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## Your woman friend in the West: women broadcasters and the Cold War

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### ABSTRACT

Radio played a paradoxical role in the Cold War, embraced both as a key tool for propaganda warfare as well as for promoting peace and understanding. Women, too, played paradoxical roles both in radio and on the world stage. In this paper we will attempt to explore these intersecting paradoxes in a transnational perspective by focusing on The International Association of Women in Radio and Television, founded in 1951. This international network of women provides insights into how women broadcasters viewed radio and themselves in the global ideological struggles of the Cold War. Exploring the organization's international networking practices, its positioning within international women's movements, as well as their conceptions of the relationship between women and radio, we show how in each of these arenas, despite a belief in a universal womanhood and striving for a global organization, the organization can be seen falling into the emerging Western camp of the Cold War.

### Introduction

In 1957 the International Association of Women in Radio and Television (IAWRT) held its eighth conference at the headquarters of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Paris. UNESCO's Director of Mass Communications, Tor Gjesdal, was invited to address the meeting, and praised the group as 'partners in this work for peace, not only in a professional, but also in a personal sense'. Gjesdal continued:

It is a well-known fact that the strongest advocates of peace in the world are the women—because they are mothers. By combining your professional and personal interests, you may become—in fact you are already—a very active force for world peace. Few individuals are in a better position than you, *when you talk as women to women through radio*, to promote the cause of international understanding and thereby the cause of civilisation itself.<sup>1</sup>

The sort of elective affinity that Gjesdal posits between women, radio and international peace efforts reflects relatively widespread discourses about both women and radio at

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the time. When considered in the light of the first decade of the Cold War, however, these conceptions appear more paradoxical. In terms of radio, Gjesdal spoke from the point of view of UNESCO, which built on efforts dating back to the 1920s to utilize radio's ability to cross national boundaries as means of generating international—and interpersonal—understanding.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, however, building directly on its primary role during the Second World War, international radio was also swiftly mobilized for waging war by other means. Stations such as Voice of America (VOA) and Radio Free Europe (RFE), supported by the United States (US), became fixtures of the global radio landscape, and sought to make direct appeal to private citizens against their governments. Even while international organizations such as UNESCO re-embraced the utopian hopes for radio as a tool and symbol for cross-cultural understanding that had emerged with the medium after the First World War, the very push to embed the principle of 'freedom of information' in international law was led by Western countries with the explicit agenda of waging the Cold War in the airwaves—not to mention opening up European media monopolies to the US.<sup>3</sup> The roles of women were marked by similar ambiguities. On the world stage, many international women's organizations came into being, many with the overt purpose of pursuing peace and international understanding. The women's historian Karen Offen echoes Gjesdal's sentiments to argue that, although we need not accept the essentialist notions at their root, historically speaking, women's movements have been fundamentally concerned with reducing war and violence.<sup>4</sup> At the heart of these movements, the notion of women as naturally exerting a domesticating or civilizing influence on society was central. While women's supposedly domestic natures as universal force for peace were mobilized in postwar Europe, the domestic sphere and women's activities were also becoming important sites of struggle in the Cold War.<sup>5</sup>

The IAWRT was profoundly implicated in these paradoxical dynamics of women and radio in Cold War Europe. The organization—which exists to this day—was officially founded in 1951 by eight women.<sup>6</sup> One of its main driving forces during the initial years was Willemijn (Lilian) Posthumus-van der Goot (1897–1989), a Dutch feminist and economic historian, and one-time head of women's radio programming at the *Algemeene Vereeniging Radio Omroep* (AVRO).<sup>7</sup> The IAWRT's main motivation was to promote the sharing of ideas and information about content, technology, and audiences between women broadcasters, and by doing so, by their own account, promote peace. Most IAWRT members mainly consisted of women broadcasters who mostly specialized in programmes *for* women.<sup>8</sup> Such programming and departments often marginalized within national institutions, which made the IAWRT an important forum for members to exchange their professional knowledge and discuss matters that concerned them. In the 1950s the association gained momentum and by the 1960s membership reached nearly a hundred from over twenty countries around the world. In the 1970s, the IAWRT reflected a more global position and also for the first time crossed the 'Iron Curtain'. The IAWRT held regular conferences, often including visits to broadcasting studios and locations, and panel discussions focused on topics such as '[h]ow can the talent and experience of women be best applied in the field of broadcasting'.<sup>9</sup> Social activities such as dinners, lunches and drinks, were key features and conferences often included delegates representing international women's organizations. 'Observers' from the International Council of Women, the International Federation of Business and Professional

Women, and the Associated Countrywomen of the World were present at their 1957 conference.<sup>10</sup>

In this article, we will trace how the IAWRT negotiated these paradoxical dynamics in the first decade of their existence, drawing largely on the documents and correspondence of Lilian van der Goot from the Atria Institute on Gender Equality and Women's History in Amsterdam (the predecessor of which, the Archives of the International Women's Movement, she co-founded).<sup>11</sup> This approach invites us to explore the intersections between women broadcasters and international organizations, particularly women's organizations, which sheds new light both on the transnational entanglements and implicit ideologies of broadcasting for women. In exploring the IAWRT's early years, we are not arguing that they were a powerful organization internationally. Both their relatively small numbers well into the 1960s, as well as many of the experiences recorded in the correspondence, reveal strong limits to their influence and scope of action in the international sphere. But it is precisely in their quest to cross borders and find common ground that they offer a vital lens on to the international landscape in which they sought to operate. Besides the international arena, they offer insights into the roles and positions of women in radio broadcasting in a range of countries in a period when these roles were at once being reinvented and re-entrenched. To oversharpen this point somewhat: the goal is not to posit their success but to follow their paths and to learn from their failures; it is more about the (gendered) contours of the international spheres and national organizations where they operated. In tracing these lines, it will reveal a transnational dimension to histories of women in broadcasting, which up to now has been largely overlooked, and in so doing, shed light on ways in which the Cold War shaped women's broadcasting in a number of ways.<sup>12</sup>

