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To cite this article: Kristin Skoog & Alexander Badenoch (19 Apr 2026): 'Surveying value in women's work: a view through the eyes of the International Council of Women's broadcasting committee 1935–1960', *Women's History Review*, DOI: [10.1080/09612025.2026.2660396](https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2026.2660396)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2026.2660396>



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Published online: 19 Apr 2026.



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## 'Surveying value in women's work: a view through the eyes of the International Council of Women's broadcasting committee 1935–1960'

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### ABSTRACT

The International Council of Women (ICW, founded 1888) is one of the oldest international women's organisations with a long interest in emerging media. The ICW's broadcasting committee repeatedly surveyed their members for information and compiled the data into reports that it then distributed among its members. Such surveys provide insights into the evolving visions of broadcasting within the international women's movement and specifically organisations such as the ICW. In this paper, we analyse ICW surveys and reports to consider how women's work in broadcasting was discussed and valued. We explore what women felt was valuable and valued in their work, as well as what value the ICW saw in women's work in broadcasting, and what tactics they sought to develop to improve women's positions within the broadcasters. We conceptualise these surveys as reflecting 'institutional activism' undertaken by women well-embedded within their institutions, and the media tactics developed from that position. However, while the surveys and reports offer us rich insights into the agendas of women's activism in broadcasting, they did not coalesce into a coherent or unified strategy. This has in turn contributed to archival silence and historiographical silence on women's institutional activism in broadcasting in this period.

### Introduction

In October 1956, the veteran Canadian broadcaster Elizabeth Long, acting in her capacity as Convenor of the International Council of Women's (ICW) Standing Committee on Radio and Television, sent members of the committee a survey about whether women held policy-making positions in broadcasting in their home countries. The questionnaire asked whether there were women members of the various national authorities dealing with issues such as 'wave lengths and other policy matters', and further, whether women occupied policy-making positions within the national broadcasting systems themselves.<sup>1</sup> The following year, in March 1957, Long summarised responses in a

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report that indicated women were appointed on broadcasting advisory boards in a number of countries: 'Germany and Australia are in the enviable position of having it written into their broadcasting act that women, as well as men, shall sit on directors' boards'. She further noted advisory and other notable roles for women in Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Israel, Pakistan, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and the USA. In fact, Long observed that in the US, they had actually lost a woman in a post on the Federal Communication Commission that oversees broadcasting.<sup>2</sup> In June, members of the committee met as part of the ICW Triennial Council Meeting in Montreal, Canada, and here a question by Belgian journalist and broadcaster Betty Barzin prompted further discussion. Barzin told members that in Belgium, women engineers, 'however competent and qualified', were not able to secure employment in technical departments in radio and television. She wondered whether this was the case in other countries. The room soon opened up and delegates (named only by country) shared their thoughts: the Australian delegate suggested prejudice against women in technical roles existed; and the German delegate knew of no women in technical positions in radio and television. In the US, delegates were told, women were accepted to schools focusing on 'radio engineering' but were not sure if this translated into employment in the industry. The Finnish delegate said there were no women engineers but many women technical assistants and added they were paid less than the men.<sup>3</sup>

In the anecdotes above, we get a glimpse of women broadcasters and activists in the middle of the twentieth century attempting to pluralise their experiences into what we would now call valuable data. Indeed, among present-day lobby groups for women in media industries, 'numbers open doors' and generating data have become a key instrument for driving change.<sup>4</sup> As members of the ICW, and at the same time holders of prominent positions relating to the media in their home countries (though, as we outline below, not always within media institutions), these women sought to build common cause with each other and advance the cause of women as they saw it within, and through, broadcasting institutions. Doing this meant working out what the common experiences and causes were, and developing the instruments and knowledge to help members take action. One of the key means for doing this was this method, long employed in international organisations of all kinds, of surveying members and compiling reports.<sup>5</sup> Building on Marie Cronqvist and Christoph Hilgert's agenda for developing transmedial and transnational 'entangled' media histories, we have argued that we can fruitfully extend our understanding of women and broadcasting by looking beyond broadcasting institutions and into entanglements with (inter)national women's movements as sites of networking, identity, exchange and production of knowledge.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, doing so points us to historical source material that fills in gaps where broadcasting institutions have often erased women's roles and programmes in the archive.<sup>7</sup> This approach has led us particularly to look at the work of the ICW. Founded in 1888, it is one of the oldest international women's organisations, and indeed is among the older international non-governmental organisations that fed into the emergence of the 'global community' in the twentieth century.<sup>8</sup> In this article, we build on these insights to focus specifically on attempts to generate broader knowledge about women in broadcasting to further share experience and insights. For the most part, we focus on the ICW's Standing Committee on Radio and Television, along with examples of other related groups.<sup>9</sup> As we demonstrate, such surveys provide valuable insights into the evolving

visions of broadcasting within the women's movements as well as the types of roles, positions, and responsibilities of women within broadcasting. They further show a long history of such activity – though only questionably a long tradition, as insights do not seem always to have been passed down. Indeed, this article demonstrates that, even though the ICW women raised similar concerns and employed similar tactics to waves of activism that came later, the dissemination of the work and knowledge of these institutional activists was not always successful. In fact, at the time it seems the ICW failed to produce an effective broadcasting policy or strategy. However, the surveys and reports are of value to feminist and broadcast historians, as they are revelatory of women's roles and value in broadcasting. They further reveal the transnational networks of women in broadcasting via international organisations, as well as dynamics and processes of the ICW and international feminists, in trying to develop a coherent broadcasting agenda and strategy.

In her groundbreaking study on international feminisms before the Second World War, Leila Rupp demonstrated how a focus on women's correspondence revealed important layers of meaning surrounding the relationships that forged the internationalist women's community.<sup>10</sup> We observe similar patterns among women broadcasters later in the century.<sup>11</sup> Turning attention here to the somewhat more formal communication of the surveys reveals different layers. First, as products, the surveys, responses, and reports, though often of limited scope or not completely preserved in the archival records, offer historians significant data on women's roles in broadcasting, both as transnational overviews and individual reports. Beyond broadcasting, the surveys also allow us to follow transnational history's promise to grasp empirically the form of communities behind the ostensibly 'global' scope of the organisations.<sup>12</sup> Second, studying these surveys as *processes* provides several insights into both broader strategies as well as individual tactics employed by women to assess power through the new medium. In this we follow Marie Cronqvist, Fredrik Mohammadi Norén and Emil Stjernholm's reconceptualisation of media tactics and strategies for historical analysis. Building in particular on de Certeau's theoretical conceptualisations of the structures of dominance and resistance to them, they propose an inquiry into the dynamics between the top-down, long-term strategic plans of 'where you want to go' and localised tactical interventions that make up the 'nitty-gritty details of how to get there'.<sup>13</sup> In mobilising de Certeau's categories to explore historical developments, they make the case for an approach that acknowledges how these two practices of power are thoroughly entwined, exploring how strategies form and change when confronted with the messiness of the tactical arena. This offers an approach that is open to the messiness of history and is in particular alert to moments of ambiguity and failure.

