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Diffusion of Knowledge Of the Major News Story

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Analyzing data gathered in studies of three different "news breaks," the authors describe apparent regularities in the diffusion process and note differences in the functions of the newspaper and broadcast media. Other findings suggest that person-to-person "relay" may be of limited importance.

EVERY SO OFTEN A MAJOR NEWS story "breaks." Reporters get the essential facts in a matter of minutes and send them on their way. Normally rusty "gates" in the communication process swing open rapidly. Radio and television stations break into their programs to broadcast bulletins. Newspapers stop their presses for quick make-overs. In a flood of printed and spoken words the message leaves the media.

Then follows a second stage in the history of the story, about which little is known. We call this the period of news diffusion because in it the facts of the story filter into the stream of community life—diffuse through it so to speak—color it, change its complexion, reach and affect in some way nearly every person in it.

Within a few hours—or so it seems—the third stage obtains. "Everybody" has heard the story. Its major facts have been assimilated (at least temporarily) into the common body of knowledge of the community.

The studies reported here deal with the fleeting process of news diffusion—the second stage referred to above.[1] Despite its rapidity, this process has been studied. In 1945, Miller investigated the spread of knowledge in a college population about Roosevelt's death. Within an hour, 90% of this group had the news. Word of mouth was overwhelmingly first source, with 85% get-

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ting the story in that way.[2] Larson and Hill investigated the diffusion of the news of Senator Taft's death in 1953. They found marked differences between socio-economic groups in kinds of first sources and time of learning.[3] Danielson interviewed a sample of California residents in 1956 shortly after Eisenhower announced his decision to run again despite his heart attack. Danielson found indications of patterns of media use after initial learning about the event.[4]

Information on first source of news was studied for the Sputnik story in 1957 in Santiago, Chile, by a group of sociologists. They found a high level of "knowing"—some 95% of their sample of 566 were informed—and a predominant pattern of daily newspaper and radio as first source.[5] Aspects of knowledge about Sputnik in the U.S. also were investigated by the Michigan Survey Research Center, although at a considerable interval after the event.[6]

At first glance, one might ask why researchers would want to investigate as particularized—and in some ways, unpredictable—a process as the diffusion of a major news story. A first answer would be that there is merit in additional descriptions of individual cases which may illuminate the process. If cases are studied under different time conditions, in different geographical areas, for different classes of events, we may find some generality. We also may find some clues about media use generally, since each study represents a "snapshot" of use patterns at a particular time.

Further, it is now generally stressed that media messages are mediated in a two-step flow of communication, as Katz and Lazarsfeld have hypothesized.[7] Study of individual events may throw additional light upon this flow and the mediation process. In addition, mathematical models of the diffusion process are being developed.[8] Although data from a field study may be far removed from the formulae of the model-makers, investigations of this type may help bridge the gap.

SAMPLE AND METHOD

There are several difficult problems in studies of the major news event. The researcher must choose between alternatives of getting ready after the event and suffering all the ills of a hasty, "crash" project, or getting ready before and suffering the ills of having his design, interviewer morale and patience moulder while he awaits the event. Beyond this, he is faced with the possibility that a variety of situational factors may arise with the event and vitiate his results. (For example, Larson and Hill found that their "event" coincided with a newspaper strike in Seattle.)

Despite these problems the authors designed a "generalized" diffusion study during the Seminar on Public Communications sponsored by the Social Science Research Council in the summer of 1957. A questionnaire was developed, applicable to a wide range of events. A method of telephone interviewing approximately 24 hours after the event was chosen, because it permitted objective sampling of households on short notice, quick training of

[2] Delbert C. Miller, "A Research Note on Mass Communication," *American Sociological Review*, 10:691-94 (October 1945).

[3] Otto N. Larsen and Richard J. Hill, "Mass Media and Interpersonal Communications in the Diffusion of a News Event," *American Sociological Review*, 19:426-33 (August 1954).