In an essay exploring images of ruins and borderlands, Yuliya Komska fruitfully queries the analytical purchase of the terms 'postwar' and 'Cold War', not as mere (and vague) temporal markers, but as deeply entwined cultural frames in which 'meaningful overlaps and semantic negotiations' can be observed.<sup>13</sup> Whereas, broadly speaking, 'postwar' marks a concern with reconstruction, remembrance, normalization and modernization, 'Cold War' evokes the multi-sited yet seemingly bi-polar conflict, and concomitant cultures of fear. While Komska's essay is oriented toward memory practices, this approach, especially with its attention to what appear to be 'marginal' sources, is instructive in the case at hand. Following these lines, we argue that studying the transnational entanglements of the IAWRT similarly reveals a set of 'medial, spatial, and temporal crossroads that conjoin' the two eras.<sup>14</sup>

In exploring these issues, we look more closely at four arenas where IAWRT activities reveal tensions and ambiguities between postwar and Cold War frames. First, we will place them within the various internationalist feminisms emerging after the Second World War. We will do this in particular by looking at the way they positioned themselves in relation to the cause of 'peace'—and what that meant in the era at hand. Second, we will place them within the larger history of broadcasting to show the significance placed on radio at this time, and third, looking more closely at IAWRT members' biographies and practices of networking, we will explore how they formed and presented an image of themselves as a group of both private and professional women. Fourth, drawing on their discussions of broadcasting practice, we will look at how they imagined an ideal (feminine) address to an ideal audience of women listening citizens. In particular, we will focus on how

the notion of an ideal form of radio address, was further shaped by their notions of distinctive 'Western' and 'Eastern' styles of speaking, which rested on both an individualized mode of address and emotional self-regulation on the part of both speaker and listener. As we argue, in spite of its stated universalist goals and occasionally-expressed desires for openness across the Cold War divide, the organization found itself aligned *de facto* with the West in its initial decades. This affirms the argument that many international women's organizations during the Cold War, often in the end, favoured a national identity (or in this case a Western identity) over their gender identity, which problematizes the vision of feminist internationalization.<sup>15</sup>

### Contested 'peace': women's organizations and the Cold War

The IAWRT was a clear product of the immediate post-war era's boom in international co-operation and international exchange. Connections between members of the organization not only came through shared interests or experience via broadcasting institutions, but was also initiated and developed through many of the members' active participation in (inter)national women's organizations. The evidence shows that the Association was not a separate entity solely working from its own agenda, rather its links to the (inter)national women's organizations further complicated its position, especially in reference to the Cold War blocs.

The interwar period had sparked international feminist activity with the growth of organizations such as the International Council of Women (ICW), the International Alliance of Women (IAW) and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).<sup>16</sup> This flurry of what feminist historian Leila Rupp calls 'feminist internationalization' and the growth of a transnational women's movement would continue in the post-1945 era.<sup>17</sup> These women's organizations not only shared certain common goals and themes, such as working for international peace and co-operation or the equal rights for men and women; as Rupp makes clear, they also shared an interest in their status *as women*, seeing women as a group with certain interests separate from those of men.<sup>18</sup> This resonates strongly with the views and values of the IAWRT, which repeatedly stressed their status as private female citizens in pursuing their goals.

As the Cold War enclosed the world of women's organizations, Rupp suggests the post-war period, 'marked a turn, not an end or a beginning, for transnational organizing among women'.<sup>19</sup> The period not only saw the growth of the ICW and the IAW, in 1945 in Paris, a third large group was formed; the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF). According to gender scholar Francisca de Haan, the WIDF was backed by the Soviet Union and is often placed in, or was assumed to represent, women in the Eastern bloc, whereas the ICW and the IAW both saw themselves as politically neutral.<sup>20</sup> Feminist scholars have disputed this claim, suggesting the latter two organizations were not only uncritical of western imperialism and colonialism but they also shared or endorsed a Western worldview.<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, as De Haan argues, histories and identities of the three organizations were intertwined particularly in the early phase of the Cold War via the United Nations (UN).<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, Helen Laville has argued that American women's organizations, would turn, as the Cold War deepened, from 'international activists to Cold War warriors', using the international network of

women as a battleground for national interests, thus committing to the American Cold War agenda.<sup>23</sup>

Working for 'peace', was to become in itself a political position.<sup>24</sup> The Soviet 'peace offensive' in the late 1940s was supported by women's organizations such as the WIDF, who in 1951 accused US forces of atrocities and abuses in Korea, and called for the end of the war that had started in June 1950.<sup>25</sup> This Soviet 'peace offensive' was met with responses from several US women's organizations whose strategy it was to express and identify a position on peace, as articulated in the 'Memorial Day Statement' in 1951, which provided an American definition of peace that linked peace with democracy and freedom.<sup>26</sup> As will be discussed below, the IAWRT although not plainly a US organization, nevertheless echoed this type of rhetoric and position. Even while maintaining the gendered ideological mantle of working for peace, the increased emphasis on women's role as agents creating the conditions for peace pulled them increasingly into the polarized tensions of the East-West struggle.

