

# SECTION TWO

## Trends in Listening to Western Broadcasters in the USSR: 1970–1991

### 2.1. Early Attempts to Quantify the Audience to Western Radio: The 1970s

As noted above, research on listening to Western radio in the USSR was essentially anecdotal or based on listener mail until 1970, when systematic surveying of Soviet travelers to the West began. These initial survey data, however, were too unrepresentative of the Soviet population to permit general inferences concerning the size of audiences to the different Western broadcasters. It wasn't until 1973 that the MIT computer simulation methodology was applied to the data, and an attempt was made to project the survey data onto the larger population of the USSR.<sup>1</sup>

These initial rough projections, based on some 2,000 respondent cases from 1970–1972, showed VOA with the largest audience of all the Western broadcasters—a position it was to hold until jamming was lifted on Radio Liberty in November 1988. This first application of the MIT simulation estimated that on a “typical” day VOA reached about 6% of the Soviet adult population, followed by Radio Liberty at 2.8% and BBC at 1.5%. All “other stations” combined were estimated to reach 7.2%. Cumulative weekly reach estimates were 23% for VOA, 11% for Radio Liberty, 5% for BBC and 26% for the “others.”

An important finding of this first attempt to quantify audiences showed that there was very little overlap between the two

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American stations, VOA and Radio Liberty. To a large degree, the audience to each station was different, both in demographic terms and in language of listening. The audience to VOA was relatively young, about three-quarters urban, and about evenly split between men and women. Radio Liberty, on the other hand, had a somewhat older audience, less urban, slightly better educated and strongly represented in the Union Republics.<sup>2</sup> This was consistent with the program offer of each station. Although both stations had strong news orientations, VOA carried considerably more entertainment and U.S.-oriented programming, while Radio Liberty, as a “surrogate” broadcaster, focused on political and cultural aspects of its broadcast area, the USSR, and was on the air in more regional languages.

Although these first general findings were encouraging, subsequent survey data throughout the 1970s showed audiences listening at somewhat lower rates. It is difficult to determine whether the later figures indicated real shifts in audience size, or if they reflected improved data collection techniques that produced a demographically more diverse sample. Figure 1 shows weekly reach rates for the four major broadcasters: VOA, Radio Liberty, BBC and Deutsche Welle through the remainder of the 1970s.<sup>3</sup>

In the 1973–74 data, a now un-jammed BBC moved ahead of Radio Liberty in terms of weekly reach and VOA’s audience estimate declined from the 1970–72 data. (From 1973 to 1980, only Radio Liberty was subject to heavy jamming. Jamming was lifted on VOA, BBC and Deutsche Welle in 1973 in the climate of détente.)

Given the development of surveying techniques and analytical methodology during the early and mid 1970s, it seems likely that the earliest estimates from 1970–1972 should best be viewed as general approximations. It was not until the late

	1973-74 N=2,438	1975-76 N=2,804	1977-78 N=2,256	1979-80 N=2,431
VOA	19%	19%	15%	15%
BBC	11%	8%	7%	8%
Radio Liberty	9%	6%	4%	7%
Deutsche Welle	5%	6%	6%	5%

**FIGURE 1. Estimated Weekly Reach Rates for Major Western Broadcasters to USSR: 1973–1980**

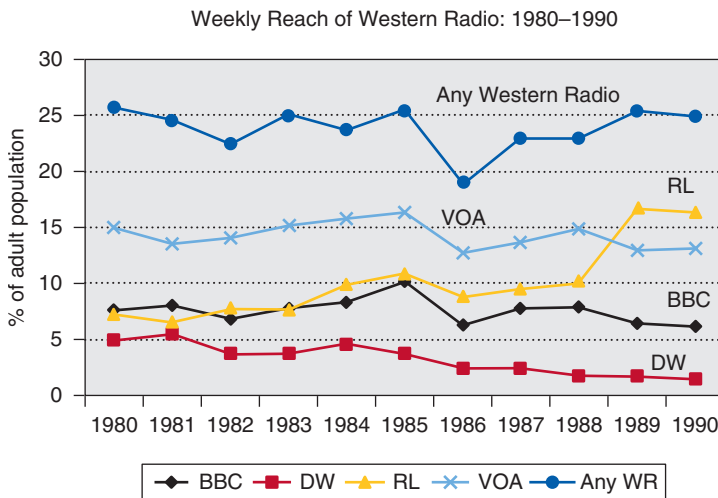
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1970s, after survey methods had been improved to procure a more diverse sample, and the MIT computer simulation methodology had been further refined, that annual audience estimates could be used to determine listener trends with a high degree of confidence.<sup>4</sup> These estimates will be examined in more detail below.

### 2.2. Weekly Reach of Western Broadcasters: 1980–1990

This section will focus on tracking audiences to Western radios during the 1980–1990 period when annual data bases were larger, data collection had become more routinely systematized, and the MIT computer simulation software was more specifically adapted to the needs of SAAOR. Consequently, we have more confidence in these estimates than in those for the 1970s shown in Figure 1.

The cumulative weekly reach of the major Western broadcasters to the USSR for this period is shown in Figure 2. (Cumulative weekly reach is the percentage of the population reached in the course of an average week. It will be referred to simply as “weekly reach” hereafter.) A reasonably consistent



**FIGURE 2. Weekly Reach of Major Western Broadcasters in the USSR Among the Total Adult Population 16 Years and Older: 1980–1990**

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pattern emerges throughout the period. The weekly reach of the combined Western broadcasters oscillated around 25%. VOA had the highest weekly reach, at around 15%, until it met direct competition from an un-jammed Radio Liberty in 1989. BBC was firmly anchored in the 5–10% range and Deutsche Welle hovered around 5% until 1986, when it began a slow but steady decline to around 2% in 1990.