Such a conceptualisation of the dynamics of media power offers analytical purchase when we consider the interests of internationalist feminists in broadcasting in the decades on either side of the Second World War. The interwar period has been described as a moment of blossoming of various international feminisms.<sup>14</sup> The ICW, founded in 1888, was the oldest, and probably most conservative, although from very early on, it was explicitly concerned with mass media generally, and broadcasting specifically.<sup>15</sup> The International Alliance of Women (IAW) grew out of, and split off from, the ICW in 1904 to campaign specifically for women's suffrage, and later took on a number of more progressive causes, and as we show here had at least some concern with broadcasting.<sup>16</sup> The institutionalisation of broadcasting in the 1920s happened in parallel to great

shifts in the position of women in many societies, not least their gaining the right to vote, for which groups like the IAW - and the ICW more hesitantly - had campaigned.<sup>17</sup> Examining their efforts here, it is important to recognise their doubled focus on broadcasting, as well as the often-doubled position of women with regard to the broadcasting institution. Broadcasting itself came into consideration of women's activism both as an institution in its own right, in which the positions of women in employment and governance were contested, as well as an organ of publicity through which the cause of women in society at large might be advanced. While women in most countries were involved in broadcasting from the earliest decades, as a number of studies have highlighted - and the surveys here often underline - their positions were often scattered or compartmentalised into 'women's' areas of expertise, such as programmes for women and children.<sup>18</sup> The mirror image to the ICW's view of broadcasting as both site for and means of women's activism can be seen in the fact that many of the women discussed here also occupied similarly dual positions as members of women's activist organisations as well as employees of broadcasting institutions. In the first instance, we can see the compiling of survey data as an attempt by an external organisation to gain a position from which strategies for activism from both within and without could be developed. Much like maps are core instruments of spatial strategies, the surveys' overviews of the positions and work of women in broadcasting were instruments aimed at identifying areas of action. Besides reading them in terms of broader media strategies, these surveys can also be read in terms of community and experience. We find valuable data about women's experiences of their positions in broadcasting; the ways they valued their roles and perceived their agency within their organisations. In so doing, they offer us glimpses of tactics employed by women responding, either proudly reported or only legible between the lines. This further raises the questions of the kinds of skills and expertise women were able to mobilise.

In this article, we analyse surveys and reports from 1935 to the late 1950s. This period both marks the initial phase of the ICW's engagement with broadcasting as well as the 'classic' era of radio in terms of its technical form, its institutionalisation, and its establishment as a dominant medium in domestic space in the countries corresponding with the ICW. It has also been analysed as a distinct era in the positioning of women within broadcasting, often in separate departments for women. As Justine Lloyd has noted, women's work in radio during this period has often been viewed as conservative, and certainly not activist, compared to the feminist activism that would follow in the second wave.<sup>19</sup> We have conceptualised the work of women in this era as 'institutional activism': undertaken by women whose positions within broadcasting or social organisations were already relatively well-established, often by dint of social status, education, and/or age (many of the women we discuss here were in their 40s and 50s), even though the extent to which those things were valued was often a matter of debate.<sup>20</sup> The notion of institutional activism marks a distinction from more radical or grassroots activism, which tends to take place in public places such as the street, and independent alternative media such as suffragist pamphlets or independent magazines and radio in the post-war era. In the case at hand, the concept highlights different spheres of action, and therefore also the kinds of tactics and strategies that were apparent to the women involved.<sup>21</sup> Generally speaking, they were aimed at increasing influence and affecting gradual change

within institutions, largely based on appeals to their established modes of authority and expertise. This mode of activism is both in keeping with the relatively conservative feminism of the ICW, not to mention of many of the women who were working in broadcasting.

The sources we draw on are located in various archives, primarily the Archive and Research Centre for Women's History in Brussels (AVG-Carhif), which holds papers of the ICW, along with supplemental information from archival collections in Britain and Sweden.<sup>22</sup> In this sample, we have also included surveys in the same period that we encountered elsewhere in our research. The ICW surveys that make up the bulk of the corpus are bookended by a report on a 1935 survey on women and radio by the IAW, and one conducted by the International Association of Women in Radio and Television (IAWRT, founded in 1951) in coordination with UNESCO in 1959. This article is first and foremost focused on the ICW. We include the other surveys both as a reminder that both broadcasters and organisations like the ICW were operating within broader transnational contexts and networks, and relatedly, because of noteworthy overlaps between the organisations and surveys. As we demonstrate below, one of the respondents to the IAW survey was Maria Castellani, who was active in the ICW, and the document itself was found in the archive of Lilian Posthumus-van der Goot, who would go on to be a founding member of the IAWRT.<sup>23</sup> We have shown elsewhere that many of the members had come into contact via ICW channels, and as we highlight here, another founding IAWRT member, Dorothy Lewis, was also a former convener of the ICW's radio committee. The records for many of these surveys are incomplete: in some cases, we have only the survey, in some cases only the subsequent report without the individual replies. In spite of (and to an extent because of) the incomplete records, these remain compelling documents. It has been possible to piece information together and explore what value is sensed from tone and details in the surveys and reports from women working in broadcasting, or other women, reporting or contributing to the surveys. Taken collectively, they also offer some indication of the changing shape of the network, and how global developments such as the Cold War played a role in shaping both its membership and priorities. The scattered and incomplete presence of this material in the archives in turn raises questions about the social lives of these documents: by whom and how were the surveys received, and to what uses (if any) were the subsequent reports put?

We begin with an overview of the available reports, looking at the ways in which the ICW mapped their field. This section draws particular attention to the recurring questions and focuses of attention. Secondly, the article will explore the surveys and responses as internal communication. What value is sensed from tone and details in the surveys and reports from women working in broadcasting or other women reporting or contributing to the surveys? How did women account for their own position and agency in broadcasting? Next, exploring particularly the reports' compilation and editing, we look at how the available responses were harmonised and mobilised to make them of value in advancing causes of women in and through broadcasting. What values did they perceive in women's broadcasting expertise, and how could 'women's expertise' be of value in broadcasting? To conclude, we reflect on the value of these surveys – and the archives of organisations like the ICW – for re-evaluating the sites and roles of women's work in broadcasting.

## Questioning the agenda: surveying the international broadcasting landscape

While generally one of the most conservative of the international feminist organisations, the ICW maintained an interest in modern mass media from its first decades. It saw the value of cinema and radio as part of its education activities already in the 1920s, formed a joint Standing Committee on Cinema and Broadcasting in 1934, that in 1936 was divided into separate committees for each medium.<sup>24</sup> The broadcasting committee changed its name to the Standing Committee on Radio and Television in 1951.<sup>25</sup> The women driving the formation of the committee on broadcasting in the 1930s were not first and foremost broadcasters themselves. The internationalist French-American Laura Dreyfus-Barney (1879-1974), the Swedish journalist and women's rights campaigner, Margareta von Konow (1897-1999), and the Italian mathematician Maria Castellani (1898-1985) all brought a different expertise and agenda formed by national as well as international contexts.<sup>26</sup> However, after the Second World War, it seems the committee was mainly directed by established broadcasters, often pioneers; women who had made an impact on and developed national broadcast content and programming for women. For example, after von Konow stepped down as Convenor in 1946, US broadcaster Dorothy Lewis (1897-1978) became the Acting Convenor. While herself also well-versed in broadcasting, Lewis was also well-known for her work behind the scenes, both at national level in the US and at that point taking up a role as US liaison with the United Nations radio division. Not long after, in September 1947 Elizabeth Long was elected as the Convenor (she was also re-elected in 1951 and 1954). Long had been appointed by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as Director of Women's Programmes in 1938 to "lighten up" the talks format.<sup>27</sup> She was to become a key figure behind the scenes of the CBC women's programmes between 1938 and 1956 and would come to mentor a number of women broadcasters.<sup>28</sup> While their expertise varied to some extent, they were all both versed in broadcasting and in women's activism within the frameworks of the ICW.