### Radio between postwar and Cold War

Historiography of radio, particularly in Europe, has until recently shown a stark divide between postwar and Cold War historiography. Histories of domestic broadcasting generally, and women's radio specifically, in Western countries tend to be viewed through a postwar lens. They are concerned with the reconstruction of society and how broadcasting institutions and programmes reflect and represent those changes, not least in women's participation.<sup>27</sup> Histories of international broadcasting, by contrast, have been viewed through Cold War and/or postcolonial lenses.<sup>28</sup> As a 'domestic' medium, radio developed as a material structure and institution within several national contexts in the 1920s and 1930s and soon acquired its now-familiar form of point-to-mass distribution, with reception largely—though not entirely—taking place in the domestic sphere via speakers. By the early 1930s, most nations had developed some level of national broadcasting, whether public service with varying levels of state control, or commercial broadcasting, and usually some combination of both.<sup>29</sup> These twin developments saw both the ideological articulation of the national borders with the walls of the (family) home, as well as a profound reworking of public and private spheres, which highlighted the porous nature of both national and domestic 'home territories'.<sup>30</sup> As this domestic radio programming developed within this ideological framework, women became increasingly recognized and addressed as daytime audiences. Specific programmes, and even departments, for women developed that addressed women in varying overlapping roles from housewife to consumer and citizen. Such focus also highlights the specific significance of the radio as medium. In her recent study that revisits the act of listening in relation to publicness, Kate Lacey argues that paying more attention to the construction of listening as an *active* form of social engagement complicates the divide between public and private.<sup>31</sup> Such notions, in turn, also trouble the gendering of this divide into masculine and feminine, active and passive spheres.

In the 1930s, deliberate cross-border international broadcasting, as a tool of political propaganda and imperialist cohesion, also started, though with far less international sanction. During the Second World War, national and international broadcasting would come to play a significant role as part of propaganda efforts and this would continue after the

war.<sup>32</sup> As Linda Risso has suggested, '[r]adio played an important role in the ideological confrontation between East and West as well as within each bloc and [...] it was among the most pressing concerns of contemporary information agencies'.<sup>33</sup> For example, US international broadcasters such as the VOA and RFE were a result of an intensified US foreign policy (RFE was in fact CIA-funded), where the use of radio to reach beyond and across national borders was increasingly significant.

Particularly in Europe, where a large amount of the activity of the IAWRT's early years were focussed, the postwar and the Cold War aspects of broadcasting were in fact strongly entangled.<sup>34</sup> Such entangling was also part and parcel of the IAWRT's beginnings: its included members from national commercial and public service institutions, as well as international broadcasters with US-sponsored stations such as the VOA and RFE heavily represented. Other founding members, on the other hand, like Janet Quigley (1902–1987) from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Catherine King (1904–2000) of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), and Gabriele Strecker (1904–1983) of West Germany's Hessischer Rundfunk (HR), were heads of the women's departments at domestic broadcasters. Some, such as Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Kate Aitken and Radio Luxembourg's Christiane van der Bulk ('Madame Christiane' to listeners), were household names, at least among daytime listeners.<sup>35</sup> Taken together, the women of the IAWRT represented a regular listenership in the tens of millions by the mid-1950s. Such listenership did not necessarily add up to institutional influence: women's departments were often relatively small, and neither given prime-time broadcasting hours nor extensive resources.<sup>36</sup> Radio, however, popular with women listeners who often in their capacity as housewives constituted a large part of the daytime audience, was therefore an attractive route into the heart of the home, for public service, commercial and international propaganda stations alike.<sup>37</sup>

At the end of the Second World War, to the extent they ever fully were, listening publics were no longer conceived of necessarily as national publics. In the final phase of the War and the years immediately thereafter, the US, soon joined by Great Britain, was instrumental in establishing an agenda of the 'freedom of information'.<sup>38</sup> This was done, in large part, to establish the international legitimacy of international propaganda broadcasting from third countries, specifically stations like VOA during the ostensible peacetime after 1945.<sup>39</sup> This was also taken up at the same time as one of the key planks in UNESCO's agenda for mass communication. UNESCO's concern with the freedom of information was couched specifically during the early years of the Cold War as a *right to listen*, as much as it had been driven by a desire to justify building massive technical apparatus to *speak* over borders.<sup>40</sup> This raised broader questions of the gendering of listening when considering a specifically female audience and female broadcasters, and placed female listeners indeed at the centre of the postwar/Cold War ambiguity.

## Radio, 'peace' and international feminism

The IAWRT was founded during an increasingly tense period, which saw the continued escalation between East and West, and the outbreak of war in Korea. From the start the IAWRT worked on the assumption that, as women, sharing personal experience and knowledge, broadcasters and listeners could make a difference and by doing so promote

peace. This was an extension of van der Goot's more general idea (as she phrased it in 1950) that:

in her deepest heart every woman is given the knowledge that she can go through, beyond, over or under all divisions, distinctions and oppositions of politics, race or class. That there is nothing that cannot be understood "from woman to woman" and that the world is waiting for this.<sup>41</sup>

In other words, it was as much through their 'private' natures as their professional skills that the radio women felt they could be effective.