[4] Wayne Danielson, "Eisenhower's February Decision: A Study of News Impact," JOURNALISM QUARTERLY, 33:433-41 (Fall 1956).

[5] Eduardo Hamuy, Danilo Salcedo and Orland Sepúlveda, *El Primer Satelite Artificial: Sus Efectos en la Opinion Pública* (Santiago, Chile: Prensas de la Editorial Universitaria, S.A., 1958), 132 pp.

[6] "Satellites, Science, and the Public" (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1959), 57 pp.

[7] Elihu Katz and Paul Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), pp. 44-45, 82-83. See also Elihu Katz, "The Two-Stage Flow of Communication: An Up-to-Date Report on an Hypothesis," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 21: 61-78 (Spring 1957).

[8] Anatol Rapoport, "The Diffusion Problem in Mass Behavior," in *General Systems: Yearbook of the Society for the Advancement of General Systems Theory*, Vol. I (Ann Arbor: Braun-Brumfield, Inc., 1956).

interviewers and opportunity to gather data in a short time span.

The method was pre-tested in Lansing, Mich., on Oct. 6, 1957, a day and a half after the news of Sputnik I became available. This test indicated that the desired information could be obtained in telephone interviews and that there were no immediately overwhelming demographic biases in the sample of persons produced by the method.

Subsequently, the procedure was used in full-scale studies of the diffusion of the news of Eisenhower's light stroke in Lansing, Mich. (November 1957); of the news of Explorer I satellite in Lansing, Madison, Wis., and Palo Alto, Calif. (January 1958); and of Alaskan statehood in Lansing and in Madison (June 1958). Altogether, then, six samples were obtained over the three stories and three communities.

In every instance samples were drawn on an "every *n*th" basis from the telephone directories of the cities concerned. Coverage of households by telephones in the several communities is 90% or better. A method of alternating between interviewing the person answering or calling another family member to the phone, and of alternating sex of respondents was developed to control for these factors. Calling was done during the 7 to 10 p.m. period of the day *after* first availability of the news.

Completion of samples ranged from 67% to 85%. Refusal rate was uniformly low—around 5%. "No answer" accounted for most of the unreached households. In general, the characteristics of respondents were quite similar from sample to sample. Sample size varied with the number of interviewers who could be assembled on short notice.

INPUT OF INFORMATION

Each of the communities had television service, local and metropolitan daily newspapers and a full complement of radio stations. As for households, virtually all were in the potential audiences of the media. Thus the percentage having radio sets varied from 90% to 98% over the six samples. The percentage having TV ranged from 90% to 92%. The number of households receiving one or more daily newspapers was equally stable, ranging from 93% to 95%.

Both broadcast media gave full "bulletin" treatment to two of the stories, interrupting regular programs to announce the news. For the Alaska story, television in Lansing did not make a special announcement. Newspaper coverage was available on the second day of the story in each instance. Morning and evening papers covered the Eisenhower stroke and Alaska statehood stories, but only evening papers in Lansing had carried the Explorer story at the time interviews were made.

For much of the analysis which follows, the six samples have been combined. This produced a total of 844 cases. Incompleteness of response ("no answers" or "don't knows") reduces the sample size in some tables.

The rationale for combining the several samples is straightforward. We have subjects who have a common characteristic across the several conditions—such as knowing the news or not, or getting it first from a particular kind of source or knowing it early or late. If individual circumstances are overpowering, combination will "cancel out" relationships or patterns. On the other hand, if there are consistencies across stories, times and communities, they should emerge from such analysis.

THE NEWS DIFFUSION PROCESS

Is the news transmitted "almost instantaneously"? Actually, while the rate is very rapid, it is far from instantaneous. Rather, it appears that for this class of events and general adult populations, one to two days is required for completion of the diffusion process, even with full "bulletin" and "banner headline" treatment by the mass media.

We found no rapid "word-of-mouth" diffusion similar to that reported by

Miller for his college sample. It should be noted that his respondents were homogeneous, to a considerable degree spatially contiguous, and with a pattern of regular movement which naturally brought many persons in contact with many others. The death of Roosevelt was also a news story of tremendous impact.

