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### HUNGARIAN REFUGEE OPINION

Based on Findings From 800 Self Administered Questionnaires

Audience Analysis Section Radio Free Europe, Munich



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#### I. SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

800 Hungarian refugees, 682 U.S. bound and 118 in Britain and West Germany, were given self-administered questionnaires which provided the data for this report. These questions, addressed only to those who had left Hungary since October 23, concerned refugee attitudes toward the revolution and Western broadcasts.

### Feelings About the Revolution Itself

- 1. Only one in two hundred people expressed the belief that the revolution was not worthwhile, with most of the sample apparently having taken part in some aspect of the fighting. A majority of the sample believed that the aims of the revolution were <u>not</u> too ambitious.
- 2. 85% deny that any outside influences were responsible for the revolt, and only 8% (no particular group) specifically disagreed. Less than 3% (24 people) volunteered that radio-leaflet operations were an element of incitement.
- 3. When 180 people were given a choice of pre-selected "causes" of the revolution, "suffering under communism" was listed as the first most important cause by 75% of the sample. "Polish events" ranked as the second most frequently picked first cause with 12%. 1% picked "Western broadcasts" as the first cause.
- 4. Western broadcasts in fact ranked <u>last</u> among those pre-selected "first causes" which attracted <u>any</u> support at all.
- 5. The following percentages of the sample indicate the insignificance of "desire for national communism" as an important cause of the Hungarian revolution: 00% picked it as the first most important cause, 1% as the second most important cause, and 2% made it their third choice.

### Expectations of Aid

- 1. Although subject to scrutiny because these questions are being asked of people on an <u>ex post facto</u> basis, nine out of ten people say that they expected some form of Western aid after the second Soviet intervention. Significant is the belief of 50% of the sample that before the revolt began they would not have anticipated Western assistance.
- 2. Of U.S. bound subjects who expected aid before and after the revolt, more than half thought in terms of armed intervention. Those destined for Europe are more divided in their opinions, with only one out of five subscribing to the armed intervention view. In fact, more of them expected weapons and/or moral pressure from abroad.
- . 3. After November 4 (second Soviet intervention), more people depended on the U.N. for assistance and fewer depended upon the United States than had previously been the case.

4. One in sixteen thought that Western broadcasts led to pre-revolt expectations of aid from the West. After November 4, this figure remains about the same.

### Radio Listening Habits and Preferences

- 1. 93% of the sample said that they depended most on foreign radio for the news. Second, with 15%, was balloon leaflets. Regime press and radio each registered 1%. Radio listening was not confined to any single class or group.
- 2. The most lopsided result was registered when ½% (one half of one percent) said they did not want western stations to continue broadcasting to Hungary.
- 3. Of 12 foreign radio stations, 91% indicated they listened to RFE, 90% VOA, 74% BBC, 12% Vienna, 8% Vatican radio. Except for the more educated persons where slightly more favor is expressed for BBC, available data indicates no significant group preferences among the three top stations.
- 4. VOA ranks above RFE in popularity, with BBC third where people were asked to give their first, second, and third favorite Western station. Differences exist between U.S. bound subjects and European subjects, with VOA and BBC trading for first place respectively.
- 5. VOA emerges as the most popular and RFE the most unpopular on the basis of the question asked of which station people would like most and least to keep. Where people were asked specifically whether they disliked any of five stations, 50 of 800 people expressed dislike for RFE. Only Radio Madrid (69) ranked higher in this regard, and only 7 people expressed dislike for VOA or BBC. "Unreliability" was the most frequently volunteered reason for expressed dislike of both RFE and Radio Madrid.
- 6. Asked whether they could recall the names of any specific progra. or personalities in Western broadcasts, RFE scored 93% of the total program recalls, compared with 1% for VOA and 6% for BBC. The "Gallicus" program scored highest for RFE, and "Andrew Martin" for BBC. It is noteworthy that with 195 to 23 mentions, RFE's top ranking programs, scored over 700% as many mentions as BBC's. Both are "personality" programs.

### II. NOTE ON SAMPLE AND METHOD

This report deals with eight hundred Hungarian refugees and their opinions about the revolution, Western broadcasting stations, and the role of these stations in the revolution. Its main purpose is to illuminate certain aspects of the relationship between Western radio stations and their Hungarian audience. The mass flight of refugees from Hungary has given RFE its first opportunity to learn the opinions of a substantial slice of a target audience.