Within this intertwined world of international feminisms, a close look at the early years of the IAWRT shows them mostly aligned with Western organizations. The pioneering US journalist Betty Wason (1912–2001), then working for VOA, was also one of the earliest members and a vital contact for international recruitment, and after she stepped down, her successor Olga Autenrieth was active for many years. Perhaps more importantly, the organization's close contacts with the UN, and in particular UNESCO, had also come via the US in the person of the American broadcaster Dorothy Moore Lewis (1897–1978). Lewis played a vital organizational role in the early years, and shared the role of the organization's first president with Van der Goot. Lewis had become deeply involved in a range of broadcasting organizations and councils, including the American Women in Radio and Television (AWRT) in the US by the early 1940s, and took up a post as coordinator between US radio broadcasters to the UN radio service in 1948.<sup>42</sup> UN Radio began in 1946 and was the international broadcasting service of the UN. Lewis soon began looking to form an international pendant to the AWRT and joined forces with Van der Goot in the development of the IAWR. Her position at the UN and contacts with UNESCO in particular would prove significant. Within the group, Lewis acted as a representative of the UN as she did the US. She both proposed a number of women from within the UN to join the organization, but was also largely tasked with the recruitment of US women.<sup>43</sup> The report of the group's 1954 meeting noted that she had recruited 'scores' of women from the US.<sup>44</sup> She also brought the organization to the attention of important public figures such as Eleanor Roosevelt.<sup>45</sup> Interestingly, the early IAWR recruitment efforts were done through the 'United Nations News for Women Broadcasters', which was put out not by UN radio, but by the radio committee of the American women's organization Women United for the United Nations (WUUN).<sup>46</sup> Collaboration between American women's non-governmental groups came together in the creation of WUUN in 1946, which aim was to advocate for the UN and collective security.<sup>47</sup> Jennifer de Forest has shown that most of the PR work created by WUUN consisted of popular media and in particular the use of radio, for example, through a Radio Committee that produced a monthly programme for the UN Radio Division as well as a monthly script titled 'United Nations News for Women Broadcasters'.<sup>48</sup> One such script that Lewis had passed on to van der Goot was also circulated at the first IAWRT meeting in 1951 in Amsterdam.<sup>49</sup>

Many IAWRT members first came into the contact with the group via other international women's organizations. It is worth noting that many of them had had ties, even before the war, with the ICW, which was generally considered the most conservative of the international women's groups.<sup>50</sup> Other members had come in via contacts in other international organizations, such as the Associated Country Women of the World (which



had grown out of the ICW) and the International Federation of Business and Professional Women. Belgian journalist and broadcaster Betty Barzin (1897–1962), for example, later president of the IAWRT, was an active member of the National Council of Belgian Women, and president of the international mass media committee of the ICW.<sup>51</sup> Besides her strong international credentials generally, Barzin also had strong connections with the US, which is where, as an exiled Jewish journalist, she had spent the Second World War, giving talks and producing documents about the plight of occupied Belgium. She also gave regular broadcasts to Belgium.<sup>52</sup> Gabriele Strecker of West Germany's Hessischer Rundfunk also played a key role, particularly in shaping debates over the group's political stances. She was both active in a number of international women's organizations, and was heavily involved in the US cultural sphere of influence. A practicing medical doctor during the war, Strecker gave up her medical career in 1945 to join what was then the US-occupied Radio Frankfurt as the head of women's broadcasts, a position she held until 1962. She had attended the international Women's Assembly in South Kortright, NY in 1946, funded at the specific request of US General Clay, and another in Paris in September of 1947, and from that point forth was involved in a number of international women's organizations, as well as US-sponsored education efforts in Germany.<sup>53</sup> Laville suggests that Strecker was one of a group carefully selected to have maximum impact in swaying public opinion.<sup>54</sup> Indeed, her strong backing from US organizations was paralleled not accidentally by strong connections in Germany. Shortly after the IAWRT was founded, she also went into formal politics, holding a seat in the Hessian assembly as a member of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) from 1954 to 1962. Rarely, if not uniquely among IAWRT members, she also had strong backing of the head of her stations, and was instrumental in bringing her counterparts at other German stations into the group.<sup>55</sup> To countries in the Soviet Bloc, these US connections would have been a clear signal of the group's orientation in the early years of the Cold War.

As it happened, women from the countries of the Soviet Bloc were present within the IAWRT, but in the form of broadcasters such as RFE. As early as 1953, Alexandra Stypulkowska (1906–1982) from RFE's Polish service and Maria Tumlirova (1889–1973) of the Czechoslovakian service had attended the meetings. While the two women were committed to the same cause in working for RFE, their journeys getting there could not have been more different. Stypulkowska, who had practised law in the 1930s, was involved in the Polish resistance during the Second World War and was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 and sent to a concentration camp. After the war, she began a career in journalism which took her to London and a brief stint in the BBC's Polish Service before she moved to Munich, as editor for the women's programmes in the Polish Section of RFE.<sup>56</sup> Tumlirova, on the other hand, was an academic (specializing in agriculture) that had supported the political right as a parliamentary representative of the Czech Agrarian Party—a party that after the war was banned due to German collaboration. During the war her organization in the Czech women's movement, found itself compromising with—rather than resisting—the collaborationist government.<sup>57</sup> She left Czechoslovakia soon after the Czech coup in 1948 and eventually ended up in Munich where she began to broadcast for RFE.