Before exploring the ICW broadcasting agenda in detail, it is worth saying a few words about the historical context of women's work in radio. The birth and rapid development of radio broadcasting in the 1920s and early 1930s did initially open up a range of opportunities, roles and positions for women as the medium was still novel and in an experimental phase.<sup>29</sup> The interwar BBC has even been described by one historian as 'a "golden age" for high-fliers'.<sup>30</sup> However, by the end of the 1930s, as radio matured and consolidated as a form of institution or industry, it seems that roles and positions for women became more limited and often confined to gendered areas of expertise such as women's and children's programmes. Women who may have reached top jobs, executive roles or more senior positions were few and far between. Women in leadership roles were often confined to specific departments or groupings responding to so-called 'women's interests', education, or other significant - but at the time undervalued - behind-the-scenes administrative work.<sup>31</sup> For example, four US networks (NBC, CBS, ABC and Mutual) all had women directors of educational and public service programming by the late 1940s.<sup>32</sup> A report published in 1947 by the US's Women's Bureau at the Department for Labor explored jobs for women in radio and noted several "success" stories but also deduced that 'at the present time' women's main chance of

getting a job in broadcasting was on women's and children's daytime programmes.<sup>33</sup> Generally speaking, women's influence within these aspects of programming was directly in line with the areas in which the ICW sought influence.<sup>34</sup> As will be discussed further below, however, some ICW women saw this separation based on gender as problematic, whereas for others it was more 'natural' and offered an opportunity to use and strengthen women's expertise and use programming to reach women listeners specifically.

As [Table 1](#) shows, the ICW's broadcasting agenda therefore reflects different ideas and perspectives on the role of broadcasting and how this should be used. The earlier surveys sought an overview of the field and context. For example, they start by exploring the broadcasting landscape within national contexts asking questions about how broadcasting was organised in terms of ownership and approach (commercial, state or say public service) and what role or influence (if any) women might have within this. They also focus in on the relationship between women's organisations (such as the national affiliations of ICW) and national broadcasters – whether a working relationship existed where the former could exercise an influence on the latter. This overview and sharing of data provided members of the committee with knowledge about local and international contexts and further allowed the sharing of good practice on actions, strategies, and local tactics (more on this further below). Over time focus also shifted towards the woman listener – do women listen to women's programmes, how often, what content or topics would they like to hear? There is also an interest in whether women 'experts' were being utilised as speakers on air. The question of women's roles within broadcasting – whether in management, programming or policy making positions, remained an interest throughout.

As the committee became more established, particularly in the post-1945 period, the surveys covered a narrower range of topics and queries such as the impact of television, broadcasting and education, how to promote international understanding and freedom of expression, and promoting the work of the UN and UNESCO – in other words, the ICW broadcasting agenda became entangled with broader international Cold War politics. By 1947, countries that previously were represented (or mentioned) such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia no longer appear in the correspondence. Indeed, by the late-1950s the broadcasting committee was represented by – or in contact with – members from France, South Africa, United States, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Belgium, Italy, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Austria, (West) Germany, Pakistan, Dominican Republic, Israel, Switzerland, Greece, and then-British colony Southern Rhodesia (today Zimbabwe) and British protectorate Nyasaland (today Malawi). Since reports only tend to refer to countries that responded to the surveys or questionnaires, it is difficult to gauge the complete membership of the committee in terms of the number of countries and geographical reach. Similarly, the names of the correspondents who provided the data or required information are not always listed either; hence, we do not always know who they were corresponding with.

While a concern for the position of women within broadcasting organisations was clear within several of the surveys and reports, concrete discussions about women's working conditions such as equal pay were not yet part of the conversation. The only exception identified, so far, is the example from Finland that drew the attention to the fact that many women technical assistants in Finnish broadcasting were paid less than their male counterparts.<sup>35</sup> The silence on equal pay is somewhat surprising as the

**Table 1.** Surveys and reports of international women's groups 1935–1960.

Date of survey	Date of report	Organisation	Compiler	Themes
Sept 1935	1936	International Alliance of Women	Adele Schreiber	Involvement of women's groups in programming and topics promoted; women's roles and management in broadcasting; internationally-oriented broadcasting.
March 1937	unknown	ICW Broadcasting Committee	Maria Castellani	Presence and work of women's [national] radio committees with aim to influence broadcasting; women's influence within broadcasting institutions; national broadcasting systems.
March 1938	July 1938	ICW Broadcasting committee	Maria Castellani	Women's role in radio programming; volume of women's programmes; audience for women's programmes and the desires of women listeners, as well as radio ownership (e.g. public or private); educational programmes in relation to the ICW agenda.
October 1945	May 1946	ICW Broadcasting committee	M. von Konow	National broadcasting radio systems; representation of women in broadcasting organisations; women experts on air; how to increase women's influence within radio; suggestions for group action.
January 1947	September 1947	ICW broadcasting committee	Dorothy Lewis	Contact between women's organisations and 'women radio executives'; airtime devoted to the UN; women experts on air (impact of the war); women's listening habits; international aspects; background of women who sit on broadcasting boards.
January 1949	unknown	ICW broadcasting committee	Elise Sprott	ICW survey on children's programmes for 'out-of-school-listening' only – to complement a UNESCO survey on School Broadcasts.
1954 [Three surveys sent out this year]	February 1956	ICW broadcasting committee	Elizabeth Long (presumed)	Survey 1: Impact of television; members' access to television sets to be informed about the medium. Survey 2: International programming; listening across borders; extent of programmes about women in other countries; international exchanges; adult education and radio (for example, in South America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East).
1954 and October 1956	March 1957	ICW broadcasting committee	Elizabeth Long	Survey 3: Women in policy-making positions in broadcasting (boards, commissions, government, within broadcasters); what actions have NCW taken 'to initiate or support public action' for women to be appointed?
January 15, 1959	1960	IAWRT (UNESCO)	Mabel Puw-Davies	Women's positions within radio and television; radio and television programming for women; knowledge of women audiences.