Self administered questionnaires were given to available Hungarians to fill in and return to a Hungarian representative. Although a questionnaire administered under these circumstances has obvious drawbacks, it was possible to obtain a larger sample than resources would otherwise permit. The questions were framed so that no one would feel that his personal life or destination would be affected by his answers. Most respondents welcomed the opportunity to fill out questionnaire

These questionnaires were filled out between December 18 and January 6.

No effort is made to comment upon the meaning of these results in terms of other available material. There is both confirmation and diviation, but it seems best for the material to speak for itself. In conclusion, it should be stated that this report only summarizes the total findings from this question-naire. Considerably more detailed findings are available on request from the Audience Analysis Section.

### COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE

Of 800 subjects:

SEX: Males outnumber females by seven to two.

EDUCATION: Nearly one in two refugees went to High School.

AGE: One in two is under thirty.

OCCUPATION: Four in ten are workers.

RESIDENCE: Eight in ten come from Western Hungary,

particularly Budapest.



SEX	%	EDUCATION	%
Male	74	Elementary	31
Female	22	Secondary	45
No. Ans.	4	University	17
	100 %	No. Ans.	7
			100 %

ACE		US-bound (682)	Europe-bound	Total
AGE			(118)	1
		%	%	%
I	15 - 29	52	38	49
II	30 - 49	40	48	42
III	50 plus	3	5	4
	No. ans.	5	9	5
		100 %	100 %	100 %
	OCCUPATION	%	RESIDENCE	%
	Workers	43	Budapest	54
	Office workers	19	Other Towns	16
	Professions	17	Country	21
	Students	8	No. Ans.	9
	Housewives	3		100%
	Peasants	1	REGION	
	Artists	2	Budapest	54
	No ans.	_7	Western Hungary	30
		100%	Eastern & Central Hungar	у 7
			No- ans.	9
				100%

### Audience Analysis Section, RFE

January 24, 1957

The validity of the sample must be approached from two points of view. Is this sample representative of the current refugee population and is it representative of the Hungarian population as a whole?

It is believed that the 800 subjects on whose questionnaires this report is based do constitute a fair sample of the <u>refugee population</u>, except that 682 were USA bound. This latter fact undoubtedly increased the likelihood that the average age would be younger, that many people would have been looking forward to leaving Hungary even prior to the revolution, and that many would express themselves more favorably about anything labelled USA or American than they otherwise might.

However, all available evidence indicates that there are very few significant differences between US bound and non-US bound refugees. Where such differences reveal themselves in the breakdowns, they are pointed out.

The sample of 410 refugees providing the basis for earlier independent findings of the <u>Viennese Institute for Market Research</u> agrees in many respects with this sample. Meanwhile, Hungarians are now receiving this questionnaire in other locations where they are not in American hands.

It is also clear that the 800 subjects on this initial sample do not represent a complete cross section of the Hungarian population. This results from the circumstances under which people are leaving Hungary rather than the method of random sample selection which was employed.

On the basis of the latest available <u>population</u> figures: 24% of the population are under 15 years old. This age group is not represented in this sample. No figures are available for the other age groups.

In the <u>population</u> women slightly outnumber men, whereas men outnumber women in the <u>sample</u> by 7 to 3.

Workers total only 13% of the population. Nearly 40% of the sample falls in this class.

Peasants, hardly represented in the sample because so few chose to leave the soil, total 41.3% of the population (Including dependents).

The opinions of any present day adherents to the Kadar regime are not represented.

A disproportionate percentage of refugees have come from Budapest and Western Hungary (84%). Only 48% of the population live in these two locales. The discrepancy is probably due to two factors: (1) Geographic proximity to the Austrian frontier. (2) Transportation difficulties between the rest of Hungary and the West. Outside Budapest there are only 5 bridges across the Danube which divides Western Hungary from the rest of the country.

# III. HUNGARIAN OPINIONS ABOUT THE REVOLUTION OVER 90% WOULD DO IT AGAIN

To the question "Do you feel the revolution was worthwhile?", only one in two hundred replied in the negative. This question received such an overwhelming affirmative answer from the first 682 subjects that it was not put to the remainder, in order to make way for another more productive question. The results from 682 subjects were:

Yes 93
No 0.6
No Ans. 6.4
100%

### REGIME HATRED MOVES MAJORITY TO FIGHT

Asked their reasons for participating in the fighting 800 subjects volunteered answers which were classified as follows:

Hatred of Communism 41%
Patriotism 21%
Low Living Standards 8%
Vague and other answers 32%
(e.g., dissatisfaction, discontent)

Many subjects gave more than one answer, hence the total exceeds 100%.

