legal developments associated with Bootle's stay of his own order and the appeal filed by Hunter and Holmes's lawyers.

7. **"Admission of Negroes Suspended"**

The first half of this article by Gordon Roberts and John Pennington dealt with the confusion surrounding Charlayne and Hamilton's attempts to register — Bootle's decision to stay his order admitting the two students resulted in university officials halting the registration process. The article then reported on how white students received Charlayne and Hamilton: some chanted "segregationist slogans," others offered welcoming words and assistance.

8. “Crisis Explodes on Three Fronts”

This front-page brief offered updates on school integration developments in Macon (where the *Holmes v. Danner* case was heard), in Athens (where Holmes and Hunter were attempting to register), and in Atlanta (where the General Assembly had convened and spent a great deal of time discussing the University of Georgia integration).

9. “Legislators Face Pressure to Keep University Open”

Beginning with the news that 2,276 of some 7,000 students had signed a petition asking that the University of Georgia be kept open even if integrated, reporter Gordon Roberts wrote of efforts to persuade legislators to keep the school open. Roberts also summarized a *Red and Black* editorial in which student editor Terry Hazelwood encouraged students to avoid “futile violence.” The article ended with mention of a telegram to the governor and legislators signed by several student leaders who advocated an open AND SEGREGATED university.

10. “Solons Hail Stay; See No Closing”

Several state legislators were named and quoted praising Judge Bootle’s decision to grant a stay in the *Holmes v. Danner* case. The legislators said that the stay took some pressure off the House and Senate, allowing those governmental bodies to act with more deliberation. Most expected the university to be kept open, and none were quoted favoring the closing of the school.

11. “Governor Sees Some Changes”

Addressing House and Senate members in a speech that turned mostly to vague comments about keeping all public schools open and to other concerns of the state government, Governor Vandiver spoke “guardedly” about the “integration crisis in Athens.” According to this article by Charles Pou, the comments about UGA “were inserted into the prepared text of the governor’s speech only some one half hour before he began delivering it. . . .”

12. “Byrd Speaks His Formula”

Raleigh Bryans reported on a speech by Lieutenant Governor Garland Byrd, saying Byrd’s comments “put the lieutenant governor closer than ever to a clear-cut open-schools stand.”

13. “Bootle Served As Mercer Dean”

This brief biography of federal judge William Augustus Bootle, by Douglas Kiker, points out that the judge is a Southerner who has served his community well through the years. The article also addresses Bootle’s rulings in other civil rights cases, besides the *Holmes v. Danner* suit.

14. “Lawmakers Ready to Act on Schools”

Legislators quoted in this article by Curtis Driskell recognized that they had to act on the question of integrating the university. Those quoted said they — and their constituents — preferred separate education of blacks and whites to integration, but even more, they preferred open schools to closed ones.

15. “Two Negroes Claim They Want Only One Thing — Education”

Fred Powledge interviewed Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes for this article on their desire to attend the University of Georgia for an education rather than as symbols.

16. “Text of Bootle’s Stay of Decree”

The Atlanta Journal reprinted the full text of Judge W.A. Bootle’s stay delaying the integration of the university.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1961

17. “Court Edict Resolves Issue, Leaders Agree”

Political editor Charles Pou explained in this article that allowing the courts to decide the integration issue absolved legislators from breaking any anti-integration promises. He said that House Floor Leader Frank Twitty admitted neither the House or the Senate would make or change any laws until the school was closed. Other legislators hoped that judges would also rule on the 1956 appropriations

act provision prohibiting state funding to integrated schools; a few legislators were quoted saying they had argued that the legislature should take some action before the school was closed.

18. “Five Days Needed to Repeal Law”

Fred Powledge explained the legislative procedure that would be necessary to repeal the appropriations act which rendered the state unable to provide funds to integrated schools.

19. “Cook Files Last-Ditch School Plea”

Washington correspondent Harold Davis explained the appeal of Bootle’s decision, which was presented to the U.S. Supreme Court by Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook.

20. **“Touch-and-Go At University”**

After explaining the uncertainty about whether the school would stay open or close, Roberts and Pennington described a “disorderly demonstration” held apparently in response to news that Governor Vandiver would close the school. The story then turned to the final steps in Hunter and Holmes’s registration, including the classes they chose.

21. “Vandiver is Enjoined From State Fund Cutoff”

Judge Bootle issued a temporary restraining order that prevented the governor and the state auditor from withholding state funds intended for the university. According to this article by Margaret Shannon, a hearing two days later would decide whether the injunction was permanent. The article also updated readers on the state’s appeal and comments made by Governor Vandiver.

22. “Fund Cutoff Bill Among Raft Passed by ’56 Assembly”

This article explains the “Georgia law which stipulates all funds shall be cut off to integrated colleges,” the varying interpretations of the law, and how legislators could repeal it.

23. “Sanders Says Wires For Schools”

In a brief about public opinion on the university situation based on telegrams, letters, and other messages, Senator Carl Sanders said he had not received “a single unfavorable reaction” to keeping the University of Georgia open.

24. “Text of Vandiver’s Letter Dealing With Funds Cutoff”

The *Journal* reprinted a letter sent by Vandiver to the lieutenant governor and the speaker of the House urging an amendment of the law that would force the cutoff of state funds to the university.

25. “Text of Judge Tuttle’s Edict Setting Aside Entry Stay”

Judge Elbert Tuttle reinstated Bootle’s original decision ordering the immediate enrollment of Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes at UGA; the *Journal* printed Tuttle’s decision.

26. “Trio Deciding School’s Fate”

Douglas Kiker compiled brief biographies of the three judges key to the UGA desegregation case: Hugo Black, Elbert Tuttle, and W.A. Bootle.

27. “Louisiana Colleges Already Integrated”

Kiker compared UGA to other Southern schools. Saying that Louisiana was the only “Deep South state” where blacks attended public schools, the article clarified that no blacks were “enrolled in state or private colleges in Mississippi, Alabama, or South Carolina,” but that blacks were enrolled in previously segregated colleges in several other Southern states, including Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Texas, Arkansas, and Florida.

28. “A Time For Action”

This editorial urged legislators to appeal the 1956 appropriations act rather than close the university or allow the courts to control the integration of the school.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1961

29. "Negroes Attend University; Hamilton Halts College Funds"

Reporters Margaret Shannon and Charles Pou tried to sort out the confusion concerning the 1956 appropriations act, the injunction that prevented the governor and some specific state officials from withholding funds marked for UGA, and the fact that state treasurer George Hamilton "held up January operating funds for all University System colleges" (totaling more than \$2 million) because he felt the injunction did not apply to him and he wanted more clarification on the rulings.

30. "Integration Follows Fast Court Ruling"

Staff writers Pennington and Roberts continued their reporting on the desegregation of the Athens campus. They reported on Charlayne and Hamilton's movements about campus as they attended classes. The reporters also noted when and where crowds gathered and where there were no crowds waiting on the two black students.

31. "Angry Students Protest At Athens"

The night before the riot which resulted in Charlayne and Hamilton's suspension from the university, there was protest by some students who did not want integration. Pennington and Roberts reported, "The gathering appeared to have been planned and sponsored and some of the segregation chants seem to have been well-rehearsed." The article included information on specific acts of violence (throwing rocks, hot coffee, and fireworks) and the injuries caused. The article also quoted extensively from a *Red and Black* editorial by student editor Terry Hazelwood.