The only station showing a major shift was Radio Liberty. The audience began a slow climb from ca. 7% in 1980 to ca. 10% in 1985, where it stayed until jamming ended in November 1988. At that point, its audience dramatically increased and, in terms of weekly reach, Radio Liberty became the leading Western broadcaster in terms of audience size in 1989 and 1990.

Of course neither the broadcasting nor the listening took place inside a vacuum. In order to better understand the dynamics of listening trends, it is important to view them against a double backdrop: on the one hand, Soviet jamming of the broadcasts, and on the other, events both inside and outside the USSR which might trigger increased interest in listening. Issues such as improvements in transmission capabilities or changes in programming emphasis are beyond the scope of this paper.

### 2.3. The Impact of Jamming

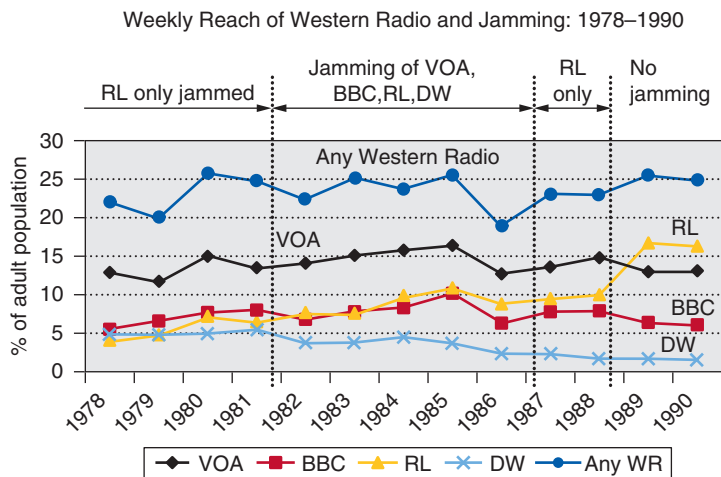
In the context of the Cold War, the USSR was disinclined to allow their citizens free access to what they called Western “voices.” Jamming of VOA transmissions started on February 3, 1948 and BBC on April 13, 1948.<sup>5</sup> Jamming was to be a major weapon of the Soviet government against Western broadcasts throughout the Cold War period and its interruption or intensification served as a barometer of the East-West political climate. Jamming was lifted on VOA and BBC in June 1963, during the period of relaxation of tensions in the aftermath of the Cuban Missile Crisis and negotiations on the nuclear test ban treaty.<sup>6</sup> Jamming was resumed in August 1968 during the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. It was halted again in 1973 during the period of détente, only to resume in 1981 at the time of declaration of martial law in Poland. Jamming was definitively ended on BBC transmissions in January 1987, and on VOA in

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May 1987, during the period of *perestroika*. Selective jamming of Deutsche Welle started in August 1962 and continued until June 1963. It recommenced during the Czech crisis of August 1968, and the jamming pattern from that point on followed that of BBC and VOA. Radio Liberty was jammed without interruption from its first day on the air in March 1953 until November 22, 1988, and it was the number one target of the Soviet jamming network.<sup>7</sup>

Radio Sweden was subject to some early selective jamming which soon ended. A similar pattern was noted for Radio Canada International, which suffered only occasional selective jamming. Radio France International did not report jamming of its signals.

It is interesting to note the overall decline, as measured by SAAOR, in the weekly reach of all Western stations, from 25.6% in 1985 to 18.9% in 1986. If SAAOR's lower ratings for Western broadcasters were replicated by secret internal polls, the Soviet authorities may have felt that in the *perestroika/glasnost'* climate it was safe to end jamming on VOA, BBC and Deutsche Welle, since their audiences were already in decline. A jamming halt could be a major public relations benefit in the West, and signal a new climate of openness and confidence within the USSR. As noted, jamming



**FIGURE 3. Weekly Reach of Western Broadcasters and Jamming: 1978–1990**

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ended on BBC in January 1987 and on VOA and Deutsche Welle in May 1987. Radio Liberty was apparently considered a more serious problem, for intense jamming was to continue another eighteen months.

When jamming ended on Radio Liberty in November 1988, its listening rates immediately shot upwards. By the second half of 1989, SAAOR's estimate of weekly reach was 16.8%, compared to 10% in 1988 under jamming (the latter being a relatively high figure in the circumstances).

While jamming certainly made listening to Western broadcasts in the USSR more difficult, it was not successful in preventing it altogether. Both broadcasters and listeners found ingenious ways of circumventing jamming,<sup>8</sup> and jamming may have had the unintended effect of increasing interest in the broadcasts in line with the maxim "forbidden fruit is often sweeter." At the height of the Cold War, the USSR had constructed such an extensive jamming transmitter network that it cost considerably more to jam Western broadcasts than to broadcast them.<sup>9</sup>