Behind and beyond this rollcall of international organizations and broadcasters, van der Goot's correspondence reveals a different dimension to the story: members were often

recruited through personal contacts, informal networks and existing friendships. While some members came from founders writing 'cold' to numerous stations, most lasting contacts from the early years came from various kinds of personal recommendation. When the group gathered and corresponded, it was self-consciously as a circle of friends, even an international 'sisterhood' (to use a word that appears frequently in their correspondence). There were also combined material and institutional barriers which both reinforced the social commonalities among the group and also centred them strongly in North-western Europe during the early years of their existence. Financial resources for travel to IAWRT meetings were not forthcoming for many members, and most members funded their trips from their own pockets. Meetings held in Amsterdam, Paris and London that marked the organization's first decade were quite simply prohibitive for most members outside of Western Europe.<sup>58</sup>

Whatever their *de facto* make-up, the IAWRT soon gained a place and recognition among other international organizations, aided particularly by members' connections. IAWRT meetings often included observers or representation from other women's organizations. At the 1957 Paris Conference, held at UNESCO headquarters, one item on the agenda was developing closer collaboration with major international women's organizations, almost all of which were associated with the West.<sup>59</sup> At the same time, they were aware and concerned about their 'Western' domination in terms of membership. This point was raised at several occasions in the 1950s and 1960s. Already in 1952, Lewis and Van der Goot were in agreement 'that we must not have a phalanx of members from one area or another unless we have equal numbers from other parts of the world'.<sup>60</sup> As their correspondence a few years later made clear, this agreement meant particularly limiting the number of US members of the organization, until such time as members of other nations would be sufficient to have it not appear to be a US-dominated organization.<sup>61</sup> If anything, the American Lewis was more insistent on there not appearing to be too many Americans than van der Goot was, noting that the 'USA is accused of dominating too often and certainly we must keep a proper balance'.<sup>62</sup> Her experience working at the UN during the early years of the Cold War surely added to wanting to avoid obvious US dominance. Whether such concerns were for maintaining appearances, or out of genuine conviction, seems to have varied strongly from member to member, creating a genuinely ambiguous framing of the organization itself.

From other corners of the organization, doubts about how representative it was of the whole world were raised periodically in its initial decades, though never strongly acted upon. While not explicitly mentioned, the strong US links of the West German and RFE broadcasters would have rendered this nearly impossible. In preparing the London conference in 1956 Janet Quigley of the British Broadcasting Corporation reported back to Van der Goot that:

[m]y colleagues felt that the International Association of Radio Women could not be regarded as representative until it had succeeded in enrolling members from Iron Curtain countries, and asked if steps had been taken to approach the appropriate broadcasting authorities.<sup>63</sup>

Once more in the 1960s, the IAWRT's bulletin to its members emphasized the need to reach women both in developing countries and countries within the 'Eastern Bloc' to extend membership, thus 'making it more representative of the world as a whole'.<sup>64</sup> To

date there is little evidence to suggest these calls generated a response and action. However, in the 1970s, a changed international climate, and an active membership from 'neutral' members (such as Sweden) made it possible for the organization to develop more meaningful East-West relationships. Delegates from the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria attended an IAWRT meeting for the first time in 1972 in Stockholm, Sweden, and in 1978, Sofia in Bulgaria played host to the organization's bi-annual meeting.<sup>65</sup>

### Radio—programming the personal and regulating the emotional

Exploring the biographies of the women reveals different backgrounds and experiences that no doubt shaped their motivations and attitudes towards broadcasting. However, there were also commonalities. Most of the members were born around 1900 and had entered into some kind of professional life by the mid-1930s. Most, if not all, were university educated, usually in the humanities or social sciences. Many belonged indeed to the intellectual elite, with most capable of corresponding in multiple languages. They were also well-travelled, either as an accepted part of their elite status, or via the mobilizations of the war, or both. As noted, many of them were also not primarily broadcasters. It was these commonalities and personal affinities that were the primary factors in shaping the group's early activities. These experiences also carried over into their approaches to the medium. The radio-women's modes of communication and networking, which consciously elided the boundaries of the professional and the private, also had a strong counterpart in their approach to addressing audiences, particularly their outreach over borders.

Conflating broadcasters and their audiences was also inherent to the group itself. While it was formally a group of professional women working *in* radio, from the earliest years of the organization, it was also taken as read that they were also women who spoke *to* a female audience situated in domestic space. These twin missions of professional exchange and bringing women together internationally met in the conception of women's programmes as ideally taking the form of an informal conversation between women, often including social 'experts', in which the broadcaster was present in both roles at once. This dual sense of the members as public voices and representatives of the *private* world of women is a repeated theme throughout the organization's early years. As Dorothy Lewis wrote to the group in the early 1960s:

Never before in history have as many women, in all lands, been aware of their part in building the peace. The price of war is heaviest on mothers and wives [...] So, as purveyors of information and *public figures*, which we as broadcasters automatically become, we have the chance to further these causes and other causes with intelligence and power.<sup>66</sup>

At the same time, their own role as private citizens and friends was also a key part of their work together. A 1954 summary of discussion noted that, '[b]eing a voluntary group of individuals we do not represent our corporations, neither do we represent a specific principle, a viewpoint or what not. We are just ourselves'.<sup>67</sup> This basic understanding of women's programmes can be found individually in a number of the women's departments at the time, but as they discussed their work together, it was also clear that they envisaged themselves as exemplary mediators in an international conversation of women. A 1952 manuscript written by Catherine King of the Australian Broadcasting Company, reporting

on her visit to the first IAWRT meeting in Amsterdam, captures her attempting to construct this international feminine public, as she more or less invites her listeners to join the conversation:

There are immediate results of all this. One is that I feel more than ever that I want you to be participating in the ideas for this session. I can't help feeling that you are almost saintly in the kind of support you give me—there has actually been only one talk in the last year that you have taken me to task over, and that was actually an official matter and not a personal one. Not that I want you to be venturing your personal likes and dislikes here. What I do want you to far *more* is to *write* in with suggestions—I'd like suggestions for controversial questions—I've got some good ones that Mrs van der Goot gave me when I was in Holland, but I want to know the ones that *you* want discussed.<sup>68</sup>

Besides soliciting her listeners' involvement in suggesting topic, this passage is noteworthy in its shifting of registers, at once addressing the audiences more or less as friendly peers—who are 'almost saintly' in their kindness, and expressing the invitation to participate in terms of her own desires for the show. At the same time, she spends much of the quoted passage in the role of the expert mediator, setting parameters for that participation, including for the involvement of emotions (no 'personal likes and dislikes here').