ICW's Committee on Trades and Professions – representing the interest of the professional woman and the woman worker – had as early as 1925 put the question about equal pay for equal work on the table, and in 1951 it supported the International Convention on Equal Pay.<sup>36</sup> Although the topic was not unfamiliar to the ICW as an international women's organisation and was an issue that generated some attention and

debate within broadcasting institutions, it is surprising that there is a notable silence overall on the issue of pay.<sup>37</sup>

## Exchanging experiences and values

The surveys circulated and the reports they produced demonstrate an awareness of the institutional barriers and prejudice that women faced within broadcasting institutions. Some also recognised the value women played in roles behind the scenes. For example, in 1937, Grete Berggrav, who worked for the Norwegian national broadcaster, was invited by the Norwegian National Council of Women to respond to the convenor of the ICW broadcasting committee about the situation in Norway. Berggrav reported that women were regrettably poorly represented in senior management as well as in programme boards dealing with the daily output – women seemed to only have an influence if mainly dealing with content or output targeted specifically for women. In her own role as secretary within the department that included schools broadcasting, it seems she had some influence by being able to put forward ideas and suggestions. Furthermore, she also pointed to the administrative work by secretaries and other personnel in the office, whose contributions were of immense importance despite not being involved directly in programme making.<sup>38</sup>

However, in the late 1930s, we also started to see suggestions or actions for how to combat the gendered structures within broadcasting institutions and how members' experiences were valuable for national pressure or campaigns to try to effect change. Milena Atanatzkovitch, the Convenor of the NCW of the Yugoslavia Broadcasting Committee, responded in 1938 that the Yugoslav NCW had formed a radio section whose aim was to influence programming for women but also programming in general. Her response stated that no women appeared on any broadcasting 'boards' but said that getting women into management and senior roles that had direct impact on programming was a core aim of their committee.<sup>39</sup> The Second World War paused proceedings in the ICW, but the question about women's influence in broadcasting, and how to increase or improve this, persisted after the war. In October 1945, ICW Convenor, Margareta von Konow, sent out a survey that further probed into women's influence within broadcasting institutions and whether women were 'in prominent positions'<sup>40</sup>; in May 1946, the responses from Australia, Belgium, Finland, France, Great Britain, India, New Zealand, Czechoslovakia, and the United States were collated and indicated a lack of women on boards or governing bodies of broadcasting globally. The response from India stated: 'There are women members on the staff; an English news-reader and an Urdu-reader and announcer,' and in Czechoslovakia, the Director of the Musical Department was a woman. The respondent from Great Britain noted women: 'play a considerable part in the work of the BBC', but that, 'So far, however, there have been very few women in the highest executive posts.' The Australian respondent suggested women had filled many roles during the war, but under normal circumstances and policy, women were mostly confined: 'where it is considered their work is most satisfactory, i.e. Women's sessions, Children's sessions, the kindergarten of the air, [...] and most women's talks and interviews are arranged by women officials.' This was also the case in the US, where women 'may lead a whole department such as Women's and Children's Activities, or be charged with the responsibility of selecting both speakers and subjects for educational or public service programs.'<sup>41</sup>

In 1947, a brief report, prepared by a Norwegian member for the ICW congress in Philadelphia, suggested the lack of representation of women in Norwegian broadcasting persisted. The report noted that further actions had been taken in Norway to get women employed in Norwegian radio. For instance, a letter had been sent to the national broadcaster: 'pointing to the need for getting a consultative committee of women and a stronger representation of women in the managing committee and board of the Norwegian broadcasting.' This work was led by journalist Caro Olden, who worked for *Dagbladet* newspaper in Oslo, and also represented the National Committee of Broadcasting in Norway. The Norwegian women were calling for more women to be employed as this would improve not only programme making in general but also specific news and cultural output.<sup>42</sup>

Occasionally, intriguing hints emerge about the institutional prejudice women faced and their own reflections on this. For instance, Joan Ashby, who was the New Zealand representative on the ICW Broadcasting Committee, noted that the male Director of Broadcasting had asserted that: 'the type of Broadcast usually determines whether a male or female voice should be used. Listener reaction also plays an important part in determining the type of voice required with a particular broadcast.' To which Ashby commented: 'It must follow, therefore, that women listeners do not react well to the voice of their own sex or else that women do not listen to the radio in the evenings, for in the evenings the broadcasters are usually male, the women being relegated to the morning sessions for the most part.'<sup>43</sup> Ashby's response pointed to the obvious – in many national contexts women's voices (and women's expertise) were confined to the daytime – an issue that was also picked up by the Swedish convener, as we will discuss in greater detail below.

A recurring observation emerging from the surveys, not least due to repeated questions on this issue, is concern about the lack of representation of women in a range of roles within broadcasting, especially roles with direct influence on programming policy. Responses indicated that women were valued as members of staff or as potential candidates for governing roles – it was simply a question of individual agency to get them. Paradoxically, responses also indicated women faced institutional barriers and prejudice that needed to be tackled through strategic action and local tactics, many of which again came down to cultivating individual skill and expertise rather than institutional change. For example, some responses suggested that women could not expect equality if they themselves were not prepared to 'meet stiff competition', or to increase women speakers and experts on air more generally, young women should be encouraged to be 'more articulate.'<sup>44</sup> Concerns specifically about the suitability of women's voices on air are a common theme in particularly the early years of broadcasting in many countries, and the responses of women's groups, including the ICW, have almost always been to teach women to improve rather than challenge the standards by which their voices are found lacking.<sup>45</sup> In 1946, one survey asked members what steps their organisation had taken or was going to take to increase women's direct influence on radio programming. In France it was not considered necessary to make any special arrangements to increase women's influence in radio broadcasting. Great Britain also suggested this was not necessarily needed as women more recently had further opportunities in broadcasting as members of staff and as speakers and: 'it will be up to the women themselves to put their claims forward.' Similarly, in Australia: 'they do not think it necessary for

women's organisations to press their claims for more representation as the Commission is prepared to appoint women with the necessary qualifications to any position that are open.<sup>46</sup> While the representation of women continued actually to lag behind for many years (if it has ever caught up), the theoretical possibility that women *could* occupy these roles was considered satisfactory to the women responding. In 1957 it was further speculated if one reason why women engineers were not able to find jobs in technical departments in broadcasting in Britain was down to 'the failure of women to become union members.'<sup>47</sup> In fact, as has since been shown, women were deliberately phased out from the post-war BBC's engineering division.<sup>48</sup> Though never addressed in these terms, there is a clear tension discerned in the responses between the desire to advance women in broadcasting to the extent possible and professional women broadcasters' pride in their own positions, achievements, and work that deflected discussions of institutional barriers.

The concern about women's influence – or lack of influence – in programming and whether women held policymaking positions within broadcasting institutions continued to occupy the ICW women in the 1950s. Von Konow's collated report, as discussed earlier, is also a good example of how convenors or rapporteurs editorialised survey responses that also reflect different agendas and sometimes tensions in views and perspectives, which we will turn to next.