On the other hand, we were working with heterogeneous adults, more widely scattered spatially, and with patterns of movement which in many cases naturally brought them into contact with smaller numbers of persons.

In all of our studies, the diffusion process "shut down for the night" before it was complete. The greatest penetration before "bedtime" was recorded for the Eisenhower stroke story, which reached two-thirds of the Lansing sample by the first evening. This was accomplished in about 10 hours. The results are presented graphically in Figure 1.

The Explorer I story had a more rapid rate of diffusion, reaching about half of the samples in Lansing, Madison and Palo Alto by bedtime of the first evening with about three to four hours of diffusion time available.

Second-day diffusion was necessary in every instance to push the number of knowers up to the 90% level. Over the six studies, 93% were recorded as knowing the news. Palo Alto recorded 100% for a small sample on the Explorer story and Lansing recorded 89% "knowing" for Alaskan statehood, to mark the extremes.

FIGURE 1
Cumulative Diffusion Curves for Three News Stories

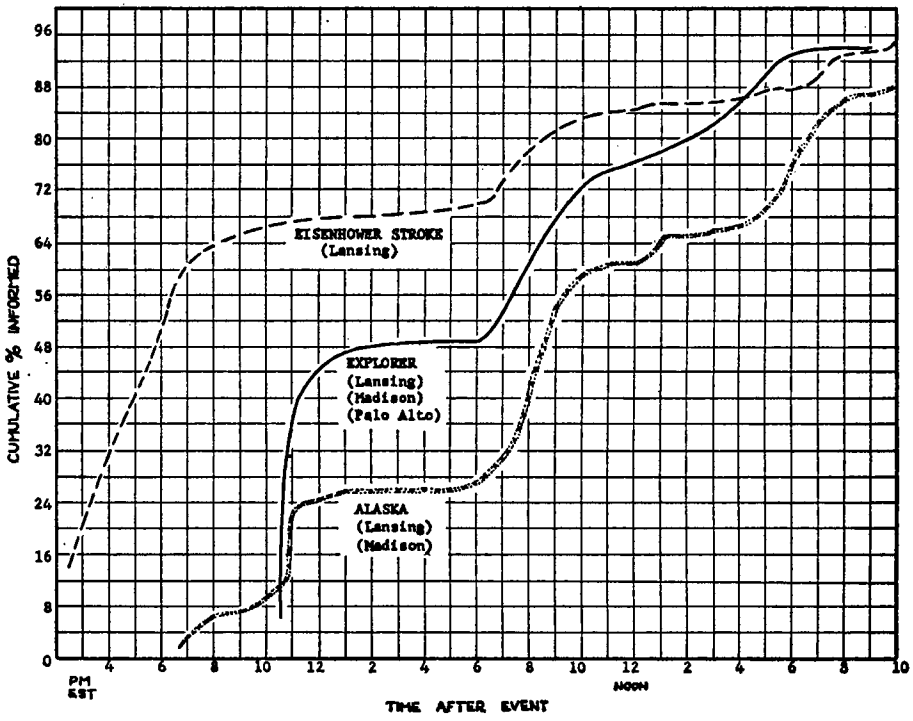

TABLE 1
Percentage Knowing the News

	Know	*Don't Know*	*Size of Sample*
Sputnik (Lansing)	88%	12%*	83
"Ike" Illness (Lansing)	95	5	218
Explorer I (Lansing)	93	7	179
(Madison)	93	7	133
(Palo Alto)	100	0	39
Alaska (Lansing)	89	11	94
(Madison)	90	10	181

*Because this was a pre-test, data are not included in the general analysis which follows.

The Alaska first-day pattern diverges somewhat from that for Eisenhower and Explorer. A number of factors may account for this. For one thing, the Alaska story did not receive bulletin treatment in Lansing although it did in Madison. For another, in Madison an interference in electric power in a part of the community may have had an effect upon the shape of the curve. Most noticeable difference in the Alaska statehood story, as will be brought out below, was the smaller number of individuals being informed face to face. Thus the Alaska curve is more nearly a media diffusion curve—and a broadcast media curve at that.