The last 180 subjects were also asked: "Did you personally take part in the fighting?" It appears that nearly 90% of these refugees did take part, and this is consistent with the answers volunteered by a large majority of the first 620 subjects.

The general pattern of hatred of communism endorses the previous findi.os (on the causes of the revolution) that the Hungarians fought first and foremost because they hated communism.

### 85% DENY OUTSIDE INFLUENCES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE REVOLUTION

620 people, all U.S. bound were asked: "Do you think that Hungarians decided to participate in the armed revolution because of outside influences?"

Yes 8

No 85

No answer 7

100%

There is no correlation between these answers and subjects of any one region, occupation or age group.

Those who answered "yes" were invited to specify "What influences?"

Radio and/or Leaflets 35 65 Vague or no answer 100%

From an audience point of view, regime charges of Western incitement rang false. Less than 3% of the sample thought that radio-leaflet operations incited the nation to armed revolt.

### SUFFERING UNDER COMMUNISM MAIN CAUSE OF REVOLUTION

Because a direct question revealed that the vast majority of subjects opined that outside influences had not incited them to revolt, 180 people were asked to choose from a pre-selected list of causes of the revolution.

"What were the first, second and third most important causes for the outbreak of the revolution?"

	1st cause	2nd cause,	3rd cause:
	%	76	%
Suffering under Communism	72	19	4.5
Polish events	12	19	9
AVH-Student fights	5	12	28
Hate of communist leaders	4	31	18
Other*	4	4	7
Western broadcasts	1.	5	11
Geneva conference	0	2	3.5
Jesire for national communism	0	1	2
No answer	_ 2	_7	17
	100%	100%	100%

<sup>\* (</sup>Petoefi Writers' Club) The Petoefi Writers' Movement was the only "other cause" which was volunteered by subjects. education breakdown is yet available but this opinion is expected to be confined to subjects having a University background.

There were no differences in opinion trends between the group of 62 bound for the U.S. and the 118 who were in Britain and Western Germany.

Among first choices which attracted any support at all, Western broadcasts occupy the last place. As a primary cause of the revolution, suffering under communism commands a majority over all other views.

Among second choices hate of communist leaders is singled out as the most frequently expressed view, but this view is subscribed to by only a third of subjects.

The leading tertiary cause of the revolution is, in refugees' opinion, the fights which took place in Budapest between AVH men and students and which were the prelude to the bloodshed. Western broadcasts ranked third in the people's selection of tertiary causes of the revolution.

### TWO TO ONE BELIEVE THAT THE REVOLUTION WAS NOT TOO AMBITIOUS

Faced with the question "Do you believe that the aims of the revolution were too ambitious?" 620 replies were divided as follows:

Yes 33 No 56 No answer 11 100%

Because this response did not show how much support existed for the extreme view that the revolution did not go far enough, the question was reworded for the remaining 120 subjects -

"went too far"	"were about right"	"did not go far enough"
%	%	%
16	50	20

In this form, the view that the aims of the revolution were inadequate attracts the support of one in five. There is a similar amount of support for the proposition that the aims of the revolt "were about right" as there was opposition to the idea that the revolt was too ambitious.

One in two refugees supports the aims of the revolt. One in four, in both statements of the question, found them over-ambitious.

One in five hold the extreme view that the aims of the revolution were not ambitious enough.

This represents a general endorsement of the scope of the aims of the revolution and reveals little disillusionment among refugees with their uprising.