In fact, when discussing the ideal form of address for female listeners, this form of individual emotional self-regulation was also held up as a boundary marking off the democratic West. At the second meeting of the radio women in 1952, Gabriele Strecker spoke on the subject of propaganda, based on a book she had recently published on the subject with US sponsorship.<sup>69</sup> In her talk, as in her book, she equated the National Socialist style of speaking with that of the Soviet bloc, arguing that both made an appeal above all to emotions. This she contrasted with the 'Western' style of speaking ('calm, clear straightforward announc[ing] slightly tinted with humor').<sup>70</sup> In this, she was echoing a broader discourse surrounding the radio in Germany that constructed the microphone as a device that would reveal the inner personality of the speaker, and thereby help to re-educate the German population that had been attacked by Nazi 'misuse' of the radio.<sup>71</sup> Beyond the microphone's intimate registers for speakers, however, a key advantage of the radio was also its location in private space. Strecker argued in her treatment of propaganda that both Nazis and Communists favoured listening in groups over individual listening 'where one can think' and be unobserved.<sup>72</sup> Lacey notes that such 'paradoxical characteristics of a passified yet active listening audience' were part of critical discourse surrounding the radio from its earliest phase, citing a 1932 article in the British guide *The Listener*, which Strecker's arguments echo strongly.<sup>73</sup> 'The programme reaches the listener in the quiet of his [sic] own home: he receives it as an individual, protected from the emotions which are so easily aroused in mass audiences'.<sup>74</sup> In positing the isolated domestic sphere as the ideal listening situation in both East and West, Strecker's account of radio listening elides, and actually seems to replace, the sociability of the domestic sphere. Any form of communal or familial listening, common in advertising and conservative discourses surrounding the radio in the centre of the home, is here omitted. At the end of her treatise on propaganda, however, Strecker searches for lines of defence in the West (whose situation she equates with those of 'the Byzantines before the conquest of Constantinople'<sup>75</sup>) and ultimately returns, to the character of 'the religious person, the person of faith' as having the character to withstand the invasion, and be the 'defender of child, house and home'.<sup>76</sup> Again, however, the emphasis is not so strongly on the

role of *religion*, that is, part of a common system of belief, but rather on individual *faith*. Such an emphasis on the importance of cultivating the listener, and particularly the female listener, as private individual also casts the radio women's own self-perception as individuals free of their institutions in new light.

The IAWRT's self-understanding as first and foremost a group of private individuals—if ones who all happened to have specialized expertise in broadcasting—gave them a further affinity with the efforts of their members involved in Cold War international broadcasting, namely the VOA and RFE. A key aspect of the US State Department's so-called 'campaign for truth' involved engaging 'ordinary' Americans in writing letters to tell true stories about the USA. As the VOA's Olga Autenrieth stressed in a talk to a New York women's club, which she had sent to Van der Goot as an example of their work: '[i]t is people talking to people—it is your voice, yours and mine—even though it is officially the voice of our government'.<sup>77</sup> A key part of this campaign involved trying to create personal views of life in the US, in which 'ordinary' Americans would tell stories of everyday life on a personal basis to connect with people abroad. This inter-personal style was seen as a key aspect in countering Soviet propaganda.<sup>78</sup>

After the early meetings, which tended to focus more on exchanging ideas, as the organization developed, more attention was actually paid to attempting to exchange programmes, if possible. As ever, the flagship versions of these programmes were to be individual talks by professional women broadcasters speaking from personal experience. As a report from 1957 stressed, 'there was general agreement on the importance of including personal broadcast talks by women in different countries, describing their way of life'. They added that:

delegates felt that personal interpretation was the best way of achieving world understanding and interest in international affairs. Organised campaigns met with a general lack of interest and it was only through personal description by those concerned that international events could be brought home to the ordinary listener.<sup>79</sup>

The role of these conceptions in work of RFE broadcasters, Tumlirova and Stypolkowska, was particularly highlighted at a meeting in 1955. Despite their different experiences during the Second World War, they both stressed that their work was all about reminding their 'captive' audiences to bide their time rather than expect armed liberation. Here, too, the discussion that emerged was less about specific topics, but drifted rather into the degree of emotional regulation and engagement that should be contained within the programmes. Echoing the 1952 discussion cited above, Tumlirova argued that 'Communism wants the masses, we appeal to the sentiments of the single person'.<sup>80</sup>

A lengthy extract of IAWRT discussions shows the unsettled discourses in which on the one hand, the women try to make a distinction between Eastern and Western broadcasting and the paradoxical positions of emotions:

We [Tumlirova and Stypulkowska] give much practical information, especially for country men and women. Most of our talks are personified. We have a series by an imaginary wife of a trainconductor [sic] who hears a lot from her husband, one of the few with external contacts etc.