32. "Bootle 'Usurps,' Senate Declares"

Curtis Driskell covered the latest legal and political developments in the University of Georgia desegregation case. In particular, members of the Georgia Senate made known their resentment of the federal court's injunction that prevented the state from cutting off state funds to the integrated school. The article named senators who spoke for and against the resolution, which stated the official position.

33. "Supreme Court Rejects Plea to Stay Order"

Washington correspondent Harold Davis reported that the Supreme Court denied Georgia's request to delay integration of the state university.

34. "Methodists Rap Georgians for University Trouble"

At the Methodist Church's Atlanta-West District meeting, members expressed concern about the near closing of the University of Georgia. According to the article by Sally Sanford, delegates at the meeting passed a resolution urging Georgians to better appreciate the privilege of an education.

35. "Integrated Class Meets Quietly"

This article followed an editor's note that explained that AP reporter Kathryn Johnson was the only reporter to sneak past the screening process to sit with students in the class Charlayne Hunter first attended at UGA. Johnson's article described Charlayne's psychology class, including the seating arrangements (Charlayne was "virtually isolated") and comments of welcome extended by other students after the class.

36. "Text of Bootle's Restraining Order"

The *Atlanta Journal* reprinted the full text of "U.S. District Judge William Bootle's temporary restraining order, granted without notice, against Gov. Vandiver and Auditor B.E. Thrasher Jr."

37. "Text of Wire Sent to Judge By Vandiver"

The *Journal* printed the contents of a telegram the governor sent to Judge Bootle expressing displeasure with the injunction Bootle ordered.

38. "Tate Described as Stern, Fair"

Douglas Kiker wrote of Dean William Tate's reputation on campus and his efforts to head off student riots protesting desegregation. Kiker included a brief biography of Tate.

39. **“Aderhold Thanks State Officials”**

In a press conference, UGA President O.C. Aderhold expressed his appreciation of state officials and Georgians whose concern kept the college open as well as the faculty and students for their cooperation.

40. **“Solons Ponder New Athens Move”**

Charles Pou reported, “Some Georgia legislators were talking privately Wednesday of maybe moving on their own — somehow or another — on the University of Georgia integration situation, but there were few overt signs the assembly would do anything but sit back and watch.” According to Pou, the legislators could either do away with the controversial funds provision of the 1956 appropriations act, thereby removing the barrier to desegregation, or they could close the university on the “theory that the legislature had not been enjoined” by Judge Bootle. Even while writing that there was still this possibility that the school could be closed, Pou wrote, “None of the legislators have so far advocated [closing the school] as the answer to desegregation.”

41. **“Federal Court Action Swift”**

Fred Powledge reviewed the court decisions concerning the university desegregation case as they were issued day-by-day.

42. **“Solons Say Crisis Speeded By Edict”**

This article quoted several legislators who were disappointed that the federal courts were interfering in the state school system but who nevertheless approved that the university would remain open. Only one legislator was quoted to believe that the school should seek other means to maintain segregation.

43. **“Klan Demonstrates at State Capitol”**

Raleigh Bryans quoted the Ku Klux Klan grand dragon, C.L. Craig, in this report of a pro-segregation demonstration at the capitol. Craig said if Herman Talmadge had established private schools in Georgia then there would be no integration problems. Another man, wearing a suit decorated with the Confederate battle flag and claiming to be a UGA graduate, advocated closing the university. Bryans also quoted picket signs carried in the demonstration.

44. **“The Gift of Knowledge”**

This unsigned *Journal* editorial praises the majority of Georgians who “[took] the court-ordered integration of its university in stride.” Analyzing the situation, the editorial continues, “The big issue is the worth of public education and whether Georgia is willing to wreck this carefully and expensively erected system for the sake of a dramatically useless suicidal gesture.” The article further emphasized the importance of the university: “Education is the most valuable thing we can give our youth and those who would take it away for any cause deliberately would deny them a right to compete on equal terms in a highly competitive world.”

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1961

45. **“Roy Harris Threatens Aderhold Ouster Drive”**

Charles Pou and Douglas Kiker talked to people who were present at the Georgia Board of Regents meeting where “Augusta segregationist Roy Harris” criticized UGA president O.C. Aderhold and charged that if Aderhold had been fired the day before then violence would not have occurred on the Athens campus. Harris abstained from voting when other Regents members voted unanimously to express confidence in Aderhold. It was also reported in this article that Board member James A. Dunlap said he was “‘convinced in my own mind that these riots have been planned and organized by outside sources.’”

46. **“Vandiver Invokes His Peace Power”**

This story by Charles Pou and Fred Powledge focuses on criticism of Governor Vandiver for being slow to order state troopers to the scene of the riot. They quoted Vandiver denying that he’d been slow to respond and “appealing to ‘all civil-minded and peace-loving students to cooperate loyally’ in restoring ‘peace and quiet.’” The last half of the article criticizes the riot. For example, Pou and Powledge quote Senator Carl Sanders as saying “Violence and bloodshed never solved or helped any

matter no matter how crucial. Death or permanent injury to one innocent student at the university would be a blot on the history of this state and too great a price to pay.” The article also describes the events of the riot and efforts of Athens police to quell it and even compares the “riot and suspension of the two Negroes” to “the action taken in the Autherine Lucy case in Tuscaloosa, Ala., in 1956.”

47. “Athens Crisis Slows House”

This brief commented on the lack of new legislation at the beginning of the legislative session. “I’m sure it’s [because of] the tension over Athens,” the article quoted Speaker George L. Smith.

48. Judge Knocks Out Funds Cutoff Law

Margaret Shannon and William O. Smith reported from Macon on Bootle’s decision to make permanent the injunction which prevented state officials from cutting off funds to the University of Georgia and his ruling that the section of the 1956 appropriations act which provided for halting funds to integrated schools was unconstitutional. “His ruling also, in its final form, was to take care of an additional provision saying that if any court ever threw out the funds cutoff provision, the money would stop automatically anyway.”

49. “2 Negroes Suspended After Riot on Campus”

Roberts and Pennington described the rioting crowd, the lack of help from the State Patrol, and the efforts of city police and University officials to quell the disturbance. While most of the article pieced together scenes from the riot and comments made by rioters, the article also addressed Dean Joe Williams’s decision to suspend Charlayne and Hamilton for their safety and the well-being of the other students.

50. “Opposition to Riots Lacking”

John Pennington reported from Athens, “If anybody ever tried to set up preventative measures before late Wednesday night — when it was already too late and students were a howling mob defying police and university officials with bricks and fists — there were no outward signs of it.” Pennington went on to describe the difficulty police and university officials had dispersing the students and he added, “nobody tried to stop them until violence was already rampant.”

51. “Hamilton Knows Controversy”

In reference to State Treasurer George B. Hamilton’s withholding of funds from the University of Georgia, this article explains his previous refusals to issue state money because of unclear laws. Hamilton was quoted as saying, “I personally want to see that university operate. And I want to see it operate within the law. Until someone strikes down that appropriation law, I’m going to have to hold onto that money.”