TABLE 2
Knowing the News, Education and Occupation of Household Head

	Some College	*High School or Less*
Know	98%	90%
Don't Know	2	10
	100%	100%
N	(274)	(528)
	"White Collar"	*"Blue Collar"*
Know	96%	92%
Don't Know	4	8
	100%	100%
N	(366)	(355)

There was a characteristic pattern for the second day, too. Diffusion was fairly rapid during the early morning hours, leveled off in the later morning and early afternoon, then took a final upturn during the late afternoon and early evening. The total percentage of individuals informed appeared to be remarkably stable over communities and over news events, as is indicated in Table 1.

THE UNINFORMED

Over the six studies reported upon in detail we accumulated a substantial number of "uninformed" individuals. They were different from the "knowers" on only two characteristics for which data were obtained—education and occupation.[9] The results are presented in Table 2. They probably help account for the differences in degrees of knowing between communities. Palo Alto, which recorded 100% knowing on Explorer, had 47% college graduates in its sample, whereas the highest proportion in a Lansing sample was 22%.

The relationship between education and knowing which was observed is similar to that reported by the Survey Research Center for a national sample studied as to its knowledge about earth

[9] Whenever "differences" or "relationships" are referred to, the chance probability level of the Chi-square for the associated table is .05 or smaller.

satellites, six months after Sputnik was put into orbit.[10] The SRC found that 15% of grade-school persons were totally uninformed, and successively fewer were uninformed as education level increased. Among college-trained persons, no totally uninformed individuals were found. No relationship for occupation was reported, but a cross-tabulation of income and knowledge showed the kind of relationship suggested by Table 2.

In our samples, more men than women were knowers, but the difference was not statistically significant. Over our several studies 9% of the women were uninformed, and 6% of the men. In the SRC study, 10% of the women and 6% of the men had no knowledge of earth satellites.[11] It would appear that there may be a real, although very small, sex difference.

The SRC result suggests that the levels of diffusion found immediately after the event—for news stories of this class—are not changed appreciably thereafter. The residue of uninformed, the data suggest, remain uninformed. We had speculated upon just this possibility, based upon qualitative reports from interviewers concerning the uninformed persons. There may be a part of the population which is virtually unreachable by society at large with messages of this type.[12]

FACE-TO-FACE COMMUNICATION

We were particularly interested in the relative part played by the various mass media and face-to-face communication in diffusing the news. To identify personal conversation as the first source, we carefully screened each person who indicated his first source was one of the media. He was asked: "Did you get it directly from the media, or did someone call the item (or program) to your attention?" Anyone answering *affirmatively* to the latter question was classified as receiving the news initially from a "personal source."

We thus sought to determine the degree to which Katz and Lazarsfeld's "relay function" of the two-stage flow of communication operated. As they note, speaking specifically of the flow of *information*:

> Some individuals seem to serve as personal transmitters for others. Without these relay individuals, messages originating from the mass media might not reach otherwise unexposed people.[13]

TABLE 3
Personal and Media 'First Sources'

	Personal	*Media*
"Ike" Illness (Lansing)	18%	82%
Explorer I (Lansing)	23	77
(Madison)	13	87
(Palo Alto)	10	90
Alaska (Lansing)	15	85
(Madison)	2	98
Total	12%	88%
N	(110)	(784)

While Katz and Lazarsfeld give no indication of the magnitude of the relay function, they suggest that it is an important part of the total *information* flow. Over our several studies, however, we found relatively few persons getting initial information by this means, even with the added check of screening all media mentions in the manner described above. Over the three stories, we get some suggestion that the amount of relay function may be smaller when the story is of lesser importance or "news value." Thus the Ike and Explorer stories were transmitted by face-to-face means to 18% of the samples in the three communities combined, while the Alaska news traveled the same way for only 6% of the samples in the two communities.