Mme. Stypulskowska had provided us with the translation of a talk she gave on Mother's Day. In Poland this used to be quite a special occasion, but it has now been nearly obliterated by

the regime. In four little (authentic) stories she depicted the anxieties and dangers of mothers, wrestling with the rigours of the times.

[British broadcaster] Mary Ferguson, whom we may call an expert in human emotions, asked whether a similar talk would not have the effect of overwhelming the audience. Mary's experience in Great Britain was that so much sentiments did not console or fortify but had the opposite effect.

Gabrielle Strecker remarked that Mary was thinking of British broadcasts to normal audiences under normal circumstances. [...] One thing is certain: in prolonged extreme conditions understatement, so dear to the British heart, hold no water. What is needed is *Facts*. If Mme. Stypulkowska is sure of her facts, her broadcast is good.<sup>81</sup>

The general self-conception of women broadcasters as exemplary individuals of their national communities, speaking to an international community of women seemed especially suited to this effort. Stypulkowska called on the radio women, in particular van der Goot, to write segments for her listeners. She later formalized this call and asked in the IAWRT bulletin in 1963 for members to supply her with 'details of everyday-life in democratic countries' for her show called *Your Woman Friend in the West*.<sup>82</sup>

Already in 1957, van der Goot responded with a short address to Polish women at Easter. Rather than affirm Polish women's place in the 'East' she offered greetings to 'your country in the North' (NB: Warsaw and Amsterdam are on the same latitude) from a Netherlands in bloom with tulips and daffodils. In her opening address, she offered a view of a world community of women, which she then located specifically within the Christian community:

As sure as the sun rises we will meet again. For women of all nations must meet at last and be free to weep and laugh and work together. As you will know yourself, it is also up to us as women to find the new ways of helpfulness, because we want to know and love one another.

From these more general sentiments, van der Goot offered a brief excursion into customs in the Netherlands, also looking at the role of the radio:

"In Jesus there is neither man nor woman." So at Easter here nothing very special is said or done or broadcast for women. Maybe a few hints have been given for the decoration of the traditional eggs or how to put [sic] a pleasant Easter table.

Indeed, as she continued, though pointing to a broader Christian community: 'It is in the family that our woman's work begins. We will never forsake it'.<sup>83</sup> And with this, she reiterates the notion that all women will eventually 'meet again' in a space that, while defined by loving understanding, was *located* within a Christian West. In this, too, van der Goot's broadcast was moving within the emerging discourse surrounding the Cold War highlighted by Monique Scheer in which Christianity was once more reworked as the bulwark against the 'Godless' powers of the East.<sup>84</sup>

## Conclusion

Looking at the early years of the IAWRT, 'Your woman friend in the West' actually appears an apt description, not just for a single programme on RFE in which some members participated, but for the multiple ways the IAWRT saw themselves and constructed their presence among international organizations in the early Cold War. Their

self-projection simultaneously as a group of private female citizens meeting on a friendly and peaceful basis, a professional organization dedicated to exchanging programmes and practice, and a set of privileged ambassadors to women radio listeners, worked through Cold War discourse and practice to position them relatively firmly within the West, not to mention the global North. While explicitly aiming to open up conversations between women of all walks of life and countries, a conservative ideological conception of the radio as a private, domestic medium also formed an integral part of these interactions.

The organization's dual private/professional projection, as well as their implicit connections with international bourgeois women's movements, were key to placing the organization on the world stage, and were also a vital aspect of their initial networking efforts and internal cohesion. The universalist claims to postwar peace work were explicitly based on enabling conversations between private women across social and cultural divides. This claim provided the IAWRT both a foot in the door in many international arenas, but also caused them to be dismissed in certain forums. When placed in the emerging Cold War context, such conceptions of women's agency as a public projection of the private sphere also placed them to a certain extent on the frontline of an emerging propaganda conflict.

Accounts of international organizations and in particular diplomats, have been greatly enriched by analysis attentive to the ways these roles are gendered.<sup>85</sup> In particular, as Emily Rosenberg has long since highlighted, such a perspective has particularly troubled the strict divide between 'public' and 'private' work in these professions.<sup>86</sup> At the same time, closer attention to the transnational activities of professional organizations, such as technicians and engineers, has opened up our understanding of the realm of diplomacy and internationalism to fields beyond political organizations, as well as provided insights into how professional expertise has shaped international practice.<sup>87</sup> By placing the IAWRT into both of these frames brings shared gendered understandings of both the profession and cultures of production around the radio. This in turn offers us new ways of thinking about the way media and ideas surrounded them began to shape the cultures of the emerging Cold War. By exploring the IAWRT in their quest to cross borders and find common ground, they offer a valuable lens on to the international landscape in which they existed, and also highlights how the study of radio works best in dialogue with other fields.<sup>88</sup>

## Notes

1. 'Meeting of the International Association of Women in Radio, Resumé of Introductory Statement recorded by Tor Gjesdal, Director of Mass Communications, UNESCO' 1957, MCR/2293 p. 3. Box 18, Folder "Radio Women" 1954–1964' [Author's emphasis], collectie Internationaal Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging (IAV) in Atria, kennisinstituut voor emancipatie en vrouwengeschiedenis, Amsterdam (hereafter Archief PvdG, Atria).
2. Suzanne Lommers, *Europe—On Air: Interwar Projects for Radio Broadcasting* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012).
3. See 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*, eds. Alexander Badenoch, Andreas Fickers, and Christian Henrich-Franke (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2013), 29–50.
4. Karen Offen, *European Feminisms 1700–1950. A Political History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).