52. “Coed Is ‘So Ashamed’”

This brief quoted a UGA student at the riot: “No one will even want to come to the university now. This is going to hurt us so much. I am so disgusted and ashamed.”

53. “AAUP Hits Suspension”

This AP report quoted a telegram sent by the American Association of University Professors to several University of Georgia leaders: “Public safety may or may not require suspending the riots of students to instruction. . . . If such suspension is necessary, it should apply to all students without regard to race. Academic freedom is color blind.”

54. “Mob Drove Out Autherine Lucy”

Phil Smith, who covered “the turmoil when the University of Alabama saw its first integration,” recapped the events of rioting at the University of Alabama which resulted in the expulsion of Lucy (the first black student) and 20 white students. Lucy and four white students were permanently expelled. Smith encouraged readers to compare Alabama’s integration with Georgia’s.

55. “The Athens Tragedy”

Deploing the riot and the praise one Georgia official had for the rioters, this editorial compares the UGA integration to the “messy and troubled path followed by the University of Alabama in the Autherine Lucy case.”

56. “Text of Vandiver Removal Order”

Governor Vandiver penned a formal decree explaining the decision to physically remove Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes from the UGA campus; the *Journal* printed the text of his order.

57. “Coeds Planned to Block Doors”

This brief UPI report looked at how the riots affected the girls who lived in Center Myers, the dorm to which Charlayne Hunter was assigned. Some parents came to pick up their daughters; other girls “said they planned to lock themselves in their rooms and barricade their doors with dressers and beds during the outbreak.”

FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1961

58. “Student Leaders, Faculty Rap Mob”

Based on resolutions adopted by faculty members and students, Gordon Roberts reported that both groups protested the violence and criticized the state for not preventing the riot. The faculty resolution also urged that Charlayne and Hamilton be returned to classes. The texts of the faculty petition and an official statement were included in this article.

59. “Some Politicos Claim Riot Aid”

Charles Pou introduced his article by saying, “An official of the Georgia State Chamber of Commerce Friday declared that ‘some politicians’ and ‘the KKK’ are claiming credit for the disturbances at Athens — actions which he said were hurting youth and the economy of the state.” Pou went on to report on several investigations, which were looking into the riot.

60. “Three Klansmen Forfeit Bonds”

Pennington reported on the three Ku Klux Klansmen who failed to show up at court to face disorderly conduct charges associated with the UGA riot, the upcoming trials of five Klansmen charged with “carrying deadly weapons into a public gathering,” and the trials of several students accused of disorderly conduct or discharging firecrackers.

61. “Garroway Attacks ‘Victory of Mob’”

In an overview of Dave Garroway’s comments about the riot at UGA on his TV show, *Today*, Fred Powledge discussed what Garroway said and what he did not say. Included in the article were opinions of people who agreed with or were outraged by Garroway’s presentation of the situation.

62. “FBI Probing Athens Riot”

Reporting from Washington, D.C., correspondent Harold Davis wrote of an FBI investigation of “possible Civil Rights Act violations in the Athens rioting.” The Civil Rights Act of 1960 in part “makes it a criminal offense to impede or obstruct a federal court order.”

63. “Court Ruling Expected On Negroes’ Reentry”

After giving what little information there was on the anticipated ruling about Charlayne and Hamilton’s suspension, this article by Margaret Shannon and William O. Smith turned to the phone conversation between Judge Bootle and State Treasurer George Hamilton. After the conversation, Hamilton reportedly “announced that he was clear on all points in the judge’s order and would immediately pass along the money to the university system.” He had delayed in giving more than \$2 million to the entire university system, not just the University of Georgia. The article ended with speculation on Judge Bootle’s safety, stating he had “received some crank telephone calls” and there had been suspicious cars near his home.

64. “Negroes’ Reinstatement Urged by 10 Groups”

This article quoted the text of a joint statement urging that Charlayne and Hamilton be returned to classes at UGA. The statement was signed by the Active Voters; Atlanta University Women’s Club;

Fernbank PTA; Georgia Council of Human Relations; HOPE, Inc.; League of Women Voters of Athens; Margaret Mitchell PTA; United Church Women of Georgia; and the Atlanta branch of the Women's International League for Peace.

65. "2 Negroes Eager to Start Classes"

After interviews with Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes, Douglas Kiker reported on how the two suspended students felt about the riot and their hopes to return to UGA as soon as their attorney straightened out the legalities and permitted them to return to the school.

66. "The Faculty Resolution"

This unsigned editorial supported the UGA faculty resolution "requesting the return of two suspended Negro students . . . and asking adequate protection from the state. The editorial read, "The faculty resolution makes sense. Too many people, including the faculty members, have worked too hard building up the university to see it wrecked and ruined by political goons and the actions of irresponsible mobs."

67. "Student Views on Riot Vary"

John Pennington questioned students for their opinions on the riot. Those who said they were glad it happened refused to give their names. Leaders of student organizations identified themselves and claimed to be upset by the riot.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1961

68. "Negro Group to Confer on Re-Entry at Athens"

This article by Margaret Shannon discusses the ruling by Judge Bootle to readmit Charlayne and Hamilton and the necessary precautions by state officials to prevent further violence.

69. "'We'll Obey' Aderhold Says"

John Pennington began this article with officials' assurances that law and order would be maintained as the university readmitted Hunter and Holmes per Bootle's order. The article continued with information on riot investigations, descriptions of the riot, and indications that the mob consisted of students with fewer outsiders participating than some local officials reported.

70. "Tight Rein Needed"

Chastising Vandiver for not taking more initiative in being responsible for keeping peace in Athens, this editorial compares a mob to a "berserk horse" that "becomes almost impossible to control once given its head and usually requires additional help to subdue it."

71. "Javits Notes Affront at University"

This report from Washington quoted a speech by Senator Jacob Javits. He "said the constitutional rights of the two Negroes who have been admitted to the school have been violated by rioters."

72. "Text of Vandiver Statement on Situation At Athens"

The *Journal* printed an official statement that Governor Vandiver released after Judge Bootle's decision to readmit Charlayne and Hamilton. Vandiver clarified the chain of command, saying that city officials must notify the governor of a breakdown in order; the governor can then send state troops at his discretion. After claiming local officials failed to notify him the night of the riot, Vandiver showed disapproval of Bootle's order: "Officials of the university have recognized the imminent danger. . . . Law enforcement officers of great experience have added their opinion which has been transmitted to me that tinder-box conditions exist. In spite of this, the federal judge has taken his action of today without regard to the consequences." Vandiver ends promising to do his duty to preserve peace.

73. "Text of U.S. Order Returning Two Negroes to University"

Printed in the *Journal* was the full text of Bootle's order mandating that Hunter and Holmes be reinstated and enjoining university and state officials "from suspending, withdrawing, dismissing, or otherwise causing the plaintiffs to leave the University of Georgia on the grounds that the same is necessary for their personal safety because of mob action or violence. . . ."