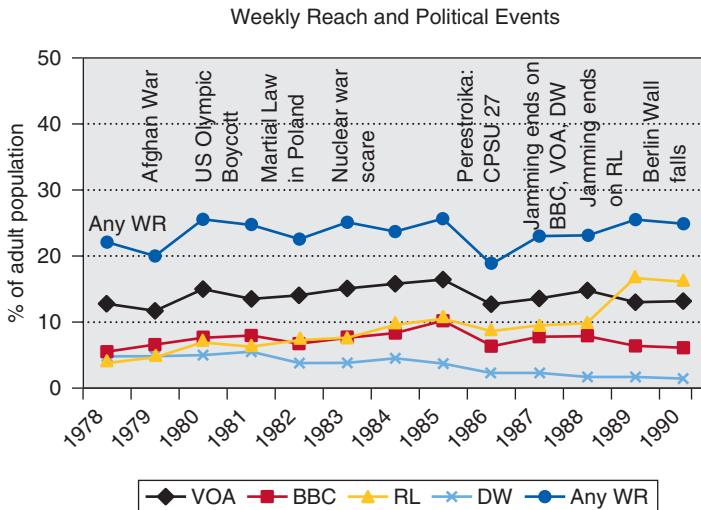
A study conducted by SAAOR in the early 1980s showed that respondents' listening habits were significantly affected by jamming.<sup>10</sup> About half the listeners in the sample (51%) reported that they tuned in Western stations less frequently than before August 1980, when all but Radio Liberty were un-jammed. They also stayed tuned for shorter periods of time. Even though the weekly reach levels of 1980 had been regained by 1984, listeners were tuning in less frequently in the course of a week and hearing fewer programs under difficult listening conditions.

### 2.4. The Role of Political Events

Political and other events were another factor influencing listening to Western broadcasts. Since surveying was carried out on a continual basis, not timed specifically to correspond to breaking events, it's not always possible to find a direct correlation between current events and increased or decreased listening, but some broad trends are apparent. Figure 4 shows weekly reach rates of Western radio in alignment with certain political events in the period 1978–1990.

Audiences began to build after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, and reached a peak in 1980 around the

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**FIGURE 4. Weekly Reach of Western Radio and Some Political Events**

time of the US Olympic boycott. They declined only slightly through the period of martial law in Poland, which was decreed in December 1981, and increased again in 1983 at the time when the US introduced Pershing missiles in Europe to counter the deployment of Soviet SS-20 missiles. A major media campaign attacking the US initiative was mounted in the Soviet press at this time, and it had the presumably unintended back-lash effect of creating a war scare in the USSR.<sup>11</sup>

Overall listening rates remained fairly stable as Gorbachev ascended to the post of General Secretary of the CPSU in 1985. As noted above, they dropped considerably during the early *perestroika/glasnost* period when Soviet media became livelier, and less fettered by official censorship. Listening rates to Radio Liberty dropped somewhat less than those of other stations at this time. Radio Liberty's focus on internal Soviet affairs may have made it increasingly relevant to its listeners as the political situation in the Soviet Union entered a period of growing ferment.

As jamming ended in 1987 (VOA, BBC, Deutsche Welle) and 1988 (Radio Liberty), weekly listening rates began to climb. The USSR was going through a period of lively internal debate, and Soviet citizens sought additional analysis and perspective from the Western "voices." If the Soviet leadership had gambled that lifting jamming on Western radios would have little impact on

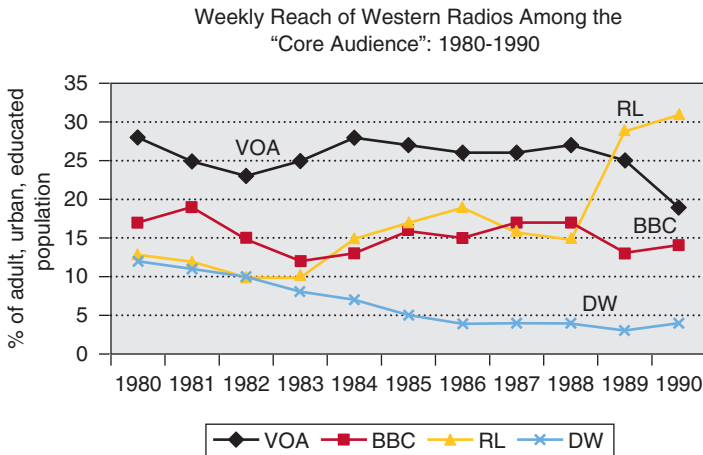
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listening, they lost their bet in the short term, especially in the case of Radio Liberty. Overall audiences to Western radio returned close to 1980 and 1985 levels, and Radio Liberty overtook VOA as the leading Western broadcaster to the USSR. Audiences stayed high through the fall of the Berlin wall and through 1991, after which they began to recede.

### 2.5. Trends in Measurement of the “Core Audience”

Thus far we have been looking at the weekly reach of Western radios in terms of the total adult (16 years and older) population of the USSR. In 1986, SAAOR began to focus on listening within a subset of the total population where the sample data was strongest. This was in order to more accurately calibrate listening trends for internal reporting purposes.

Most listeners to Western radio belonged to that segment of the population which lived in urban areas and had at least a secondary education. For shorthand purposes, this has been designated the “core audience,” which in many ways corresponded to the “target audience” for Western radio. Figure 5 shows listening trends among this “core audience” group (the referent population for the “core audience” in 1990 was 47.3 million people,



**FIGURE 5. Weekly Reach of Western Stations Among the “Core Audience” (Adult, Urban, Educated Population) in the USSR: 1978–1990**



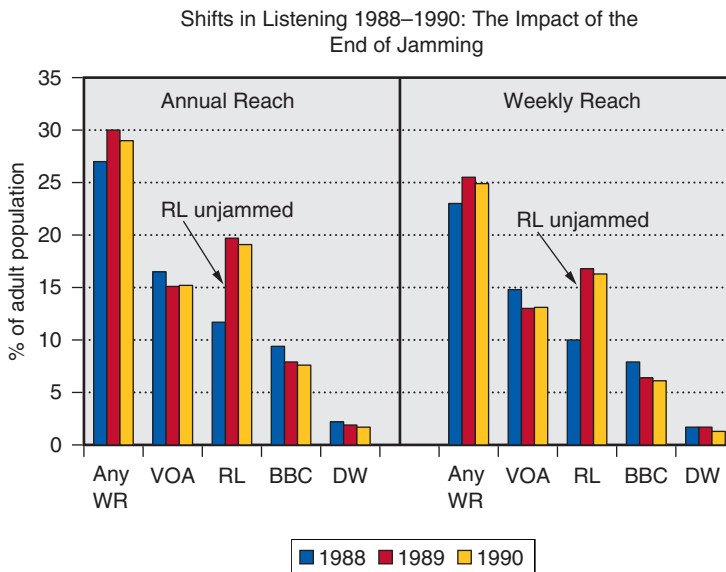
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compared to 209.8 million for the total adult population). Weekly listening rates are about double those shown in Figure 2 for the entire adult population.