### **Mobilising expertise: turning reports into tools of value?**

In composing the questionnaires, and in particular the compiling and editing of reports, the voice and priorities of the organisation, and more specifically of the compiler herself, were often made manifest. There was room for editorialising on specific responses. In a striking example from the earliest report we have, the IAW rapporteur, exiled German social democrat Adele Schreiber, added a lengthy commentary on the Italian response given by Fascist Maria Castellani to her 1935 questionnaire: 'The rapporteur, however, states that a certain reserve must be observed as to the spirit of what we consider feminism and what may be understood as such'. Citing from a different Italian report on women in work, Schreiber elaborates:

The spirit of this document is totally opposed to all the aims of the women's movement as it excludes women from all professions 'more suitable for men, though they can equally be exercised by women, as liberal professions, commercial work, etc.' And limits women to domestic work and to certain special female tasks. This report is not the personal opinion of the rapporteur but expressly says 'we in Italy' or 'our actual Italian point of view'. Therefore if the radio is used in this sense women's real progress cannot benefit from it.<sup>49</sup>

Further Italian responses are not given in the report, except briefly when discussing international broadcasts and exchanges, an area in which Italy – and Castellani specifically – was active. Schreiber again does not leave this response without comment: 'There is something tragic about the fact that the aim of the Italian Women's Broadcast is to promote international goodwill and understanding'.<sup>50</sup>

Particularly in reporting, the strategic intent behind the data becomes visible in both the questions asked and the commentary of the compiler. This is further evident in the

post-1945 period when the ICW broadcasting agenda also broadens to reflect wider interests or motivations. In writing to her predecessor in 1946, acting radio convener Dorothy Lewis underlined her view that in addition to gaining information on broadcasting, her goal was to 'implement as many of our ICW objectives as possible and to further mankind's efforts to maintain peace'.<sup>51</sup> Her 1947 report subsequently emphasised these internationalist interests.<sup>52</sup> Underlining her agenda with the report, she decided that 'rather than giving a detailed account by countries' to give the report 'the form of a summary and overview', and thus gave the report largely in her own voice.<sup>53</sup> This included a question as to the extent that broadcasters included work from the United Nations, and as the answers were generally in the negative, a lengthy paragraph of suggestions for improving the situation with the admonishment that 'as an international group we should be prepared to promote more interest in the UN and its subsidiaries.'<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, the closing of the report takes up five 'freedoms' (of broadcasting, to listen, of choice, to criticise, of participation) that the international community is seeking to establish. These align with the push, particularly from the USA, to establish freedom of information as a fundamental human right to help enable its international agendas in the Cold War.<sup>55</sup>

A recurring issue on which conveners set the agenda is the extent to which programmes aimed at women were integral to women's roles in broadcasting. This can be observed in the 1930s but appears to have become a livelier discussion point in the post-war period. For instance, in 1938, the ICW saw broadcasts by women 'as of particular interest and is persuaded that such broadcasts are of special value' since these types of broadcasts helped to defend women's rights, promote peace, and had the potential to educate and enlighten women.<sup>56</sup> We discover from the Yugoslav response to the 1938 survey that the Yugoslav NCW had direct input in programmes aimed at women.<sup>57</sup> After the Second World War, such programmes for women – especially aimed at daytime audiences of housewives – had become established 'natural' places for women within many broadcasting stations, and were often the focus of women's efforts.<sup>58</sup> However, the surveys and responses also offered challenges to the idea that women's expertise was often confined or mainly used for talks and programmes solely targeted at women (and children) was at times seen as problematic. In October of 1945, Margareta von Konow circulated questions to members that made no mention of such programmes.<sup>59</sup> In her May 1946 summary of the responses received, von Konow further editorialised, picking up particularly on Ashby (NZ)'s experience of women's voices being found unsuitable for evening hours:

Personally I am afraid of the tendency that refers the women to certain sessions.' [...] Our aim ought to be co-influence and co-operation not isolation. We ought to react too against the eventual opinion that women's voices are considered not as suitable as male voices for the talks in the evening. [...] We must go in for equality.<sup>60</sup>

Von Konow was not a broadcaster, but in the 1930s she was instrumental in the setting up of the Broadcasting Committee of Swedish Women's Organisations – a lobby group that campaigned for gender equality and women's representation in leadership roles in Swedish radio.<sup>61</sup> This group was not keen on the separation of talks or programmes for women, although their position altered in later years. In what appears to be a response to a survey in the late 1940s, Swedish radio producer Ingrid Samuelsson, together with

Brita Juhlin-Dannfelt, explained that women's complex position in the world today required separate programmes. They further said: 'Through broadcasting programmes of this type we naturally work towards making them unnecessary.' Nevertheless, separate programmes for the *housewife* they claimed, 'will always be needed' to break isolation, to educate and inform, and 'to broadcast problems of interest and value for the women'.<sup>62</sup> Samuelsson had a background as a teacher in home economics, and produced programmes that mainly addressed women as housewives. In 1945 she spent six months in the US where she was impressed by the US approach to teaching home economics. In 1949 she introduced *Husmorsskolan*, a regular programme on the public service broadcaster promoting a scientific approach to domestic work. Samuelsson pioneered a more personal and intimate approach in Swedish radio by favouring discussion and dialogue, often based on listeners' letters, where sharing of experience was key.<sup>63</sup>

The Swedish example points to how the agenda or the perception of the value of separate programmes for women shifted as Samuelsson's views corresponded to the wider ICW broadcasting committee in this period. In 1949, three of the six points raised in the survey were again devoted to the placement and content of women's programmes in the schedules.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, convener Elizabeth Long set this as a core part of her agenda.<sup>65</sup> When the IAWRT conducted their 1959 survey on women in broadcasting, they divided their questions into three sections: on the position of women in broadcasting, programmes for women, and women audiences.<sup>66</sup> Tracing these issues through multiple surveys highlights an enduring unease (or certainly disunity) among these institutional activists with what Karen Lee Ashcraft and Catherine Ashcraft have described as the 'glass slipper' of occupational identity that began to form around women broadcasting to women.<sup>67</sup>

Taken together with the responses, the surveys also reveal the messiness involved in attempting to compile data. Both structural differences in institutions and the need to translate country-specific terms into English or French could lead to a lack of comprehension. For instance, the response (in French) from the Yugoslavian representative, Milena Atanatzkovitch, to convenor Castellani's 1938 request to 'please send me the name of the representative to the International Broadcasting Committee' is one of confusion:

The representative of our Yugoslav Radio-post is M. Kalafatovitch (in the international committee), director of Radio Beograd. But if this question is about the radio section that was mentioned previously (question 1) and that would seem to be the radio section organized by the [Yugoslav NCW] and our representative to the ICW, so I am supposed to give my name?<sup>68</sup>

New Zealand's response to a 1946 query whether the board is 'throughout masculine' reveals the layers in which non-comprehension could occur: 'I rather think so at present. I wrote to the director on this matter but he seems to have misunderstood the question. I should think, however, that women are able to be nominated.'<sup>69</sup> Predictably, this response appeared not to be useful and convenor von Konow chose not to include this response at all in the subsequent report.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, in 1949, after the Convenor Elizabeth Long had complained about the low response rate to her circular letters, members of the committee speculated: 'that the questions may not have been suited to

the different conditions of the countries concerned, so they may have found it difficult or perhaps impossible to give definite replies.<sup>71</sup>