MONDAY, JANUARY 16, 1961

74. "Two Negroes Re-enter Under Heavy Guard"

Remarking on the atmosphere at the UGA campus when Charlayne and Hamilton returned to classes, Gordon Roberts and John Pennington stressed the presence of law enforcement officials in the area. The two reporters mentioned that no crowds gathered as the two readmitted students moved about campus. They also reported on student curfews and press limitations designed to help prevent violence

75. "Harris Wants Look at Petition Names"

John Pennington reported on the concern of some UGA professors after segregationist Board of Regents member Roy Harris requested a list of professors who had signed the petition urging the return of Charlayne and Hamilton.

76. "Campus Gunman Hunted at Athens"

This article by Pennington told of an armed man who went to the UGA campus looking for Charlayne Hunter.

77. "KA's Confederate Flag Lowered Again"

The Kappa Alpha fraternity lowered their Confederate flag to half mast with every ruling that ordered Charlayne and Hamilton be admitted to UGA.

78. "University Has 2 Real Leaders"

Mike Edwards praised Dr. O.C. Aderhold and Dr. Joseph Williams for their accomplishments, saying they had done much for the University of Georgia even before they had to deal with the desegregation crisis.

79. "Solons Let Fly With Many Angles on Segregation Issue"

This article, run without a byline, discussed various measures supported by Georgia senators and representatives trying to deal with school integration in general and the integration of UGA in particular. Among the suggestions made by state politicians were segregation of the sexes, "scholarships for any students expelled from the university for taking part in what the representatives called 'peaceful and orderly' anti-integration demonstrations," and a pupil placement plan.

80. "Pastors Pray for Guidance in Troubled Days at Athens"

Religious news writer Sally Sanford reported on six church services that referred to the trouble in Athens.

81. "Morehouse Faculty Blasts State Riot Aid"

In a telegram to Governor Vandiver, faculty members from Morehouse College "said the suspension of two Negro students after the riot was 'aided and abetted by what appears to be the planned negligence on the part of those with duly constituted authority to preserve the peace and protect life and property.'" Hamilton Holmes was attempting to transfer to UGA from Morehouse, the article revealed.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1961

82. "Vandiver Denied Troops Requested for Athens"

John Pennington and Gordon Roberts reviewed events leading up to the riot, indications there would be violence, requests made to Governor Vandiver that state troops be sent to Athens in case they were needed, and the governor's refusal to send troops until they were needed.

83. "Resolution Backs Ousted Students"

While reporting on the legislative attempts to reinstate white students who were suspended from UGA for participating in the riot, Margaret Shannon and Raleigh Bryans also elaborated on threats some legislators made against faculty members who signed a petition asking that Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes be returned to campus after they were suspended.

84. “6 Klansmen Bound Over in Athens”

This article by Pennington told of the court proceedings against KKK members who were arrested on charges associated with the UGA riot.

85. “Athens Campus Prowler Nabbed”

This AP brief announced that the “apparently deranged” man who had taken a gun from a campus security guard while on the UGA campus asking for Charlayne Hunter had been caught.

86. “Firmness Keeps Campus Order”

Under a header which read “Riots Avoidable?,” this article by Gordon Roberts firmly stated, “the university had not prepared its students for the arrival of Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes, the two Negroes who broke the segregation barrier at the university.” Throughout the article, Roberts compared the behavior of white UGA students the first week Charlayne and Hamilton entered to the week after the riot when the two students returned — when the state, city, and university officials made more of an effort to prevent violence.

87. “Harris Says High Officials Linked to University Riot”

Roy Harris denied rumors that he had been in Athens directing the rioting, and he accused Georgia state officials of encouraging students to riot, according to this article by Charles Pou. Harris, the article said, “wanted to make it plain he was not referring to Governor Vandiver.” He would not name the officials to which he referred, but he threatened to name them if white students were suspended for riot involvement.

88. “Rep. Smith Lashes Roy Harris Threat”

At a PTA meeting, Fulton County Representative M.M. Smith spoke of pride in Dr. Aderhold’s actions at the University of Georgia, and he denounced both Roy Harris’s criticism of Aderhold and comments made by the governor’s executive secretary praising the rioting students.

89. “Church Hits Geer, State About Athens”

Members of Sardis Methodist Church composed a statement to Governor Vandiver critical of “the failure of state officials to preserve law and order on the campus of the University of Georgia. We especially deplore the statements of your executive secretary . . . praising the ‘character and courage’ of the people who took part in Wednesday night’s demonstrations.”

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1961

90. “Restore Students, Legislature Asks”

Some politicians were taking part of the blame for the Athens riot because they had taught students to resist integration. Or so a few argued in support of a resolution to make UGA officials reinstate students who were suspended for rioting. Others state representatives disagreed. Balancing the legislators’ arguments were comments by University officials about the behavior of suspended students. On another note, this article suggested that “there were signs of softening on a proposed censure action against university officials.”

91. “Tampering With Schools Met Rebuffs During Past”

Mike Edwards’s article recalled two instances of political interference with university operations because of racial matters. In the first, “all 10 units of the university system” lost accreditation. Edwards indicated that legislative talks about similar interference in the form of censure to University faculty and officials was “being toned down.”

92. “Aderhold Given Names on Professors’ Petition”

“An attack on the faculty members appeared to be shaping up in Atlanta; one representative wants to fire all of them — more than half of the university faculty — and another wants to cancel their resolution by a legislative act,” reported John Pennington. Central to this article was the decision by faculty petition-signers to release a list of their names to those seeking action against them. The article also covered the apparent calm on campus and university officials’ decision not to allow suspended students back that quarter.

93. "The Road to Ruin"

Warning against political interference in the affairs of the University of Georgia, this unsigned editorial claims such interference would ruin the school.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1961

94. "2 Students Indicted For Riot Roles"

John Pennington named the two UGA students and three Ku Klux Klansmen indicted on charges of participating in a riot, and he described the behavior with which the men were charged.

95. "Campus Mood Again Academic"

After commenting on the apparent acceptance of desegregation at the University of Georgia, Pennington turned the focus of this article to those in the state who had trouble believing UGA students could have participated in a riot. Pennington advised "disbelievers" to speak to University officials and students, whom he named, who observed the riot and were struck by rocks and firecrackers. Or, he suggested, they could speak to Police Chief E.E. Hardy, who testified on student involvement in the riot.

96. "Athens Riot Case Called, Delayed"

Reporting on the delay of the trial of six men indicted for involvement in the Athens riot, John Pennington named the defendants and said the maximum punishment they could receive was "six months in jail, 12 months in prison, and a \$1,000 fine, all or any portion of these penalties." Pennington also stressed the men's ties to the Ku Klux Klan.

97. "Legislative Report on Rioting Hedges on Harsh Criticism"

Quoting various portions of the report composed by the legislative subcommittee investigating UGA's desegregation and riot, this article said that the report "implied criticism . . . But the report did not in any way live up to advance reports that it would score conduct of university officials in the crisis and heavily batter the conduct of the press." The article called the legislative report "devoid of direct conclusions or criticisms."

98. "Faculty Petition Spurners Win Praise From Senate"

In an article that ended with a senators voting for and against the measure, Margaret Shannon and Curtis Driskell reported on the controversial Senate resolution to commend UGA faculty members who did not sign the faculty petition requesting that Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes be returned to the university after their suspension.