The overall listening patterns noted for the “core audience” are essentially consistent with those noted for the total adult population earlier, although listening takes place at higher rates and shifts are more sharply delineated.

## 2.6. Listening to Western Broadcasts in the Last Years of the USSR: 1989–1991

As noted, after the final cessation of jamming of Radio Liberty in 1988, audiences to Radio Liberty rose sharply in 1989, even though overall listening to Western radio increased only slightly. Figure 6 shows clearly the changes that took place between 1988 and 1990, with a major increase in listening to Radio Liberty and minor decreases in listening to the other stations. Most of the new listeners to Radio Liberty came at the expense of other Western broadcasters, although some were genuinely new listeners to Western radio.



**FIGURE 6. Shifts in Listening to Western Radio 1988–1990. The Impact of the End of Jamming on Radio Liberty**

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In 1989, completely new listeners to the station accounted for about 16% of Radio Liberty's audience.<sup>12</sup> A substantial majority of these new listeners heard Radio Liberty exclusively in Russian, the only language service to benefit from round-the-clock broadcasts. Although these new listeners resembled the station's long-term listeners in being urban and educated, there was evidence that there were more women among the new listeners and more younger people (under 30 years of age) than in the traditional audience which had built up under conditions of jamming.

Although newcomers to the Western radio audience in 1989 chose Radio Liberty in preference to other Western stations, it was clear that it would not be easy to gain their long-term loyalty. They tended to be more critical of the broadcasts than long-term listeners, and they tuned in for shorter time spans. Their main priority was to seek out information on the USSR, an area where Radio Liberty had an advantage over other Western broadcasters. There may also have been an urge to taste the "forbidden fruit" as well. However, as domestic media improved, many of these new listeners tended to gravitate back to indigenous media sources. But in the midst of the tumultuous events of 1989, Radio Liberty provided these newcomers with a context in which to make sense of conflicting information, as well as guidance in evaluating information from Soviet sources, and a fresh perspective on events.

### 2.7. Western Radio in a Time of *Glasnost'*

The policy of *glasnost'* in the media was one of the key elements of Gorbachev's *perestroika* and perhaps the one that was most visible to many Soviet citizens. *Glasnost'* presented both new challenges and new opportunities for Western broadcasters to the USSR.<sup>13</sup>

Soviet television during this time adopted a number of changes in programming and presentation intended to make TV broadcasts livelier and more interesting, and as a result they became more competitive with Western radio. At the same time they became an increasingly important source of information for Soviet citizens. This topic will be dealt with in more detail in the next section.

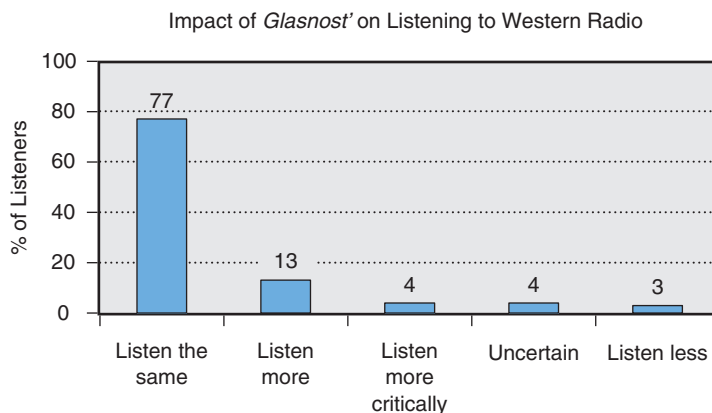
### Trends in Listening to Western Broadcasters in the USSR ■ 15

The central press was in the forefront of *glasnost*, both in reporting on previously taboo subjects, and in serving as a forum for discussion of reform proposals. Under looser regime control than the electronic media, the Soviet press was no longer monolithic.

Although they were no longer the sole source of alternative viewpoints on Soviet issues, Western radios were now able to go beyond an observer's role and participate in the ongoing internal debate by providing critical but constructive analysis of Soviet affairs. Many topics remained outside the limits of *glasnost* and Soviet citizens continued to turn to Western radio for information and analysis still unavailable from domestic media.

A study conducted somewhat earlier in 1987 showed that about one in five Western radio listeners said their listening behavior had changed because of *glasnost*.<sup>14</sup> Of these, 65% were listening more frequently, 20% were listening with a more critical ear, and 15% were tuning in less frequently (see Figure 7).

Data from 1988 indicated that Western radio broadcasts continued to play an important role in informing Soviet citizens, despite growing confidence in domestic media.<sup>15</sup> Of the 5,032 respondents in the un-weighted sample, 55% used Western radio as an information source, and three-quarters of these listeners considered it an important source of information.