Somewhat the same result, incidentally, was obtained by sociologists who

[10] *Satellites, Science and the Public*, p. 6.
[11] *Satellites, Science and the Public*, p. 5.
[12] See the discussion by Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley of the "chronic know-nothings" in "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 11:413-23 (1947).
[13] *Personal Influence*, p. 82.

TABLE 4
Percentage Learning News from Various Mass Media

	Radio	*TV*	*Newspaper*	*Personal*	*Sample Size*
"Ike" Illness (Lansing)	32%	38%	12%	18%	205
Explorer (Lansing)	20	40	17	23	167
(Madison)	29	36	22	13	125
(Palo Alto)	18	61	10	10	38
Alaska (Lansing)	32	20	33	15	84
(Madison)	24	34	41	2	165

studied the diffusion of the Sputnik news in Santiago, Chile. Even though TV is lacking and the mass media system there is not as fully developed as in the U.S., 80% of a sample of 566 were informed by mass media, including daily and weekly newspapers and radio. Only 20% were informed by face-to-face conversation.[14]

FUNCTIONS OF THE MEDIA

What part did each of the mass media play in diffusion? Before looking at these data, it is important to recall that although television and radio gave full bulletin treatment to the "Ike" stroke and Explorer stories, television did not give bulletin play in Lansing to Alaska statehood. The results are presented in Table 4.

The data indicate clearly that television, even though it is often thought of as an entertainment medium, is the predominant "first source" when bulletin treatment is provided. This was so even for the Eisenhower story, which broke at about 3 p.m. The data also suggest that radio continues to be a strong "first source" of news, despite changes in listening habits in the last decade. Table 4 also shows that the broadcast media do the lion's share of providing "first impact" with a news story of this class. When percentages for radio and television are combined, the low is 52% (the Alaska story in Lansing) and the high is 79% (Explorer, Palo Alto).

Earlier investigations have provided similar results. The news of Senator Taft's death as well as the announcement that Eisenhower would run for the presidency also were predominantly delivered first by radio and television.[15]

Our studies plus these earlier investigations suggest that time of day apparently has very little to do with this result. In all, these studies represent eight different times of "news break," from 7:25 a.m. to 10:55 p.m. The rank-difference correlation between percentage of sample informed by broadcast media and time of day of news break is −.15. The minus may indicate a slight tendency for broadcast media to inform more persons later in the day, but the figure is not significantly different from zero.

On the other hand there was a strong relationship between first source and respondent time of learning. Electronic media—with a small bit of help from face-to-face—did the diffusion job the first day of each story, whereas newspapers usually became important on the second day. The broadcast media, however, continued to inform new individuals as the process continued.

FACTORS RELATED TO FIRST SOURCE

We examined several characteristics of the receivers and the receiving situation, to determine whether any were

[14] Hamuy *et al., op. cit.*, p. 38.

[15] Danielson found that *53%* were informed by broadcast media. Larson and Hill found that 68% of a labor group and 59% of a faculty group learned of the news from radio and TV.

TABLE 5
First Source and Location

	Radio	*TV*	*Newspaper*	*Personal*
In Home	77%	98%	80%	59%
Outside of Home	23	2	20	41
	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	(208)	(287)	(178)	(109)

related to the kind of first source used in getting the news. Examination of location pointed up the fact that "news-receiving" takes place primarily in the home. Better than 8 out of 10 of our respondents learned the news in their own homes. The 17% who were informed elsewhere included those learning the news at work, at the homes of friends and in commercial establishments. Work situations accounted for the major portion of these.

Table 5 shows that despite this general tendency, the media are not equally "home-bound." Although TV informed only 2% outside of the home, newspapers and radio were "more portable" sources of information, as were personal channels. The association between location and first source apparently reflects customary patterns of media use.

The "not-at-home" results suggest that if we had found it possible to complete our samples we would probably have had a somewhat higher estimate of face-to-face first sources. The "not-at-homes" at the time of the survey would have had a greater chance of learning the news elsewhere, and also of learning it in conversation rather than from the mass media. The absolute amount of bias produced by non-completion of samples, however, would appear to be rather small.