99. "You've Got to Be Taught"

This four-paragraph, unsigned editorial latched onto a Georgia legislator's statement that "Georgia politicians . . . have taught the students to resist integration" and called the statement "close to a damning admission of blame on behalf of Georgia's political leadership." Also, the editorial says, "The General Assembly's resolution to reinstate the disorderly students gives further back-handed encouragement to a defiance of a constituted authority." Finally, this piece asserts that the University and not the legislature should make decisions regarding student discipline.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 20, 1961

100. "Accreditation Unit Eyes University"

Margaret Shannon's article warned that UGA's accreditation was in jeopardy if the state legislators insisted on pursuing "anything which amounts to an invasion of the jurisdiction of university officials." This story referred to a resolution in the House concerning the reinstatement of students suspended for participating in the riot.

101. "Campus Rumor: 'No Trouble' Vow"

Gordon Roberts spoke with one of the UGA students suspended for participating in the riot. The student claimed he only held up a banner and was not involved in throwing rocks. The student told Roberts of rumors that students would not get in trouble if they kept their demonstrating within legal limits. Also, the article contained reference to accusations by Roy Harris that state officials

encouraged the riot and denials by Mayor J.L. Braselton, of Braselton, Ga., that he offered to post bail for any students who got in trouble for protesting.

102. “Red and Black Editor Scores Legislators’ Stand”

John Pennington reported on an editorial by UGA student newspaper editor Terry Hazelwood and a letter sent out to parents of UGA students. Both the letter and the editorial objected to state legislators’ interference with the university.

103. “2 Protesting Students Back In School”

According to this article, two of the three students who withdrew from UGA because they didn’t want to attend classes with blacks returned to the school. Pennington also reported that the third student was under the threat of suspension when he withdrew and “remained out of school.”

104. “Report on Rioting Urges Reinstatement of Students”

This article quoted extensively from the legislative subcommittee’s report on UGA’s desegregation, including the committee’s decision to support the House “resolution urging the reinstatement” of students who participated in the riot. (The subcommittee members were not present when the representatives voted on the resolution.)

105. “Jury Supports Athens Faculty”

According to this article by Pennington, the Clarke County Grand Jury offered various statements of commendation and condemnation for various groups involved with the UGA desegregation. Commended were faculty members, some members of the press, Athens officers and officials, and a majority of the student body. Those groups whose actions were condemned were “outsiders” (which Pennington said a juror clarified to mean the KKK) and some news media.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1961

106. “A Greater Danger”

“Now let the argument come to an end,” urged this *Atlanta Journal* editorial. “Let the legislators apply themselves fully to their difficult jobs as legislators. Let the university officials and professors concentrate on instilling education into Georgia youth.” The editorial followed a warning that the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools would revoke the University of Georgia’s accreditation if politicians overstepped their duties and interfered with the responsibilities of University officials.

107. “Newscasters On Top of University Crisis”

In this subjective report, George Biggers III addressed the work of radio news crews on the Athens campus during the demonstrations and in Atlanta, covering political developments on the desegregation.

108. “GOP Puts Riot Onus on State Officials”

A group of Fulton County Republicans blamed Georgia officials for the Athens riot. “The state government was accused of failing to educate the state to the fact that desegregation of public education is unavoidable,” read this article by Dan Sweat.

MONDAY, JANUARY 23, 1961

109. “Speaker is Lawyer in University Case”

George Smith, speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, would represent one of the UGA students indicted for participating in the on-campus riot, reported Gordon Roberts and Charles Pou. The article quoted both the student, Tommy Cochran, and Smith.

110. “University Returns to ‘Normal’ Status”

When reporting that Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes had attended a full week of classes without further disruptive incidents, Gordon Roberts included a statement by the president of the UGA alumni society stressing that many of the students obeyed the law, only a few rioted.

111. "House Unit Kills University Censure"

In a close vote (5-4), the House Rules Committee decided against pursuing a resolution to censure university faculty who signed the petition urging that the two suspended black students be allowed to return to UGA. Also, the Georgia Senate voted 34-15 to table "a resolution to commend 'students for passive resistance' organization at the University of Georgia. . . ."

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1961

112. "University Censure Proposal Seen Aided By George Smith"

The House Rules Committee, in a sudden closed session decided to approve the censure resolution they had earlier voted against. According to this article by Raleigh Bryans, the resolution was revived at the request of House Speaker George Smith. Bryans explained that the resolution would be put to the House for a vote.

113. "Most Say Re-admit Riot Students"

In this street poll of five white men and a white woman, three respondents said students suspended for involvement in the UGA riot should be readmitted, two said the decision should be left to university officials, and one said, "They should at least be considered for readmission."

JANUARY 30, 1961

114. "The Press Should Not Be Made The Scape-Goat of Athens Riot"

The Atlanta Journal reprinted an unsigned editorial from the *Red and Black*, vouching for the majority of press coverage of the riot as "true, accurate, and in good taste."

APPENDIX E

ARTICLES IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION COMBINED SUNDAY EDITIONS

The following is an annotated list of articles concerning UGA's desegregation published in the combined Sunday editions of the Atlanta Journal-Constitution during January 1961. The articles in bold concern desegregation protests and these are the articles I analyzed in terms of their frames.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 8, 1961

1. **"State Asks U.S. Judge to Stay Negro Entry"**

The potential that the university would be closed is the focus of this article; the lead read, "State officials moved fast Saturday to try to delay integration at the University of Georgia in Athens and thus avoid an immediate showdown on the question of closing the state's biggest all-white school." After referring to Aderhold's statement that he believed the university would stay open and that he "hoped the reaction of white students to the admission of the two Negroes would be calm and nonviolent," the article discusses the legal concerns surrounding the desegregation, the school funds, and the possibility that the school would be closed.

2. **"Negro Boy Registers at Athens"**

In this article, Raleigh Bryans and Gordon Roberts reported that Hamilton Holmes had completed most of the registration process. They also made several vague references to efforts by Athens and university officials to "head off" what they called "apparently anticipated difficulty."

Students were asked their opinions about the desegregation of their university. According to this article, "Without exception, not withstanding varied feelings on segregation or integration, each said that above all the university should not be closed."

3. **"Vandiver's Camp Hints Restlessness"**

This article, discussing the agenda for the upcoming legislative session, devotes a great deal of attention to expected efforts to do away with the "no-funds-for-mixed-schools provision" of the 1956 appropriations act thereby ensuring the university would stay open.

4. **"Athens School Second Unit to Get Edict Against Bias"**

Margaret Shannon reported on previous efforts to desegregate Georgia State College and the University of Georgia's Law School; she included information about legislative efforts designed to keep blacks out of white schools.

5. **"Negro Students Product of Race's Middle Class"**

Based on interviews with Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes, reporter Douglas Kiker points out the two students' qualifications to attend the university and quotes the two on their thoughts of attending the school.

6. **"Here's Text of Aderhold Statement"**

Aderhold claimed his belief that the university would stay open and that faculty, students, parents and alumni would cooperate with the court order to desegregate the school.