Finally, to what extent was the ‘data’ gathered used by ICW members? The reports certainly reveal some of the work that went into making the data into value, both in the sense of usefulness, but also as a reflection of the organisation’s (or at least the convenor’s) values. But it is more difficult to trace their actual use once they were produced. Clearly, there was some hope that they would be of use in lobbying for increased women’s presence in broadcasting. In 1938, Milena Atanatzkovitch suggested two things to the Convenor of ICW’s Broadcasting Committee: first, to include in the ICW report the countries that had women in more senior positions and whether this had made a difference in programming (from the point of view of women), and second, to note any other methods or actions for how to gain a feminine influence in radio.<sup>72</sup> The reports were clearly used as a vehicle where ‘local’ tactics were shared and used as ‘good practice’. The 1947 report from Norway cited above is a relevant example. Similarly, in May 1946, Margareta von Konow encouraged members to follow the initiatives of the American women, whose respondent had reported on the creation of various pressure groups as well as industry initiatives such as “The Association of Women Directors” that worked closely with women’s groups to put pressure on women’s representation in the broadcasting industries.<sup>73</sup> It seems likely that this kind of general sharing of successful tactics for local adaptation would be the most likely use of the reports rather than any use value the reports themselves might have had in supporting women’s lobbying efforts within broadcasting. Up to now, we have not uncovered evidence of the reports being shared more widely beyond the immediate correspondents. In our final case, we know that public use of the surveys was hindered. While UNESCO had paid for IAWRT’s 1959 survey of women in broadcasting, they deemed the final report ‘of more restricted interest, mainly for directors of broadcasting organisations, house-organs, etc. and national and international organisations concerned with women’s interests.’<sup>74</sup> As such, they did not pay to have the report printed, and we have not as yet been able to locate a copy.

### **Concluding discussion: ‘surveying’ the value of ICW surveys, questionnaires and reports**

We are now in an age where data on women’s representation in media industries is abundant – but not always encouraging. Since 1995, the Global Media Monitoring Project has offered ongoing longitudinal data on gender in the media industry.<sup>75</sup> At a national level, groups like *Stichting Vrouwen in Beeld* in the Netherlands or the now-dissolved Sound Women in the UK have commissioned research as a core part of their lobbying strategies, and indeed study after study seems to reveal enduring inequality in media industries.<sup>76</sup> In November 2021, the most recent ‘Status of Women in US Media’ report was published by the Women’s Media Center (WMC). Gloria Steinem, one of the co-founders of the US-based campaign group was quoted as saying: ‘This report will help to hold news media accountable for the persistent inequalities in media. Women must be visible and powerful in all aspects of media if American society is ever to be a real democracy.’<sup>77</sup> Steinem, a leading activist of US second-wave feminism, offers a connection here between the longer-term, and recurring efforts of feminists and women’s activists, in the past as

well as the present, to gather data and produce knowledge that challenge and expose dominant media structures - or are used to connect, inform, and empower women in the media. A case in point is the efforts of Donna Allen's (1920-1999) newsletter *Media Report to Women* (1972-?), that compiled information about job opportunities, feminist activism, and advice, thus becoming a 'feminist technology' and communications network for US media women. The 'bottom-up scrapbook-like' newsletter offered readers both a community, space, and platform that connected women across the US and allowed them 'to share information and strategy'.<sup>78</sup>

In some ways, such large and loud public reports with 'hard' data seem a far cry from the ICW broadcasting committee's more anecdotal but proud 1956 report:

[o]ur members have made studies, drafted resolutions, led discussions, joined committees, sat on boards, organized deputations and written letters to their leading newspapers. In fact, whether professional broadcasters, or community leaders, they are making a continuing and constructive contribution to the development of radio and TV in many parts of the world.<sup>79</sup>

In this article, we have not been able to confirm such conclusions, but the existence of surveys and reports produced by the ICW broadcasting committee (and its members) provides important evidence that similar motivations, aims, tactics, and activism existed among women broadcasters and activists in the first half of the twentieth century, much of which has since been forgotten. Within it, we see an enduring and shared concern to increase and enhance the positions of women in broadcasting, as well as use broadcasting as a tool to better promote the cause of women.

Indeed, when we begin to view these surveys through the lens of media tactics, we can see that their positions as institutional activists have further consequences for the sorts of tactics that emerge. As Marie Cronqvist, Fredrik Mohammadi Norén and Emil Stjernholm argue, we learn a great deal also by being alert to failures in tactics and strategy. In spite of the potentially strategic overview that might be afforded by such surveys, as well as convenors' occasional efforts to steer both questions and reports towards a more strategic approach, we do not see any sustained strategy emerging. The question of whether programmes for women should be a core focus of ICW activities seems to come and go, for example, and ambivalence on this point remains. While they were a protected niche, and they allowed a focus on areas where the ICW was keen to have influence, many women like von Konow questioned whether such a focus was too limited. While an absence of evidence does not allow us to draw many conclusions about any tactical uses of the reports themselves, it seems likely that their most important use was providing evidence of successful tactics at national level. In turn, these aspects of the surveys are probably also factors in the erasure of this activity at the historical level.

Finally, it is worth considering the archival factors that have led to the erasure of the institutional activism we discuss here. In general, the archives of the broadcasting institutions have not preserved it for various reasons. Individual correspondence might not have counted as institutional work, and a number of prominent activist women broadcasters did not leave their personal archives with the broadcasting institutions. These facets of broadcasting work and identity are instead held largely in women's archives, though, as our work here indicates, their presence there is sporadic as well. Writing entangled histories of broadcasting demands both a broader conception of what we consider 'the broadcasting archive' to be, and thus also encourages us to do more work to re-

entangle the archives to create a more complete view of women's activities in media history. Reading these surveys in the light of the current data-heavier age also highlights the extent to which women's knowledge in broadcasting has periodically disappeared, at least from the historical record, and to a large extent from women's activism itself. Justine Lloyd has argued that a lack of evidence of women's activism, coupled with second-wave feminism's narrative of itself as a radical break with what had gone before, has tended to erase the activism from the first half of the century.<sup>80</sup> In the case at hand, our analysis of these surveys has revealed a number of characteristic elements that are also factors in their erasure. First of these is the position of the women involved as institutional activists. As we described above, this refers to women who were already established in their positions, here mostly as broadcasters. Their mode of activism, and even their membership in bodies like the NCWs might generally go unnoticed. Like the 'tempered radicals' conceptualised by Debra E. Meyerson and Maureen A. Scully, these women were dedicated to an organisation and profession, and to advancing the cause of their own social group, which was not always within the goals of the organisations themselves.<sup>81</sup> Notably, few of the responses seem to indicate that the women reporting did not feel that their work was undervalued within their institutions, and by extension a number of the mechanisms mooted for advancing women in broadcasting were via individual agency and professional competence rather than structural reform.