In the samples which were studied, there was a relationship between first source and sex. Although the differences were not large, women showed a somewhat greater tendency to be informed by radio and TV, while men got the news more often face to face and through newspapers. If electronic media are combined, we find that 57% of the men and 67% of the women were informed by radio and television. The first sources for the 269 men and 512 women in the combined samples are shown below.

	Men	*Women*
Radio	23%	29%
Television	34	38
Newspaper	27	20
Personal	16	13
Total	100%	100%

There was a statistically significant relationship also between first source and occupation, produced primarily by the greater tendency of higher socio-economic occupational levels to be informed by newspapers and a lesser tendency to get the story from TV, as is shown in Table 6.

No significant relationship between first source and education was found, although the direction of differences suggested what might be expected—a tendency for lesser educated individuals to receive the news from television, and for persons with more education to get it from newspapers.

It seems clear that education is more of an index of the *individual* than is occupation of the household head. Thus it may be that mass media use patterns are more powerfully affected by *household* characteristics than by individual characteristics, making for what appears to be a discrepancy here.

TABLE 6
First Source and Occupation of Household Head

	Professional, Managerial	*Sales, Service, Operatives*	*Skilled and Unskilled Labor*
Radio	28%	25%	28%
Television	28	41	36
Newspaper	30	17	24
Personal	14	16	12
Total	100%	100%	100%
N	(193)	(264)	(252)

SUPPLEMENTAL MEDIA USE

After getting the news, a majority of individuals made use of the media for additional information. On the average, respondents reported 1.1 additional media uses, approximately half of them involving newspapers. Radio and television split the remainder about evenly, although TV was used a bit more frequently. The predominance of newspaper use held across communities and across stories, as Table 7 demonstrates.

Individuals who initially learned the news via radio or a personal source were more likely to make supplemental use of the media. Newspaper-informed individuals were by far the lowest users of additional media.

Over the several studies, we can compute the percentage of individuals who made "any use" of a particular medium, either to get the news initially or to get supplemental information. This indicates that 62% of our sample made use of newspapers for information about the three stories, 52% used television and 40% used radio.

TALKING ABOUT THE NEWS

Katz and Lazarsfeld, while positing a "relay function" in the two-stage flow theory, have put most emphasis upon the "reinforcement function" and the flow of *influence* through personal channels.[16] Our studies provided clear support for the importance of this aspect of the theory. Two-thirds of our respondents reported being involved in conversation about the events. These conversations, of course, are a necessary condition for the passing of influence. In our studies we have no direct indication of the nature of influence being passed, but we do have clear dem-

[16] Katz and Lazarsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

TABLE 7
Supplemental Use of Media After Learning News*

	Used Radio	*Used Television*	*Used Newspaper*	*Sample Size*
Eisenhower (Lansing)	36%	49%	72%*	205
Explorer (Lansing)	20	19	50	167
(Madison)	26	30	41	125
(Palo Alto)	26	42	71	38
Alaska (Lansing)	19	25	44	84
(Madison)	13	19	44	169

*Because of multiple uses, rows do not add to 100%.

TABLE 8
Supplementary Media Use and Talking About News

	Used All Three	*Used Two*	*Used One*	*Used None*	*Total*
Talked to					
Two or more.....	45%	46%	35%	29%	40%
One	28	29	44	17	28
None	27	25	31	54	32
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Percent	(16%)	(27%)	(36%)	(21%)	(100%)
N	96	166	224	127	613

onstration of the frequent opportunity for the process to take place. The percentage of respondents who talked about the news is shown below for each event and for all samples combined.

"Ike" (Lansing) (N = 205).....76%
Explorer (combined) (N = 330)...68
Alaska (combined) (N = 232).....54
Total (N = 767).. .....66%

The differences among the stories seem to be in accord with what an experienced newsman would say about their respective "news values." All of the stories are of high "importance," but the President's illness had more personal, human interest than either of the other two events. Alaska statehood had much less surprise value and did not receive as much "play."