7. **"University, Student Leaders Press For Order On Campus"**

Beginning with the statement, ". . . it looked — for now, at least — as if calm would prevail," reporters Raleigh Bryans and Gordon Roberts reported on petitions signed by various student groups protesting integration or advocating open schools as well as a meeting between the dean of students and leaders of various student groups.

8. “Keep Classes Open, Women Voters Urge”

Members of the League of Women Voters of Georgia sent telegrams to state officials urging them to “eliminate . . . the 1956 provision cutting off funds to desegregated branches of the University System.”

9. “Portions of Cook’s Appeal For Stay”

Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook filed a motion with Judge Bootle asking for a stay of the order admitting Charlayne and Hamilton to UGA in order to allow for an appeal and to suspend the threat that the University funds would be cut off.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 15, 1961

10. “Why It is Law of the Land”

Ralph McGill wrote this column on court decisions and constitutional rights as involved in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case and the more recent desegregation of the University of Georgia, including rulings enjoining state officials from withholding state funds from the school.

11. “Hard Core Spawned Rioting”

Journal-Constitution staff writers John Pennington and Gordon Roberts teamed up to review the “week of violence” resulting from the desegregation of the University of Georgia. “Particularly,” the article reads, “the discussions [following the violence] center around WHY the riot was allowed to take place, building up as it did, promising in advance to erupt.” And the article reported on speculation that held a few unnamed students responsible for organizing the riot and a few unnamed state leaders for encouraging it.

12. “U. Issues Anti-Riot Warning”

Along with the information that at least 10 students had been suspended, this article reported that University officials were warning “any student ‘attending or taking part’ in future riots and demonstrations would be suspended or expelled from school.” In the article was the text of Dean Williams’ message warning students of disciplinary measures, information on investigations of the riot, and reports on Charlayne and Hamilton returning to campus.

13. “Campus Leaders Ask Peace”

A student movement designed to counter the riot was the focus of this article. According to this story, approximately 50 students gathered to urge students to obey the law. One student was quoted saying, “We are not trying to change views. We are trying to save the University.” Students also drafted a flier which they distributed around campus urging white students to treat Charlayne and Hamilton with civility.

14. “Idea of Rousting Rioters Endorsed”

Faculty and a group of students supported suspension of “all students taking part in ‘mob demonstrations.’”

15. “Headline Makers”

In his column, Pat Watters recites a chronology of events surrounding the university’s desegregation, with a special look at the violence and the miscommunication between Athens city officials and state officials. With the news of Bootle’s order insisting Charlayne and Hamilton be returned to classes, Watters ended: “Georgia’s second chance has arrived.”

16. “Education Not Victory Comes First, Negroes Say”

Based on interviews with Hamilton and Charlayne, Fred Powledge reported on their goals in attending the university and their thoughts on the first few hours they spent on campus.

17. “Georgia Top News In Ghana”

Reporter Mike Mahoney’s story stated that UGA’s desegregation was a big story in Ghana: “it is a story of ignorance, fear and hate. It undoubtedly damages the image of democracy which the American government is trying to project to the rest of the world.”

18. "The Unknown Future"

This editorial states emphatically that Georgia needs the university and the university needs a good reputation. "What has happened has happened," the editorial reads. "But what will happen from now on can and must be controlled." The editorial suggests the reinstatement of Charlayne and Hamilton be seen as a second chance for the state and the university.

19. "Georgia Speaks"

Seven Georgians from Covington, Ga., and one from Newton County, Ga., were asked about Vandiver's actions in a report titled, "Did Vandiver Handle Athens Best Way?" Five commented to the effect that he did what he had to do or that he could not have done anything else. Two men commented that Vandiver had not lived up to his campaign promises that there would be no desegregation of public schools, one adding, "I always thought the governor had more power than any judge."

SUNDAY, JANUARY 22, 1961

20. "Negro Students Have 'Quiet' Week"

Douglas Kiker reported on statements made by Charlayne and Hamilton about their return to the university after the riot and their suspension.

21. "Kentuckians Have Praise For Georgia"

A Kentucky radio station offered compliments to most Georgians for "respect for law and decency" following the desegregation of UGA; the station also criticized Roy Harris' remarks against UGA President O.C. Aderhold.

22. "Resolutions Favor Public Education"

Douglas Kiker reported on resolutions and petitions about the UGA desegregation signed by faculty, students, other university faculty, religious groups, and business groups.

23. "The University Problem — The Answers"

Fifteen Georgians were asked their opinions of media involvement in UGA's desegregation: "It has been charged that, during the recent integration troubles at the University of Georgia, the press — newspapers, radio, and television personnel — 'added greatly to the state of confusion' and that the news emanating from the campus at the time of the rioting was overemphasized. Do you agree?" Six said the reporting was fair; four said it was overemphasized or one-sided. The other five respondents' answers straddled the fence or dodged the question, although one straddler did add the comment, "if they wouldn't play it up so much there wouldn't be as much trouble."

24. "The University's Crisis"

Once the question of desegregation was settled, the university still faced the possible loss of accreditation because of the legislative interference in reinstating students suspended for involvement in the riot. This editorial called attention to the need to "protect" the university from such "political interference."

APPENDIX F

ARTICLES IN THE ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

The following is an annotated list of articles concerning UGA's desegregation published in the Atlanta Daily World, an established black newspaper, during January 1961. The articles in bold concern desegregation protests and these are the articles I analyzed in terms of their frames.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1961

1. "Georgia Ordered to Let Down Segregation Barriers; Admit Two to U. Of Ga."
This United Press International article reported on the first federal ruling that ordered the University of Georgia to admit Hunter and Holmes. The article acknowledged that the state would appeal and that the university's funds could be cut off.
2. "Draper Says Will Work as Regent for Segregation"
A pro-segregation Atlanta man accepted Vandiver's nomination to the State Board of Regents and, according to this article, "declared in effect he will work to keep the University of Georgia segregated."

SUNDAY, JANUARY 8, 1961

3. "Vandiver Calls Legislators, Regents For Meeting Today on Order for Desegregation"
Despite state officials opposing the ruling to desegregate the university, Charlayne and Hamilton planned to begin classes at UGA immediately. An important focus of this article was calming fears over the potential that the school would have to close. House floor leader Frank Twitty claimed he did not think Georgians "would stand for the university . . . to be closed. . . ." Further, the article reported Aderhold's comments that he believed the university would continue operating smoothly and that the university had reserve funds to "continue operation until the state plots its course."
4. "Georgia General Assembly to Convene Monday"
UPI reporter Ed Rogers stressed that the "education-integration crisis" was one of the foremost topics on the schedule for state legislators.
5. "Hearing on Order Stay Set Monday"
This brief article explains that Judge Bootle's order to admit Charlayne and Hamilton may be delayed while the decision is appealed. The state was asking for a stay of the original order.
6. "Holmes Wins Battle For Registration"
According to this article, Holmes had registered at UGA the previous day and Charlayne Hunter was expected to register on Monday.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1961

7. **"Students Registered at University of Georgia"**
UPI reporter Al Kuettner covered the legal progression of Holmes and Hunter's suit, including Bootle's stay pending an appeal and Judge Tuttle's order that overturned the stay and allowed Charlayne and Hamilton to continue registering. The article also reported on the registration process and the atmosphere on campus, including the occurrence of mild protest from crowds of students.
8. "Vandiver Orders University Closed"
Another piece by Kuettner, this one reports that Vandiver was closing the university until the 1956 appropriations act cutting off funds to integrated public schools could be repealed.