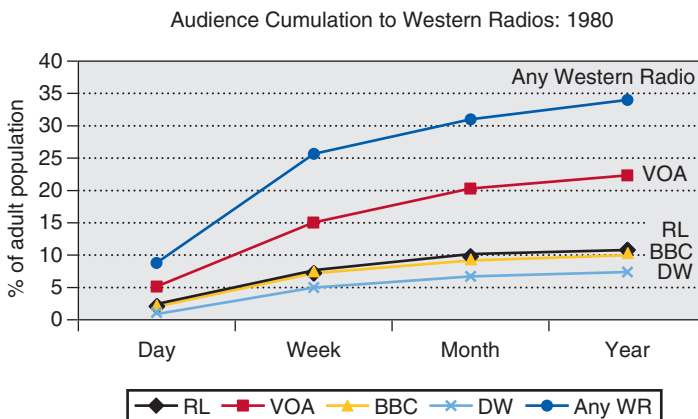
**FIGURE 7. Impact of *Glasnost*' on Listening to Western Radio**

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## 2.8. Audience Cumulation Patterns: How Frequently Did Listeners Tune In?

Figure 8 shows audience cumulation patterns to Western radios in 1980, at a time when only Radio Liberty was subject to jamming. On a typical day, ca. 8% of the adult population was reached by a Western radio broadcast. This increased to about a quarter of the adult population reached in the course of an average week, and just over 30% in an average month. The annual reach of Western radio was only slightly higher than the monthly reach, at about a third of the adult population. Most listeners to Western radio were reached during the course of a month with relatively little increment after that point. This suggests that most listeners were serious and tuned in fairly frequently, rather than just dial-twiddlers who might come across a station by chance from time to time. The weekly reach rate was approximately triple the daily reach rate, which indicates that the average listener tuned in Western stations about 2.2 times in an average week.

The pattern was somewhat different in 1989 when none of the radios was jammed (see Figure 9). Here the cumulation curve for “any Western radio” is flatter in its growth, going from ca. 12% on an average day to ca. 25% in an average week and ca. 27% in an average month.



**FIGURE 8. Audience Cumulation Patterns in 1980 (Only Radio Liberty Jammed)**

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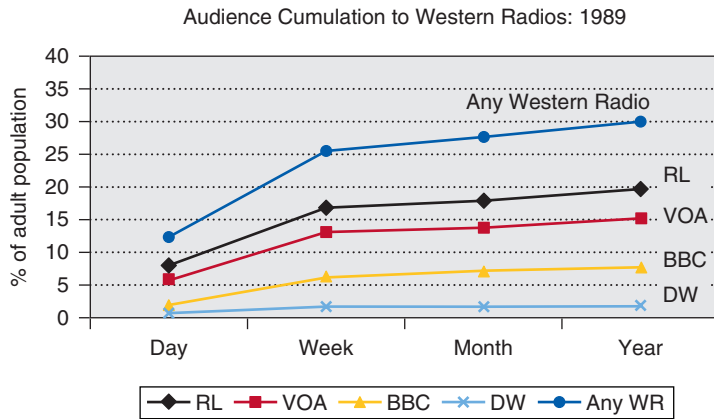


FIGURE 9. Audience Cumulation Patterns in 1989 Post-Jamming

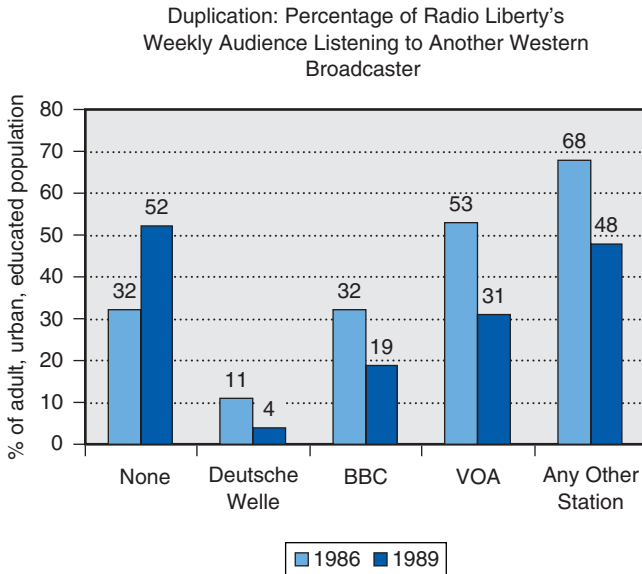
In 1989, the average weekly reach was only about double the average daily reach. This indicates more frequent listening. In 1989, the average listener to any Western radio tuned in approximately 3.4 times a week, about half as much again as in 1980 under jamming. Most listeners did not tune in Western radio on a daily basis, but many of them listened very frequently indeed by 1989. Western radio reached most of its listeners in the course of an average week. The annual cumulation figure was only 5 percentage points higher, and was thus lower in 1989 than in 1980. To sum up, the audience to Western radio in an un-jammed, *glasnost*-influenced environment in 1989 tuned in more frequently, even though its aggregate number was smaller.

### 2.9. Audience Duplication Patterns in the "Core Audience"

The first MIT simulation of the SAAOR data in the early 1970s showed that there was relatively little duplication on a daily basis in the audiences to VOA and Radio Liberty. In the course of a week, however, duplication rates rose as listeners found time to seek out other stations.

Under conditions of jamming, listeners would often have to settle for listening to whichever station had the most audible signal at a given moment. The cessation of all jamming in 1989

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**FIGURE 10. Duplication: Percentage of Radio Liberty's Weekly Audience Listening to Other Western Radios**

brought a change in this pattern for Radio Liberty. Figure 10 shows the percentage of Radio Liberty's weekly audience which listened to other Western broadcasters during the same week among the "core audience," i.e. the adult, urban educated portion of the population.<sup>16</sup> In 1986 all stations were subject to jamming, and in 1989 none of them was any longer jammed.