The direction of differences in talking is like that obtained on personal source of information—as might be expected, since the two approaches are not entirely independent. (Any personal-source case is a "talking" case, but a talker is not necessarily a personal first-source case.) But we can wonder whether the amount of opportunity for personal influence in a two-stage flow process becomes greater or smaller as the "news value" of the story declines. We suspect that even as in the case of the flow of information, the opportunities for the process to operate decline both absolutely and relatively as news impact declines.

If we make the reasonable assumption that talkers are more likely to be opinion leaders our results are consistent with Lazarsfeld's finding that opinion leaders make greater use of the media. Categorizing respondents by the number of supplemental media uses they reported, we found a positive relationship to the number of persons they talked to. (See Table 8.)

With one exception, we also found support for the idea that opinion leaders are distributed through the population. Thus there appeared to be no relationship between talking about the news and age, sex, occupation, marital status, size of family. The one exception was education. Here we found a decided relationship—the more education, the more likely talking about the news.

Investigating the circumstances under which our respondents reported being involved in conversations, we discovered a number of similarities from one story and community to another. In the first place, conversation about the news—like learning about it—was much more likely to take place in a family setting. Three-fourths of our "talkers" reported having conversations in the home, while only one-fourth reported talking at work, and one-fourth at the homes of friends, in commercial establishments and in other non-home, non-work situations. (The percentages add to more than 100%, because many individuals

reported conversations in several different situations.)

We also gathered information on the specific number of persons talked to in the various situations. This reveals a different relationship, to a considerable degree reflecting the "availability" of listeners for our talkers. Classifying individuals talked *to* by location, we find that the largest group was talked to at work. The reports of a few respondents who talked at work to large numbers of persons (50 or more) accounted for this.

Even though the proportion of individuals who talked at all varied from one story to another, the number of listeners a talker reached on the average was remarkably constant. The constancy remains even when broken down by social setting. In-the-home conversations were with the smallest number of persons for all three stories. The audience for our talkers "at friends" was next largest, while the "at-work" talking situations produced the largest averages (means) for all three. The data clearly emphasize the "availability" of listeners in the social situation.

SUMMARY

What can we now say about the diffusion of the major news story? Even though our studies are of a small number of stories and our samples from a small number of communities, it appears that the diffusion process is far more regular than we suspected. Time of day, nature of the story, and other factors do not seem to alter the gross results very much. The diffusion curves follow about the same pattern.

We certainly have evidence which suggests that TV—even though primarily an entertainment medium—plays a major role in delivering important news. And we also have evidence which suggests that radio is still doing a big news job. Newspapers tended primarily to supplement the broadcast reports.

On the matter of the two-stage flow of communication, we can say:

1. Initial mass media information on important events goes directly to people on the whole and is not *relayed* to any great extent.

2. People talk about important news they have learned from the media.

3. At this stage, opinion leaders, who have more information, may do some *relaying* of *information*. But this is a *supplementary* relaying. When the subject comes up, the informed leader contributes the additional information he has on it—adding, subtracting, correcting, confirming, etc.

Conclusion: The relay function is supplemental in nature, probably takes place at the same time as the *reinforcement function,* and is hard to distinguish from the latter.

Thus we would urge that the Katz-Lazarsfeld two-stage flow hypothesis, as a description of the initial information process, be applied to mass communication with caution and qualification.

"For thirteen and a half years I had the opportunity of observing the press corps in our nation's capital city of Washington, D. C. Without reservation I can say that the vast majority of the men and women covering the news events in Washington are dedicated, hard working men and women.

"In that period of time I only had one occasion when I felt impelled to call a reporter to correct what I believed was a misrepresentation of a position I had taken. I have personally never had a reporter violate a confidence I had given him."—WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND in Eric W. Allen Memorial Lecture, University of Oregon School of Journalism, Eugene, Ore., Feb. 19, 1960.