## Notes

1. ICW Standing Committee on Radio and Television, October 1956, circular letter No. 4, by Elizabeth Long. AVG-Carhif (Archive and Research Centre for Women's History), Brussels, Archive of the International Council of Women BE-A4013-3-ICW (hereafter AVG-Carhif, ICW), box 2244.
2. ICW Triennial Report 1954/57 of the Standing Committee on Radio and Television, by Elizabeth Long, March 1957, AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2244.
3. ICW Standing Committee on Radio and Television, Minutes of Meetings, Montreal, 8 June 1957, AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2244.
4. This specific quote is from a Danish industry professional during the recent network seminar "Moving Beyond Crisis: Dimensions of Diversity in Sustainable Screen Industries in Small European Markets," Part I: 'Production: Adding Diversity into Screen Industries' on Tuesday, 23 September, 2025 at Utrecht University.
5. This method is central to a number of international organisations, including the United Nations and the European Broadcasting Union. See Alexander Badenoch, 'European Radio's Silenced Witness: The European Broadcasting Union's Written Archives', *TMG Journal for Media History* 25, no. 2 (2022): 2, <https://doi.org/10.18146/tmg.822>.
6. Marie Cronqvist and Christoph Hilgert, 'Entangled Media Histories: The Value of Transnational and Transmedial Approaches in Media Historiography', *Media History* 23 no.1 (2017): 130–41, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13688804.2016.1270745>; Alexander Badenoch and Kristin Skoog, 'Lessons from Lilian: Is Transnational (Media) History a Gendered Issue?', *Feminist Media Histories* 5, no. 3 (1 July 2019): 9–35, <https://doi.org/10.1525/fmh.2019.5.3.9>.
7. Badenoch and Skoog, 'Lessons from Lilian'.
8. See Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (University of California Press, 2002), 15–16. ICW has been described as an organisation dominated by European and North American women with an aristocratic leadership and elite membership, often conservative in outlook, that avoided controversial positions and claimed to be non-political. See Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds*

- of Women: *The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Karen Offen, *European Feminisms 1700-1950: A Political History* (Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 2000); Karen Offen, ed., *Globalizing Feminisms 1789-1945* (London: Routledge, 2010); Éliane Gubin and Leen van Molle, *Des femmes qui changent le monde: Histoire du Conseil internationale des femmes* (Brussels: Editions Racine, 2005); Marie Sandell, *The Rise of Women's Transnational Activism: Identity and Sisterhood Between the World Wars* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015).
9. See: Kristin Skoog and Alexander Badenoch, 'Networking Women: The International Association of Women in Radio and Television', in *Broadcasting in the UK and US in the 1950s: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Jamie Medhurst, Sian Nicolas, and Tom O'Malley (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2016), 189-218.
  10. Rupp, *Worlds of Women*.
  11. Skoog and Badenoch, 'Networking Women'.
  12. Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 3.
  13. Marie Cronqvist, Fredrik Mohammadi Norén, and Emil Stjernholm, 'Introduction: Towards a History of Media Tactics', in *Media Tactics in the Long Twentieth Century*, ed. Marie Cronqvist, Fredrik Mohammadi Norén, and Emil Stjernholm (New York and London: Routledge, 2025), 1-15, 2. DOI: 10.4324/9781032618326-1.
  14. Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe, 'Women's International Activism During the Inter-War Period, 1919-1939', special issue of *Women's History Review* 26, no. 2 (2017): 163-72, 163.
  15. See note 8 for scholarship on the ICW. On their position with regard to broadcasting, see Kristin Skoog and Alexander Badenoch, 'Mediating Women: The International Council of Women and the Rise of (Trans)National Broadcasting', *Women's History Review* online advance print (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2024.2415735>.
  16. Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 21ff.
  17. *Ibid.* 15-26.
  18. A thorough comparative overview remains a scholarly desideratum. National case studies include Kate Lacey, *Feminine Frequencies: Gender, German Radio, and the Public Sphere, 1923-1945* (Ann Arbor The University of Michigan Press, 1996); Christine Ehrick, *Radio and the Gendered Soundscape: Women and Broadcasting in Argentina and Uruguay, 1930-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Kate Murphy, *Behind the Wireless: A History of Early Women at the BBC* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Sergio Blanco Fajardo, 'Broadcasting the "Spanish Woman". Nationalism and Female Radio Programmes During the Franco Regime', *TMG Journal for Media History* 22, no. 2 (19 December 2019): 61-72, <https://doi.org/10.18146/tmg.598>.
  19. Justine Lloyd, *Gender and Media in the Broadcast Age: Women's Radio Programming at the BBC, CBC and ABC* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic 2020), 2-4.
  20. In Sarah Arnold et al., 'Women's Broadcasting Histories and the Archive: National, Transnational and Transmedial Entanglements', *Critical Studies in Television*, SAGE Publications, 2 May 2025, 252, <https://doi.org/10.1177/17496020251330853>.
  21. Badenoch and Skoog, 'Lessons from Lilian', 28.
  22. Archival records of the ICW are also held at the Women's Library, at the London School of Economics, in London. Records relating to the ICW broadcasting committee are also held at KvinnSam, at Göteborgs universitetsbibliotek, Gothenburg, via the papers of one of its convenor; the Swedish women's activist Margareta von Konow.
  23. On Van der Goot, see Antia Wiersma, *Hartstochtelijk, Partijloos, Feministe. Dr. W.H. Posthumus-van Der Goot (1897-1989)* (Hilversum, 2025); Skoog and Badenoch, 'Networking Women'.
  24. Skoog and Badenoch, 'Mediating Women'.
  25. International Council of Women, *Women in a Changing World: The Dynamic Story of the International Council of Women since 1888* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), 188-189.
  26. Skoog and Badenoch, 'Mediating Women'.
  27. Lloyd, *Gender and Media*, 78.

28. See Barbara M. Freeman, *Beyond Bylines: Media Workers and Women's Rights in Canada* (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011), esp 105ff. Lloyd *Gender and Media*, 92 ff.
29. See for example in the US context, Donna L. Halper, *Invisible Stars: A Social History of Women in American Broadcasting* (New York: M.E Sharpe, Inc., 2001), 16-20.
30. Kate Murphy, *Behind the Wireless: A History of Early Women at the BBC* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 153.
31. See for instance work by Justine Lloyd, *Gender and Media*; Catherine Martin, 'In Their Own Little Corner: The Gendered Sideline of NBC's Information Department', *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 26, no.1 (2019): 88-103, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2019.1560043>.
32. See discussion in Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922-1952* (London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), 140-141. Hilmes provides a good example in Judith Waller, whose career took off in the 1920s, with quick promotions and responsibilities across radio then ended up in a more senior role within educational broadcasting at NBC. Similar movements can be seen in post-WWII Germany, where broadly educated women ended up in departments specifically aimed at women. Dr. Helga Prollius, the head of women's programmes in Hamburg 1946, had some of the most varied radio experience of anyone working in broadcasting at the time, and none of it in women's programming, when she was offered the post. Alexander Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins: West German Radio Across the 1945 Divide* (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2008), 138-9.
33. *Women in Radio*, Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., May 1947, 2.
34. Skoog and Badenoch, 'Mediating Women'.
35. ICW Standing Committee on Radio and Television, Minutes of Meetings, Montreal, 8 June 1957, AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2244.
36. International Council of Women, *Women in a Changing World*, 193-194.
37. For a discussion on inequality in pay at the interwar BBC and examples of BBC women who managed to negotiate a higher pay, see Murphy, *Behind the Wireless*, 145-150.
38. Berggrav to Castellani, 17 April 1937, SKN (Svenska Kvinnors Nationalförbund), Göteborgs universitetsbibliotek, KvinnSam, Gothenburg (hereafter KvinnSam, SKN), B28 F IV:2 1934-1938, Margareta von Konow's handling ICW: radiokommitten 1937-1938.
39. Atanatzkovitch, Convener of NCW of Yugoslavia Broadcasting Committee to Castellani, 3 and 23 May, 1938, KvinnSam, SKN.
40. Margareta von Konow, Stockholm May 1946, AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.
41. Ibid.
42. Ragnild Blegen 'From the International Committee of Broadcasting in Norway - Report to the Congress of ICW in Philadelphia 1947'. International Council of Women, Women's Library, London School of Economics, London, 5ICWE03 Box 29 Broadcasting 1947-1949.
43. International Council of Women, 'Report on Broadcasting in N.Z. 1946' (by Joan Ashby), AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.
44. 'Report - Acting Convenor [Dorothy Lewis] International Council of Women Philadelphia 1947,' AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.
45. Christine Ehrick, "'Savage Dissonance: Gender, Voice, and Women's Radio Speech in Argentina, 1930-1945', in *Sound in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, ed. David Suisman and Susan Strasser (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 69-91, 69. On the ICW in this regard, see Skoog and Badenoch, 'Mediating Women'.
46. Margareta von Konow, Stockholm May 1946, AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.
47. ICW Standing Committee on Radio and Television, Minutes of Meetings, Montreal, 8 June 1957, AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2244.
48. Kate Terkanian, 'From women operators to technical assistants: women in the BBC's wartime engineering division', *Women's History Review* 31, no. 4 (2022): 580-602, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2021.1944347>.