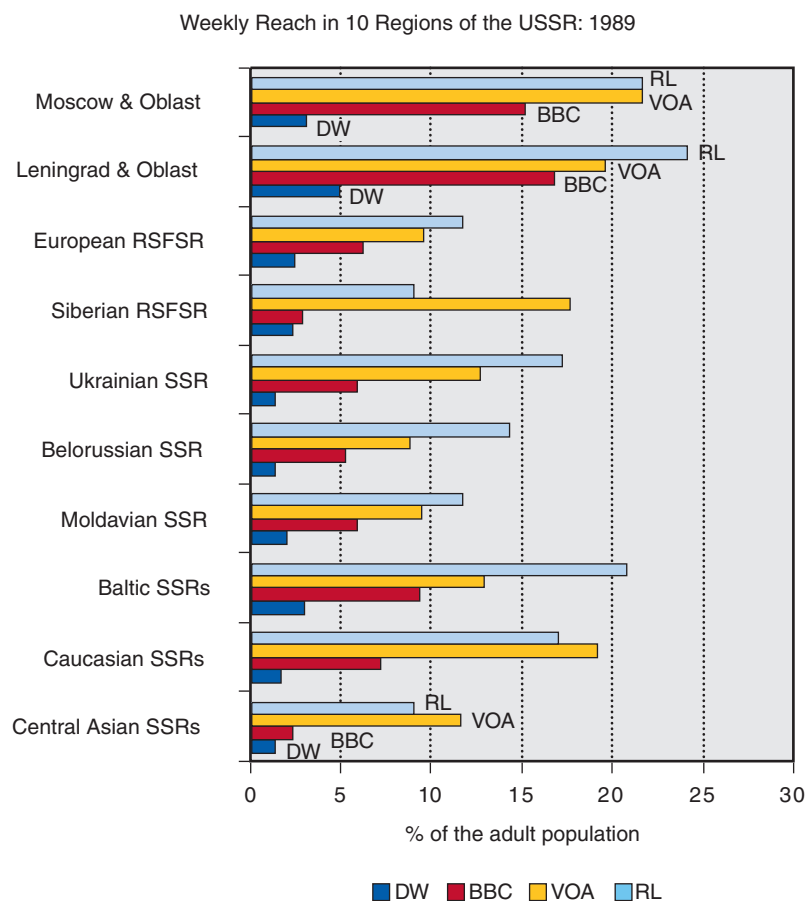
In 1986, under jamming, two-thirds of Radio Liberty listeners heard another Western broadcaster in the course of the same week, most frequently VOA (about half), and BBC (about a third). About one-third of Radio Liberty's weekly audience listened solely to Radio Liberty and did not tune in other Western radios.

The end of jamming in 1989 brought about a significant change in this pattern. In 1989, over half of Radio Liberty's audience in the "core population" restricted its Western radio listening to this one station. About three in ten Radio Liberty listeners also tuned in VOA and about two in ten heard BBC in the course of the same week. This would indicate a relatively high degree of loyalty to Radio Liberty among its listeners, over half of whom felt their informational needs were sufficiently met by this one station.

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## 2.10. Listening in the Geographic Regions of the USSR: Overall Patterns in 1989

By 1988–1989, annual sample sizes had grown to a level (5,233 in 1988 and 4,593 in 1989) where it became possible to improve the methodology for deriving listening estimates for different regions of the USSR.<sup>17</sup> Although these estimates are less robust than the aggregate estimates for the entire USSR, they do provide insight on how listening was distributed across the country, and on the impact of broadcasting in the nationality languages. Figure 11 gives a regional breakdown of weekly listening to the



**FIGURE 11. Weekly Reach of Western Radio in Ten Regions of the USSR: 1989**

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major stations for 1988 and 1989. The increases shown in listening to Radio Liberty in 1989 are undoubtedly due to the cessation of jamming in November 1988, which will be examined in more detail in a subsequent chart.<sup>18</sup>

Figure 11 refers to listening in any language and does not distinguish between listening in Russian and in the nationality languages. While all four broadcasters were on the air in Russian, only Radio Liberty and VOA broadcast extensively in the nationality languages of the USSR (RFE/RL broadcasts in Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian were under the RFE name. For the sake of convenience they will be included in the Radio Liberty figures in the following chart.)<sup>19</sup> Consequently, Radio Liberty and VOA had an advantage over BBC and Deutsche Welle in the non-Russian areas.

Radio Liberty drew its highest listening rates in the politically-charged centers of Moscow and Leningrad. It was considerably less heard in the provincial European and Siberian parts of the RSFSR. In the non-Russian areas, its reach was highest in the Baltic States, where nationalist feeling ran high, Ukraine, the Trans-Caucasus and to a slightly lesser extent in Belorussia. Rates were lower in Moldavia and Central Asia.

VOA also showed a high rate of listening in Moscow and Leningrad. In the Siberian RSFSR, where the listening rate was also high, it may have benefited from a stronger short-wave signal than the other broadcasters. It led Radio Liberty by a short head in the Trans-Caucasus and Central Asia, but showed lower rates in the Baltic States, Ukraine and Belorussia (VOA did not broadcast in the Belorussian language).