9. “Governor Takes Softer Tone In Assembly Talk”

This UPI article suggests Vandiver was wavering on the subject of segregation, ending, “[The governor] did not directly state, as he has before, that Georgia’s schools would remain segregated while he is in office.”

10. “Vandiver May Cut Off Funds For University”

According to this article, unnamed sources stated that Vandiver would cut off funds to the university, but that the “legislature will be asked to repeal as quickly as possible a 1956 appropriations act provision forbidding use of state money for support of an integrated institution.”

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1961

11. “State Barred From Cutting Off School Funds; Students Enroll; Defiance Eased”

UPI reporter Al Kuettner’s story informed readers that Charlayne and Hamilton had registered and gave some details on their reception by other students. The story also contained information about Judge Bootle’s injunction which prevented state officials from withholding money intended for the university.

12. “Contrast Between Athens, Tuscaloosa”

This article compared the desegregation of UGA with the 1956 desegregation of the University of Alabama when Autherine Lucy was expelled. The article tells readers that Lucy “was ‘expelled for her own safety’ after . . . mob demonstrations.” Most importantly, the lead of this article implies that because Charlayne and Hamilton have attracted less attention than Lucy did during registration, they were less likely to face the same expulsion.

13. “U.S. Supreme Court Rejects Entry Delay”

This UPI report out of Washington, D.C., revealed that the state lost its appeal to delay the integration.

14. “Negro Entry at Georgia Like First Night Opener”

John Britton compared the scene at the UGA campus to the “first night opener of a much heralded drama.” Britton reported that white students shouted epithets as Charlayne and Hamilton registered and that the crowds were so large the police had to direct traffic. He described the crowds of white students waiting to catch a glimpse of the two black students, the looks of curiosity and the shouts the black students’ presence elicited.

15. “Legislature Sits on Bill to Repeal Cut-Off of Funds”

The governor and legislators protested orders by the judge who ruled the state could not withhold funds from UGA. According to the article, state officials felt the decision about the 1956 appropriations act was their prerogative. However, the article reported, legislators had not acted on a bill that would have repealed the appropriations act.

16. “Historic Decisions”

Referring to the series of state and federal legal decisions which affirmed Hamilton and Charlayne’s right to enroll at the University of Georgia, this editorial ended, “We hope this issue is now resolved.”

17. “Editor Urges Welcome For Negro Students”

Analyzing *Atlanta Constitution* editor Ralph McGill’s column that called on white students to use the desegregation order as an opportunity to change the world’s view of the South by welcoming Charlayne and Hamilton. This article mostly relies on quotes from McGill’s editorial.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1961

18. “Negro Students Suspended in Wake of Mob Following First Day of Integration”

Despite the headline, which used the word “mob,” and the deck which used “turmoil,” this article concentrates mostly on the suspension of Charlayne and Hamilton and the apparent calm acceptance on campus during the day they first attended classes.

19. **“University Has Operating Funds for Two Months”**

In reporting that the state treasurer had refused to issue checks to the university because of the 1956 appropriations act, this UPI article also reported that the University had \$20 million on hand, half of which could go to operating costs to keep the school open for a couple of months. The report also informed readers that of the \$60.6 million the school took in “only \$27.4 million came from state appropriations.”

20. **“The Challenge and An Opportunity”**

As an editorial, this piece discusses in vague terms the possibilities that come with integrating the university — mostly in terms of long-awaited opportunities for all blacks.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1961

21. **“Georgia’s Cut-off-the-Funds Law Ruled Unconstitutional”**

This article by SNS reporter Harmon G. Perry considered the decision by Judge Bootle to issue an injunction preventing the state from restricting state funds to UGA. The article also mentioned the anticipated decision on the request by Hunter and Holmes’ attorneys asking that students be reinstated at the school.

22. **“Suspended Students Relax in Atlanta”**

John Britton interviewed Charlayne and Hamilton during their suspension from UGA. However, most of this article is dedicated to description of and condemnation of the riot which resulted in the suspension of the two students.

23. **“Justice Department Probes Mob Action at the University”**

This UPI story reported on the FBI investigation underway and gave the background information on the riot and resulting arrests.

24. **“Citizen’s Meeting For Holmes-Hunter Case Monday Night”**

An advance announcement, this three-paragraph brief reported that attorneys for Charlayne and Hamilton would speak at a meeting organized to encourage financial support of the NAACP in defending the two students.

25. **“Judge Bootle Voids Key Segregation Law”**

After brief mention of the riot, UPI reporter Al Kuettner stated that Judge Bootle had declared a state law cutting off funds from any school in the state which is integrated is ‘Patently Unconstitutional.’” The article then turned to the difficulty the city had getting help from the state patrol during the riot.

26. **“Georgia Faculty Ask Return of Negro Students”**

About 300 UGA faculty members signed a petition asking that Charlayne and Hamilton be reinstated and criticizing the violent action which resulted in their suspension.

27. **“Cut-off-the-Funds Law Unconstitutional”**

This short UPI report filed from Macon gives the details of the injunction preventing the use of the 1956 appropriations act to withdraw state funding from integrated schools.

28. **“Violence Must Not Obstruct Court Decisions”**

This unsigned editorial reflecting on the UGA riot and the circumstances surrounding the desegregation of the university also urges readers to “respect all laws until they are changes through legal process,” specifying even “laws obnoxious to Negroes.”

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1961

29. **“Two Suspended Students Ordered Readmitted By U.S. Judge Bootle”**

Al Kuettner filed his UPI story from Athens, reporting that Bootle ruled Charlayne and Hamilton should be readmitted to UGA, adding that they should not be suspended again because of a break in law and order. Kuettner also reviewed the facts of the riot.

30. "Sometimes Blessings Come Disguised"

Looking on the bright side, this editorial set aside the Athens riot and praised the faculty petition which criticized the riot and asked the return of Charlayne and Hamilton. The editorial also said that the prompt return of the two students would "lessen mob powers and throw into ridicule the tactics used to disgrace the university and the state."

SUNDAY, JANUARY 15, 1961

There is no record of a newspaper from January 15 on the microfilm.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1961

31. "Two Students Return to Classes at the University of Georgia"

Still reporting from Athens for the UPI, Al Kuettner wrote of the atmosphere on campus as Charlayne and Hamilton attended classes several days after the riot.

32. "Receptive Atmosphere Greets Two Students"

Harmon G. Perry also reported on the campus atmosphere as Charlayne and Hamilton again attended classes. He included a bit of information from the two students as well.

33. "Vandiver's Budget Message Received Without Fanfare"

State senators and representatives discussed the desegregation of UGA and, according to this UPI report, many criticized UGA officials and faculty for signing the petition asking that Charlayne and Hamilton be reinstated.

34. "'Athens Story' Told by Lawyers for Students"

Donald Hollowell spoke of the UGA desegregation at the Atlanta Branch NAACP monthly meeting.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1961

35. "Rogers Says U.S. May Have to Act in Crisis"

The UPI reported from Washington, D.C. on a speech by retiring Attorney General William Rogers, who anticipated that the federal government would have to help settle racial strife at the University of Georgia.