49. IAW, 'Appendix', 'Report on Radio,' compiled by Adele Schreiber, 1936. 2-3., Atria Institute on gender equality and women's history, Archief Willemijn Hendrika Posthumus-van der Goot 1896-1988, Item 1861 <https://collectie.atria.nl/bibliotheek/item/440046-archief-willemijn-hendrika-posthumus-van-der-goot-1896-1988>
50. Ibid. 4.
51. Dorothy Lewis to Margareta von Konow, 5 September 1946, AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.
52. 'Report, Acting Radio Convener [Dorothy Lewis] International Council of Women Philadelphia 1947,' AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.
53. Report, Acting Radio Convener [Dorothy Lewis], International Council of Women Philadelphia 1947,' AVG-Carhif, Brussels, Box 2245.
54. 'Report, Acting Radio Convener [Dorothy Lewis] International Council of Women Philadelphia 1947,' AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.
55. Jennifer Spohrer, 'Threat or Beacon? Recasting International Broadcasting In Europe After World War II', in *Airy Curtains in the European Ether: Broadcasting and the Cold War*, ed. Alexander Badenoch, Andreas Fickers, and Christian Henrich-Franke (Baden-Baden: Nomos-Verlag-Ges., 2013), 29–50.
56. 'List of resolutions passed by the Council Meeting', President's Memorandum, July 11–21, 1938, ICW, 5ICWB12, Box 13, (Edinburgh 1938), 96–7.
57. Atanatzkovitch to Castellani, 3 May 1938. KvinnSam, SKN. Searching in the BBC genome project reveals that the British NCW as well as the ICW had airtime to address women as well.
58. This assumption was common among the women who founded the IAWRT in the 1950s. Furthermore, Scandinavian broadcasters saw this conflation as reason not to join the IAWRT. See Skoog and Badenoch, 'Networking Women'.
59. Margareta von Konow, Stockholm May 1946, AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.
60. Ibid. Responses were from Australia, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Great Britain, India, New Zealand, and the USA – notably not from Konow's native Sweden.
61. For an in-depth discussion of the development of the Swedish women's broadcasting committee see Fredrik Stiernstedt, 'Women's struggle and media reform: The Swedish Women's Associations' Radio Committee, 1933–1940', *Nordic Journal of Media Studies* 6. no 1(2024): 185–202, <https://doi.org/10.2478/njms-2024-0009>.
62. Brita Juhlin-Dannfelt and Ingrid Samuelsson, no date [circa 1949], AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245. Brita Juhlin-Dannfelt was involved in the ICW broadcasting committee in the late 1940s and provided another Swedish influence after Konow stepped down. She chaired the broadcasting committee meeting in 1949 in the absence of convenor Elizabeth Long.
63. For further details on Samuelsson's work in the Swedish radio see Karin Nordberg, *Folkhemmets röst: radion som folkbildare 1925–1950* (Stockholm/Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 1998), 336-49; and in English see Madeleine Kleberg, 'Ingrid Hanna Margareta Samuelsson-Forsén,' *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexikon* (article by), March 8, 2018, [www.skbl.se/sv/artikel/IngridSamuelssonForsen](http://www.skbl.se/sv/artikel/IngridSamuelssonForsen) (accessed April 16, 2025).
64. Meeting of Broadcasting Committee, Lugano, 18–19 May, 1949, AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.
65. Long to Wakefield, 18 September 1950, AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.
66. Survey appended to Dorothy Lewis to Tor Gjesdal, 22 February 1959. UNESCO archives, Paris 307: 384.3 A01 IAWR.
67. Karen Lee Ashcraft and Catherine Ashcraft, "Breaking the 'Glass Slipper': What Diversity Interventions Can Learn from the Historical Evolution of Occupational Identity in ICT and Commercial Aviation," in *Connecting Women: Women, Gender and ICT in Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century*, ed. Valérie Schafer and Benjamin G. Thierry, History of Computing (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International, 2015).
68. Atanatzkovitch to Castellani, 3 May 1938. KvinnSam, SKN. The subsequent question posed 'which is the programme of your radio committee?' also led to some confusion.
69. National Council of Women of New Zealand, Answers to Questionnaire on Women's Place in Broadcasting, 1946 (by Joan Ashby), AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.

70. Margareta von Konow, Stockholm May 1946, AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.
71. Meeting of Broadcasting Committee, Lugano, 18–19 May, 1949, AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.
72. Atanatzkovitch, Convener of NCW of Yugoslavia Broadcasting Committee to Castellani, 3 and 23 May, 1938, KvinnSam, SKN.
73. Margareta von Konow, Stockholm May 1946, AVG-Carhif, ICW, box 2245.
74. Pierre Navaux, Head of UNESCO Mass Communication Clearing House to Dorothy Lewis 18 Feb 1960 UNESCO archives, Paris: 307: 384.3 A01 IAWR.
75. The work of the Global Media Monitoring Group can be found at: <https://www.unesco.org/en/world-media-trends/global-media-monitoring-project-gmmp>; For information and critique of this work, see Laetitia Biscarrat, Marlène Coulomb-Gully and Cécile Méadel, 'Ce que soulèvent les chiffres. La place des femmes dans les médias : retour sur enquêtes,' *Le Temps des Médias* n. 29 (2017), 193–207.
76. Stichting Vrouwen in Beeld [Women in the Picture Foundation] has recently published new research on the role and representation of women in a number of branches of the Dutch media industry, see: <https://www.vrouweninbeeld.nl/onderzoek/>; Sound Women was very effective at using research to effect change with two reports commissioned from Creative Skillset, only one of which, "Tuning out: Women in the UK Radio Industry A Skillset report for Sound Women" (2011) is still available online: <https://www.media-diversity.org/additional-files/documents/Z%20Current%20MDI%20Resources/womenukradioindustry.pdf>.
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## Acknowledgements

We would like to thank our two reviewers for the useful feedback and the staff at KvinnSam, Göteborgs universitetsbibliotek, Gothenburg, for their kind assistance, as well as the Women's Library, London School of Economics, London and Els Flour at Carhif-AVG in Brussels.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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