### IV. EXPECTATIONS OF AID

# WESTERN AID EXPECTED BY NINE IN TEN AFTER SECOND SOVIET INTERVENTION

800 subjects were asked whether they expected aid from the West:

1. Before the revolt broke out.

2. After the second Soviet intervention of November 4.

Aid expected	Before Oct. 23	After Nov. 4
	%	%
Yes	50	87
No	42	11
No answer	8	2

People were divided as to whether they felt, before the fighting broke out, that the West would help the revolutionaries. After the second Soviet intervention, the swing of opinion was such that only one person in ten could doubt that aid would be forthcoming. There was no significant difference of Jpinion here between U.S. bound Hungarians and refugees who went elsewhere. An occupational analysis of the whole sample follows:

Aid expected among:	1	Befor	e Oct. 2	3		Afte	r Nov. 4	
			%				%	
	Yes	No	No ans.	Total	Yes	No	No ans.	Total
Workers	56	44	-	100%	86	12	2	100%
Office workers	51	48	1	"	89	10	1	11
Students	50	29	21	**	90	8	2	,,
Professions	35	46	19	**	88	10	2	,,
Others	42	50	8		79	18		
Occupation unknown	51	36	13		75	7	3 18	"
The second second					12	600	10	0.75

Professional people, and to a less extent the students (as is indicated their high percentage of 'ho answers') were the classes least expecting aid before the revolt. After the revolt all classes of refugees were nearly uniform in their expectations of aid.

## HALF U.S. BOUND REFUGEES EXPECTED ARMED AID

620 U.S. bound subjects were asked what type of aid they expected, both before and after the revolution. The percentage totals exceed 100% because many subjects expected more than one type of aid.

x2	Pre Oct. 23 (	(50% yes) <u>Post Nov. 4</u> (87% yes)
*	%	%
Armed intervention	57 (22)	
Moral Pressure	26 (27)	
Weapons	15 (15)	
Material aid	11 (23)	-2
Vague or No. ans.	_22 (11)	*
	131%	111%

The figures in parentheses represent the type of aid expected before the revolt by subjects located in Britain and Western Germany. The breakdown of figures for these subjects after the revolt are not yet available.

The pattern of response reveals a difference between the opinions of those who were going to the U.S. and those who were not. Of U.S. bound subjects who expected aid before and after the revolt, more than half think in terms of armed aid. The "European" group are more divided in their opinions. Only one in five of them subscribes to the armed aid view, and this proportion is exceeded both by their expectation of weapons and moral pressure. These two opinions account for half of the total of European views, whereas only a quarter of U.S. sponsored subjects subscribed to them.

It may be that the biases operating in the selection of subjects selected to go to the U.S. are reflected in these subjects' more practical attitude that armed assistance would have been more helpful than moral pressure. Or in this same wein, it may be that the views of European subjects have been reflected by their greater preoccupation with Europe and the consequent realization that Germany and Britain were less capable of armed intervention in Hungary.

# MORE THAN 100% INCREASE IN BELIEF IN ARMED AID AFTER NOV. 4.

Before the revolt, as many people were ready to expect any sort of aid as there were after Nov. 4 who expected not only aid, but armed aid. Consideration of the occupation of those who expected armed aid both before the revolt and after Nov. 4 yields the following picture. These figures refer to numbers of opinions, not percentages.

## TOTAL EXPECTING ARMED AID (620 U.S.-bound subjects only)

		Pre-revolt	Post-Nov.4.
291	Workers	75	144
106	Office Workers	24	
96	Professions	11	61
	Students	11	30
		17	26
$\iota$	Others	14	15

Prior to the revolt the professional classes <u>least</u> expected armed aid. The next lowest expectancy was among office staff. After the second Soviet intervention the professional class still is the group which least expected armed aid, whereas the office staff move up in line with the majority in that now every other one is expecting armed aid.

According to available figures the most popular form of aid expected prior to the revolt by the professional class was "a moral offensive". Before the revolt, no other opinion commanded a majority support by any single class of people.

#### REASONS AID WAS EXPECTED

In answer to the question: "Why did you expect aid?", those (50%) who say they would have expected aid before Oct. 23 and those expecting it after Nov. 4 (87%) volunteered the following reasons.

	Pre-Oct.23 (50%)	Post-Nov.4 (87%)
Faith	44	53
wague or no ans.	43	40
Western Broadcasts	13	7
	100 %	100 %

The pre-revolt table shows that <u>one in sixteen</u> of the <u>total sample</u> thought Western Broadcasts led to pre-revolt aid-expectation among the population. After Nov. 4 the figure for Western broadcasts, remained approximately the same. Thus, in refugees' opinion, Western broadcasts were not responsible <u>at any time</u> during the revolution for creating expectations of Western aid.

### SWING AFTER NOV. 4 TO RELIANCE ON U.N. AID

The following data is for all 800 subjects, where they expected aid to come from, both before and after the revolt. U.S. bound subjects did not differ in their opinions from those in Europe.