36. "Six Bound Over to Grand Jury on Charges Stemming From Riot on University of Georgia Campus"

Al Kuettner, UPI reporter, updated readers on the charges against six Klansmen, Charlayne and Hamilton's second day of classes "without incident," and the arrest of an armed man who went to the Athens campus asking for Charlayne Hunter.

37. "Unconstitutional Laws Should Be Repealed"

Using the case of Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes as a news peg, this editorial urged "the elimination or repeal of the recently enacted laws requiring segregation."

THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1961

38. "Clarke Grand Jury Indicts Klansmen"

This UPI report named the six Klansmen arrested after the UGA riot and described the punishment they could receive if convicted on charges of unlawful assembly and carrying concealed weapons to a public gathering.

39. "Judge Who Upheld Ga. Desegregation Native Southerner"

A UPI report which described Bootle, this story paid special attention to other civil rights cases in which Bootle helped end discriminating practices.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 20, 1961

40. “Men Who Changed Georgia’s History”

Thomas Jefferson Flanagan wrote this feature commending Judges Bootle and Tuttle for decisions regarding Charlayne and Hamilton’s admission and return to UGA.

41. “Georgia House Committee Asks Return of Ousted Students”

This story detailed some findings of the special legislative committee which investigated the riot. The article also reported that the House was calling for a reinstatement of students who had been suspended for rioting.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1961

42. “Univ. of Georgia Officials Lauded for School Stand”

Based on statements issued by the Clarke County Grand Jury, this UPI article reported that the grand jury commended the UGA administration and faculty for their handling of the desegregation. The jury also criticized outsiders who participated in the riot and some newsmen reporting on the desegregation.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 22, 1961

43. “Athens Students Said ‘Warming Up’”

Charlayne and Hamilton were interviewed after their first full week at UGA. Most of their comments reflected positively on the week.

44. “GOP Attacks the Handling of Ga. University Issue”

A committee of Republicans criticized Democratic officials for their part in the university’s desegregation, saying the situation should’ve been handled before the federal government intervened. Republicans also criticized Democrats for failing to assist Athens officials in the face of a riot and for failure to challenge derogatory statements made by some Democratic leaders.

45. “This Law Should Be Included for Repeal”

Urging the repeal of a law limiting the age of college applicants, this editorial points out the ineffectiveness of the law: “Since Miss Hunter and Mr. Holmes have now been admitted to the state university at Athens, the law seems to have failed its main purpose. . . .”

APPENDIX G

ARTICLES IN THE *ATLANTA INQUIRER*

The following is an annotated list of articles concerning UGA's desegregation published during January 1961 in the Atlanta Inquirer, a weekly publication that grew out of the Student Movement in Atlanta. The articles in bold concern desegregation protests and these are the articles I analyzed in terms of their frames.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1961

1. “Eyes of the World on Ga.”

Beginning with a lead that called the January 11 Athens riot a “surprisingly rather well-planned crisis,” this article is critical of the riot — a “crude exhibition”— and critical of the resulting suspension of Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes. This article does mention friendly gestures toward Charlayne, in particular, which contrasted with “instances of jeering, shoving, and spitting” described in the article. As the first mention of the school’s desegregation in January of 1961, the article continues with brief background information.

2. “Sad and Touching”

In a sarcastic commentary on the position of Southern politicians, this unsigned editorial criticizes politicians who caved to pressure of regional biases (presumably racial biases). The article also points out that people all over the world will learn of the potential closing of UGA — and underscores the contradiction this poses in relation to Georgia as “a state which supported the candidacy of a President-elect who has already announced a bold, vigorous program of liberal leadership to the nation and the world.”

3. “‘Making’ News in Athens”

Inquirer editor M. Carl Holman wrote this editorial criticizing the media for emphasizing the anti-integration demonstrations. Quoting specific instances of unethical behavior by reporters and photographers, the article says that some reporters encouraged the chanting and some photographers focused on the extreme protesters.

4. “Perspectives”

In an editorial where he bade readers not to wait for rights, H.J. (Julian) Bond used his role in accompanying Holmes to register as an example that “‘things ain’t like they used to be.’”

5. (Tidbits)

In a brief mention of Hamilton Holmes’ picture on the front page of the *Atlanta Constitution*, this *Inquirer* comment reads “. . . How ‘bout that? It’s hard to tumble to the rumble of why twisted sisters and misters could possibly object to the presence of this ‘smooth youth’ on any campus anywhere!”

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1961

6. “Charlayne Finds Friends at U. Of Ga.”

Charlayne Hunter, a staff reporter for the *Inquirer*, wrote this front page article beginning, “I can only hope things will continue as they have been for Hamp (Hamilton Holmes) and me as they have been since our return.” Charlayne stresses that things are becoming normal at the University and the article expresses optimism.

7. “A Black Week for Georgia”

Dr. Arthur C. Banks, a professor of political science at Morehouse College, gave a radio address, which was reprinted in the *Inquirer*. Deploring the disintegration of society and the tradition of injustice, as illustrated by the riot in Athens, Banks criticizes Georgians for instilling their children with ideas of “hatred and bigotry,” which allowed them to act as they did in Athens. Banks further accuses Georgia officials of “riot-baiting.”

8. “The Bible Speaks”

The Reverend John A. Middleton wrote about the riot at UGA, saying that the words “student” and “riot” should be opposites. He criticized the governor who could “muster a hundred troops to stop Negro students from praying on the State Capitol grounds, but could not muster a single state trooper to quell rioters on the University campus.” Middleton did highlight good aspects of the situation, too: the petitions signed by professors and students who advocated having Hunter and Holmes returned to campus and the “heartwarming courage” of Hamilton and Charlayne.

9. “Was the Anti-Integration Riot in Athens Planned?”

Answers of eight black Atlantans were recorded in the *Inquirer*. Five thought the demonstration was planned; three said it was not planned.

10. “Hollowell Urges Community Support of NAACP”

This brief article covered a meeting to gather support for the NAACP. At the meeting, Donald Hollowell (lawyer to Charlayne and Hamilton) discussed efforts to desegregate the University.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1961

11. “Wayne U. Misses Charlayne; Friends Write Open Letter”

Roy Levy Williams, a friend of Charlayne’s from the university in Detroit where she attended her first year and a half of college, wrote this article praising Charlayne’s courage and wishing her well. In the article, Levy commented, “We hope [people] realize this [racism] is not just a problem of the Southern Negro, not just a problem of the Negro, but it is instead a problem of every human.”

12. “One Worth a Thousand”

This unsigned editorial refers to a telegram Charlayne received saying that the one supporter or decent person in Athens “is worth a thousand of the others,” meaning those who chanted anti-integration rhymes or who hung Holmes in effigy. The article stresses the decency to be found in Athens: “All signs indicate that the great majority of the University administrators, faculty members and students are conducting themselves like the civilized human beings they are....”

13. (Untitled Brief)

This paragraph mentions the University of Georgia when reporting on a group of Methodists who “said in an unanimous report which spoke of college education as a privilege which could be kept only by sharing it with minorities.”