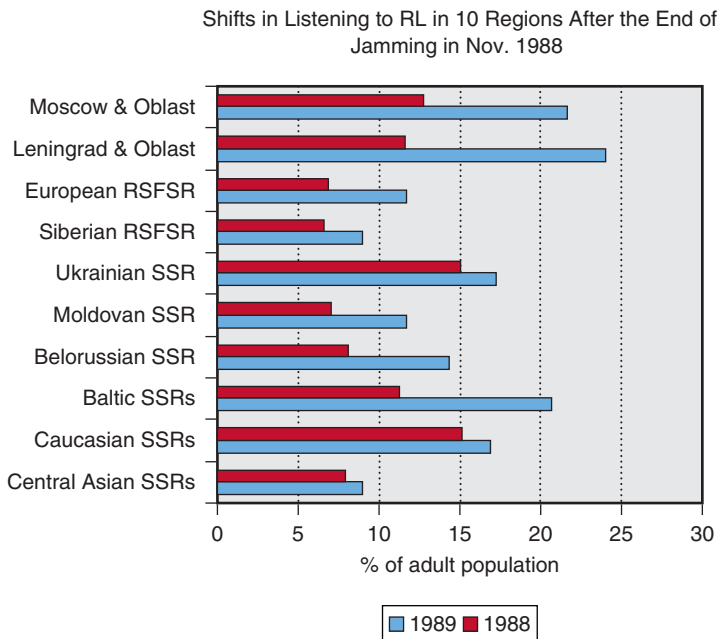
BBC again had high rates in Moscow and Leningrad, but trailed significantly in other areas, with the exception of the Baltic States, where its Russian language broadcasts had a strong following. Deutsche Welle displayed a similar pattern but with lower overall rates.

### 2.11. Shifts in Listening to Radio Liberty After Cessation of Jamming

With the end of jamming in November 1988, the greatest upward shifts in listening to Radio Liberty took place in Moscow and Leningrad, where jamming had been heaviest



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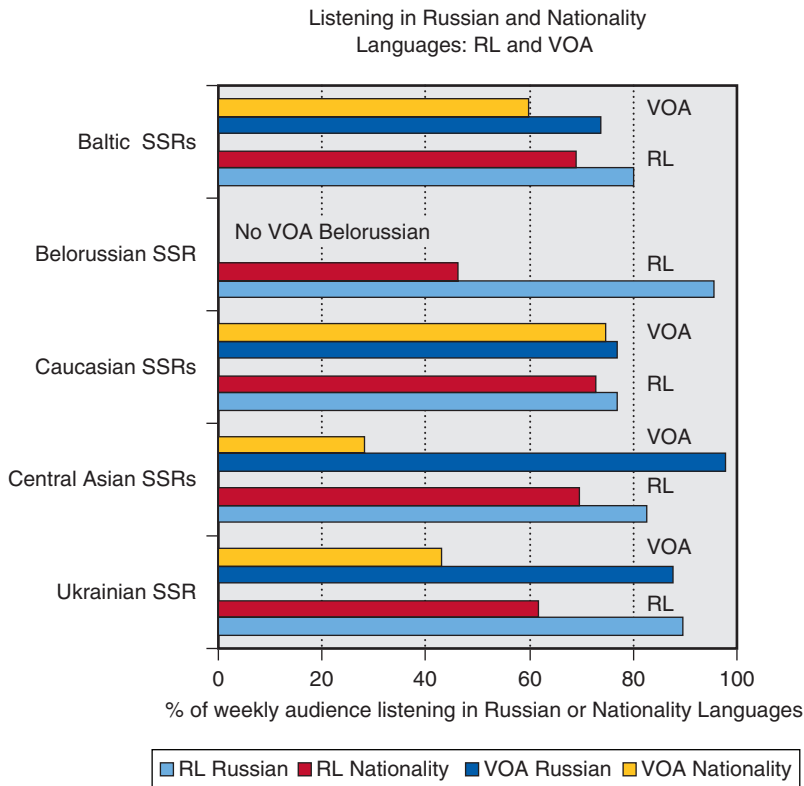
**FIGURE 12. Weekly Reach of Radio Liberty in Ten Regions of the USSR: 1988–1989. The Impact of Cessation of Jamming of RL**

and most effective (see Figure 12). A large increase was also noted for the Baltic States, which were in an advanced state of nationalist effervescence. Listening increases were considerably less in Ukraine, the Trans-Caucasus and Central Asia.

### 2.12. Listening in Russian and Nationality Languages: RL and VOA

During the Cold War, Radio Liberty's Russian service played the role of an all-Union service with round-the-clock broadcasting. The smaller nationality language services had far fewer broadcast hours. Anecdotal evidence suggested that they complained of weaker short-wave signals as well, though this latter point was difficult to monitor and verify. This situation put the nationality language services at a certain disadvantage with regard to the Russian service, even though they had the advantage of communicating in the local language and benefiting from nationalist

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**FIGURE 13. Listening in Russian and Nationality Languages: Radio Liberty and Voice of America 1989**

sentiments. Figure 13 shows listening in Russian and nationality languages for Radio Liberty and VOA, the primary broadcasters in the nationality languages of the USSR.

In fact, it was commonplace for many of these respondents to listen in both Russian and a nationality language, as the combined totals above indicate. In all areas, however, audiences to the Russian language broadcasts were larger than in the nationality language.

For Radio Liberty, the highest rates of nationality language listening compared to Russian were found in the Trans-Caucasus, the Baltic States and Central Asia. They were somewhat lower in Ukraine, which has a large Russian-speaking population, and in Belorussia, where Russian is more widely spoken than Belorussian.