	Pre-Oct.23	Post-Nov.4
	96	%
Free World	34	27
U.N.	32	48
U.S.A.	30	20
W. Germany	6	5
No Ans.	15	14

As some subjects gave more than one answer, the totals exceeded 100%. These answers were not suggested by the poll. They are a classification of responses. Faith in the intention of free world countries and the U.S. dropped by a quarter after Nov. 4. Faith in U.N. aid rose by 50% as a direct result of this.

### V. RADIO LISTENING HABITS AND PREFERENCES

### "FOREIGN RADIO" WAS OVERWHELMING NEWS SOURCE

800 subjects were asked: "Before the armed clashes began on Oct. 23 which of these sources did you depend on most for the news?"

	%
Foreign radio	93
Balloon-leaflets	15
Other people	4.5
Other sources	3
Regime press	1
Regime radio	1
No answer received	5.5
Ċ	

The straight question: "Did you ever listen to foreign radio?", produced the following picture.

Yes 81
No 11
No answer 8
100 %

These 2 results present an overwhelming confirmation that foreign radio was widely listened to. Most respondents did not feel it was necessary to answer the question of whether their sources changed after the outbreak of the revolt. Listening was not confined to any class or age-group.

### ONE HALF OF ONE PERCENT AGAINST FURTHER WESTERN BROADCASTS

The most lopsided result was registered in the replies to the direct question: "Should Western stations continue broadcasting to Hungary?"

% (800 subjects)

Yes 95

No 0.5

No answer 4.5

100.0

### FREQUENCY OF LISTENING

All subjects who listened to Western broadcasts were asked to check off the appropriate description of their frequency of listening.

	%
daily	99
weekly	12
occasionally	31
Not at all	1
	143%

This inflated percentage stems from the fact that many subjects filled in 2 and sometimes 3 answers. The question does not distinguish between listening nabits before and during the Revolution. Nevertheless it may be inferred that regular, or daily listening was a common practice among nearly all refugees.

### RFE AND VOA MOST FREQUENTLY HEARD

Faced with the straight choice of 12 foreign radio stations, subjects were requested merely to indicate which they recalled listening to.

	% of sample (800)	
RFE	91	
VOA	90	
BBC	74	
Vienna	12	
Vatican	8	

This indicates a narrow lead by RFE over VOA with the BBC third. As every subject mentioned several stations, the percentages do not total 100.

An analysis by education indicates that the BBC has a <u>slight</u> lead educationwise over RFE and VOA. There is <u>no</u> discernable professional discrimination for any one of these three stations.

U.S.-bound subjects (680) did not mention RFE or VOA any more frequently than subjects in Germany and Britain.

Subjects in <u>Germany and Britain</u> (118) <u>did</u> mention the BBC more frequently than did U.S. bound subjects:

	70
Germany and Britain	85
U.Sbound	72

This may be due to the 'location effect' or to the slightly higher educational level of subjects who chose to stay in Europe.

### VOA AND RFE MOST POPULAR STATIONS

Asked to rank the three most popular stations before the revolt, and to indicate if that choice had altered since Nov. 4, the sample produced the following result:

	Most popular	2nd favorite	3rd favorite
	%	%	%
<b>V</b> OA	36	35	9
RFE	32	22	22
BBC	20	21	21
No Ans.	12	22	48
Others	100 %	100 %	100 %

VOA emerges with a slight lead over RFE as the most popular, the BBC trailing with a fifth of the votes. Among second favorites VOA holds her lead, with the margin between RFE and BBC disappearing. As might be expected from her leading place as first and second favorite, VOA is least often named as third favorite. Although this confirms VOA was ranked as the most popular, no deduction can be made as to whether RFE or BBC holds third place as nearly half the sample did not give their third favorite.

The results suggest differences in the composition of the 2 groups only in their choice of first favorites

<u>u</u>	.Sbound (682)	Britain & Ge	
	%	%	(118)
VOA	38	25	
RFE	33	29	
BBC	17	29	3
No Ans. & Others	12	17	-
	100 %	100 %	

38% of U.S. sponsored subjects vote for VOA as compared with 25% among the European group. RFE's support by the two groups is more or less uniform, but the BBC gets nearly a third of the European groups vote; as compared with less than a fifth of the U.S. vote.

When asked if that choice had altered since November 4, 75% thought that the order of favorites had not changed since November 4. The opinion of the 12% who thought that there might have been a change in the relative popularity of the three stations did not show conclusively any loss or gain by any station. Occupational structure of subjects expressing their first choice of station.

- --- --- --- UNIII

	287	257	163	Subjects	Expressing	First	Choice
Workers	VOA 54	RFE 55	BBC	Total			0110100
Office Workers	22	19	19	19			
Students	6	9	8	8			
Professions	- 6	10	15	17			,
Others	7	5	5	6			17
Occupation Unknown	_5	_ 2	_ 7	7			
	100%	100%	100%	100%			

These figures refer only to the 707 subjects who expressed themselves as having a "first favorite" station.

On the basis of those who selected this station as their favorite, the BBC audience contains a smaller percentage of workers than either RFE or VOA. However the professional classes account for a larger proportion of the BBC audience. Since the total "first favorite" audience is smaller than similar audiences of RFE and VOA, it is not possible to say that the BBC is the favorite of more professionals than is either RFE or VOA. In fact the next finding shows this is not true.

The occupational structure of the audience reflects the occupational breakdown of the sample and this is most true in the case of the BBC whose audience structure is almost a faithful replica of the sample.

The percentage of the U.S. sample which expressed a first favorite radio station (620 subjects only) by occupation is as follows:

Sample Breakdown	AOV	RFE	BBC	Other/ No. Answer	Total	
%	%	%	%	%	%	
47	4.4	38	18		100	
17	46	36	18		100	
9	28	38			100	
16	16	25.0			100	
6	35	24	20	21	100	
	# 47 17 9	Breakdown         VOA           %         %           47         44           17         46           9         28           16         16	Breakdown         VOA         RFE           %         %         %           47         44         38           17         46         36           9         28         38           16         16         21	Breakdown         VOA         RFE         BBC           %         %         %         %           47         44         38         18           17         46         36         18           9         28         38         16           16         16         21         16	Breakdown         VOA         RFE         BBC         No. Answer           %         %         %         %           47         44         38         18         -           17         46         36         18         -           9         28         38         16         18           16         16         21         16         47	

This table gives an idea of the absolute popularity of the three stations among the various classes in this sample. It can be seen that VOA dominates the two classes of lowest intellectual standings, the workers and the office staff. In both cases RFE has the next amount of support, with the BBC trailing.

RFE's total support is greater among students and workers and to a lesser extent the professions. Nearly half the professional people either do not give their favorite station or they favor a scattering of other stations. Yet

among those who indicate their favorite station, BBC shares second place with VOA. There is an indication that the BBC's support among this class was not as great as has been variously maintained.

## YOA HEADS LIST OF MOST WANTED STATIONS

"If one of the following stations (VOA, RFE, BBC) ever had to be given up for lack of funds, which would you most/least want to keep"?

% of 800		% of 800
	"most"	"least"
AOA	39	3
RFE	18	20
BBC	18	13
all	6	0.4
none	0.5	17.6
No. ans.	22	46.0
	103.5% *	100%

VOA is easily the most popular station. The question makes no provision for pre and post revolt opinion, so it may be assumed that these represent post revolt views.

RFE emerges as the most unpopular from both tables. People expressed themselves about Western stations in the following order of frequency: VOA, RFE, BBC.

However, nearly half the sample gave no answer about which station they

least wanted. A further one in every six replied "none" although the questionnaire did not provide for this answer.

Percentage by occupation of those who most wanted to keep one of the

tures ander	TONO 1	Office			-
	Workers	Workers	Professions	Students	Others
	%	%	%	%	%
VOA	51	44	17	38	44
RFE	21	19	10	20	14
ввс	12	20	24	12	8
No Reply	16		_49	30	_34
100000000000000000000000000000000000000	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

This table indicates what percentage of each occupational group supported each of the three stations. VOA wins as much support among workers as the other two stations put together.

The BBC has the support of only one in eight of this class, its biggest supportcoming from the professional group.

<sup>\*</sup> Several subjects gave two answers.

Despite its <u>numerically</u> smaller audience, the BBC actually wins a <u>numerical</u> support among the professional classes which is almost as great as the total for the other two stations. It should be noted that once again the professional classes were least willing to identify themselves with any radio station, a fact which dramatizes their support of the BBC. Students come out heavily in favor of VOA, a fact which may be due to the sponsorship of the sample.