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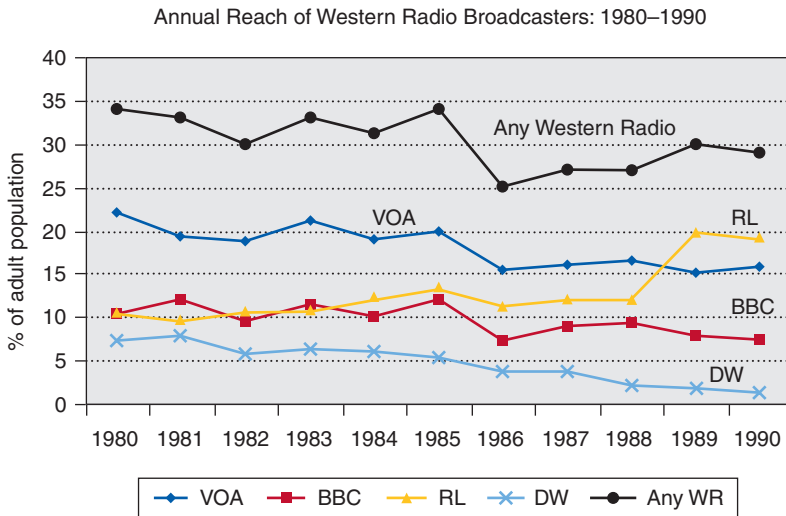
Voice of America showed a similar pattern, with the exception of Central Asia. In 1989 it broadcast only in Uzbek, while RL broadcast in five Central Asian languages. Most listening to VOA in Central Asia took place in the Russian language.

## 2.13. The Overall Annual Audience to Western Radio: 1980–1990

Regular listeners to Western radio were supplemented by those who tuned in only occasionally, often in response to specific events. Combining the weekly audience and the occasional audience gives the total annual reach of the broadcaster.

Figure 14 shows the total annual reach of each of the major Western broadcasters to the USSR. These figures indicate the potential for audience expansion during times of major crisis. The annual reach curves for individual stations follow a similar pattern to the weekly reach curves, but at higher rates.

As was noted earlier for weekly reach, the aggregate annual audience to Western radio broadcasts dropped sharply from 1985 to 1986 and then increased in 1987 and 1988 when jamming was removed in two stages. However, the higher annual reach rates noted in 1980 and 1985 were never regained. In 1990 SAAOR



**FIGURE 14. Annual Reach of Western Broadcasters to the USSR: 1980–1990**

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estimated that ca. 29% of the adult population of the USSR was being reached on at least an occasional basis by Western radio.

While these percentages were high, they did not do justice to the actual number of people being reached. In 1989–1990, Western radio was reaching ca. 25 million people on an average day and over 50 million in the course of a week. At this point, it does not seem unjustified to speak of a critical mass of the population of the USSR who were receiving information on the Soviet Union and on the world from Western radio.

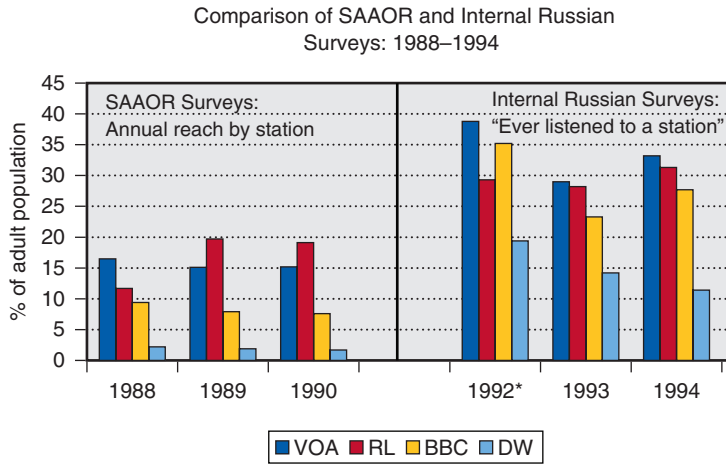
### 2.14. Comparison with Internal Surveys to Confirm Audience Estimates

In 1991, it became possible to conduct surveys on Western radio listening inside the USSR, and later the Russian Federation, using local research institutes. The first surveys conducted bore out our earlier estimates of a large aggregate audience to Western broadcasts during the Cold War period.

Surveys conducted by Russian research institutes in the early 1990s suggested that up to half of the adult population had been reached at one time or another by Western broadcasters during the Cold War. This was an important confirmation of the findings of SAAOR research, and of the impact that the stations made during that period.

Figure 15 shows the percentage of people who said that they had “ever listened” to a given Western broadcaster. (Included here are VOA, BBC, Radio Liberty and Deutsche Welle.)<sup>20</sup> In 1992, in a survey conducted by the Institute of Sociology at the Russian Academy of Sciences (ISAN), those who said they had “ever listened” to a specific Western station ranged from ca. 30% to ca. 55% (these figures are not included in Figure 15). These rates were somewhat lower in a 1992 survey conducted by Vox Populi and in 1993–1994 surveys conducted by another leading Moscow institute, ROMIR.<sup>21</sup> Even if one were to hypothesize that the 1992 survey rates may have been on the high side (and possibly affected by exceptionally high listening during the August 1991 coup), the 1993 rates of “ever listened” to Western broadcasters, which fluctuated in more or less the same range through the end of 1999, would put the range of the Cold War audience between 30%–40% (or even higher, given that overlap in listening to stations is not total).

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\*1992 Vox Populi Survey, 1993–1994 ROMIR Surveys

**FIGURE 15. Comparison of Findings from SAAOR Surveys 1988–1990 and Russian Surveys 1992–1994**

Findings on annual reach for the major Western broadcasters in SAAOR traveler surveys in 1988–1990 all fit comfortably within the results from internal Russian surveys conducted in 1992, 1993 and 1994 on those who had “ever listened” to a given station. This increases our confidence that the earlier SAAOR estimates were credible and reasonable.