The occupational structure of those of 620 U.S. bound subjects who expressed an opinion shows this picture of audience composition of each station:

	VOA	RFE	BBC	SAMPLE
	%	%	%	%
Workers wishing to keep	58	60	38	47
Office Workers	15	18	21.5	17
Professions	7	9	23.5	16
Students	9	9	6	8
Others and Occupation Unknown	11	4	11	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%

This table, while giving no indication of audience size, does indicate occupation-wise the relative popularity of VOA, RFE and BBC. The audience of the BBC contains the highest percentage of the professional class, and this station attracts proportionately less workers than either RFE or VOA.

The audiences for RFE and VOA are remarkably similar in composition and apart from the indications above the audience composition occupation-wise does not differ greatly from that of the sample. This picture of audience structure broadly confirms that which evolved from the choice of "favorite radio stations".

### RFE AND RADIO MADRID RANK HIGH AMONG MOST DISLIKED

"Do you have a dislike for any of the following stations?"

Over 8% of the sample did not answer this question.

The following "big two" dislikes emerged: (800 subjects)

Madrid..disliked by.. 9% (69 subjects)
RFE " 6 (50 subjects)

Thus RFE accounted for 42% of the 119 instances of Western station dislike. Only four subjects registered their dislike of the BBC, and three cited VOA (all in Britain).

Three subjects, all U.S. bound, expressed dislike of "Radio Schnackenburg", a fictitious station inserted as a reliability check.

Among the reasons given for dislike, it was possible to link radio station and volunteered reasons to the following extent:

Reason	No. of tim	es cited
	RFE	Madrid
Unreliability	20	31
Overdramatization	8	. 9
Incitement	9	24
Disillusionment	2	-
Reactionary Attitude	-	2
No reason given.	6	13

The charge of 'incitement' is levelled at RFE by 1% and at Madrid by 3% of the population. Two cases of charges of "Jewish incitement", both levelled at RFE are hardly sufficient to warrant any conclusions about antisemitism playing a role in reactions to Western broadcasts.

### RFE SCORES 93% OF TOTAL PROGRAM RECALLS

Asked whether they could recall the names of any specific programs or personalities in Western broadcasts, 329 of the 800 subjects mentioned RFE programs 490 times, BBC programs 30 times and VOA programs 3 times by name.

RFE programs (32)	Mentions	RFE Program	Mentions
Gallicus	195	Agrarius	7
Colonel Bell	101	Ver Karoly	7
Black Book	46	Boda Balint	5
Farmer Balint	31	Lazar Miklos	4
Balogh Balasz	25	Religious Prog	. 3
Hanjia Jani	17	Molnar	3
Maray Sandor	13	MacCartney	3
Youth Program	8	Magyar Katalin	2
		Vasvari	2
		Glossary	2
		Natarious	2
		Meray Tibor	2

The following RFE programs received one mention each: Farmer Janos, Toldy Marcel, Kova Kalman, Sztankovich, Messages, Round Table, Janos Barat, Bus Gokote, Visit to the West, Eastern Patrol, Czorvek Titoan and RFE Theater.

BBC Programs (4)	Mentions	VOA Programs (3)	Mentions
Andrew Martin	23	Demeter Odon	1
George Mikes	4	Public Life	1
CZ, Kabo	2	Szabo Jamas	1
Military and Political Comment	1	- 18 -	

Reference was also made to the following unidentified programs: Ignotus, Professor X.J., Feri Backi, Dr. Philiph, Borsos Geza, as well as to programs which it is not possible to ascribe to any one radio station, e.g., News, Sport, Press review (4 mentions).

A high number of RFE programs were recalled, but -- more important -an overwhelming percentage of total mentions were RFE programs. Thus, 93% of total mentions were RFE programs, 1% VOA and 6% BBC. This shows that, regardless of the popularity of any one station, it was RFE programs which made the greatest impression. The more comprehensive RFE program schedule accounts for the greater number and diversifecation of RFE programs recalled. But it is doubtful that much cause-effect relationship exists between the size of RFE's program schedule and listener recall of program titles.

The best recalled programs have one feature in common: they are all "personality" programs. Two out of three who replied mentioned Gallicus, and one in three Colonel Bell.

There was no bias in favor of any one station by any occupational group, nor did individual program mentions stem predominantly from any group or class.