5. See Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, eds., *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010).
6. For a full discussion of the birth and early development of the IAWRT 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*, eds. Jamie Medhurst, Sian Nicholas, and Tom O'Malley (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing), 189–219.
7. For a full discussion of her radio work, see Marjolein Zaal, 'Van Vrouw Tot Vrouw: De Vrouwenrubrieken van de AVRO Onder Leiding van Dr. W.H. Posthumus-van Der Goot, 1936–1952' (Master's [Doctoraal] thesis, Leiden University, 2002). A full biography of Van der Goot is currently being written as a PhD thesis by Antia Wiersma, director of the Royal Netherlands Historical Society.
8. This conflation of women broadcasters and audiences was explicit at the founding of the IAWRT. See IAWRT Box 19 Radio Women meeting 1–4 November 1952 [undated] 'Amsterdam 27–29 October 1951, Summary of Discussions II', Archief PvdG., Atria.
9. N.d. (1957), 'Report of the eighth annual conference of the IAWR', Mabel Puw-Davies, Box 18, Folder 'PvdG Corr. Folder "Radio Women" 1954–1964', Archief PvdG., Atria.
10. Ibid.
11. See Francesca de Haan and Annette Mevis, 'The IAV/IIAM's Archival Policy and Practice—Seventy Years of Collecting, Receiving, and Refusing Women's Archives (1935–2005)', in *Traveling Heritages: New Perspectives on Collecting, Preserving and Sharing Women's History*, ed. Saskia Wieringa (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 23–46.
12. See Michele Hilmes 'Transnational Radio in the Global Age', *Journal of Radio Studies* 11, no. 1 (2004): iii–vi; Michele Hilmes, *Network Nations: A Transnational History of British and American Broadcasting* (London: Routledge, 2012); Andreas Fickers and Catherine Johnson, eds., *Transnational Television History: A Comparative Approach* (London: Routledge 2012). Specifically with regard to the Cold War, see Alexander Badenoch, Andreas Fickers, and Christian Henrich-Franke, eds., *Airy Curtains in the European Ether* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2013).
13. Yuliya Komska, 'Ruins of the Cold War', *New German Critique* 38, no. 1 (2011): 158.
14. Ibid.
15. For a discussion of women's organizations and the importance of national identity, see for example Helen Laville, *Cold War Women: The International Activities of American Women's Organisations* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2002). For a critique of Western Cold War historiography of inter/transnational women's organizations see Francisca De Haan, 'Continuing Cold War Paradigms in Western Historiography of Transnational Women's Organisations: the case of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF)', *Women's History Review* 19, no. 4 (2010): 547–73.
16. Offen, *European Feminisms*.
17. Leila J. Rupp, 'Transnational Women's Movements', *European History Online (EGO)*, Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz, (2011), <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/ruppl-2011-en> URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-2011051243.
18. Ibid., 22.
19. Ibid., 25.
20. De Haan, 'Continuing Cold War Paradigms'.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Laville, *Cold War Women*, 96.
24. See Gunter Wernicke, 'The Communist-Led World Peace Council and the Western Peace Movements: The Fetters of Bipolarity and Some Attempts to Break them in the Fifties and Early Sixties', *Peace & Change* 23, no. 3 (1992): 265–312.
25. Helen Laville, 'The Memorial Day Statement: Women's Organizations in the "Peace Offensive"', *Intelligence and National Security* 18, no. 2 (2003): 195.
26. Ibid.



27. See Michelle Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922–1952* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); Maggie Andrews, *Domesticating the Airwaves: Broadcasting, Domesticity and Femininity* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012); Kristin Skoog, 'Neither Worker nor Housewife but Citizen: BBC's *Woman's Hour* 1946–1955', *Women's History Review* 26, no. 6 (2017): 953–74.
28. See Michael Nelson, *War of the Black Heavens: The Battles of Western Broadcasting in the Cold War* (London: Brassey's 2003); A. Ross Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: The CIA Years and Beyond* (Washington, DC; Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010); Marie Gillespie and Alban Webb, eds., *Diasporas and Diplomacy: Cosmopolitan Contact Zones at the BBC World Service (1932–2012)* (London: Routledge, 2013). Alban Webb, *London Calling: Britain, the BBC World Service and the Cold War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).
29. See George Arthur Codding, *Broadcasting Without Barriers* (Paris: UNESCO, 1959); Burton Paulu, *Radio and Television Broadcasting on the European Continent* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967); Cees J. Hamelink, *The Politics of World Communication* (London: Sage, 1994). For a concise account of the entangled histories of domestic and international broadcasting in the Cold War, see Alexander Badenoch, 'Behind the Ironic Curtain: Surfing the Western Airwaves Between "Pirate" Radio and Public Service', *SPIEL Neue Folge* 2, no. 1 (2016): 65–90.
30. See David Morley, *Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity* (London: Routledge, 2000): 105 ff.
31. Kate Lacey, *Listening Publics: The Politics and Experience of Listening in the Media Age* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013).
32. For an example of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), see Sian Nicholas, *The Echo of War. Home Front Propaganda and the Wartime BBC, 1939–45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Alban Webb, 'Auntie Goes to War Again', *Media History* 12, no. 2 (2006): 117–32; Linda Risso, 'Radio Wars: Broadcasting in the Cold War', *Cold War History* 13, no. 2 (2013): 145–52.
33. Risso, 'Radio Wars', 145.
34. See Badenoch, 'Behind the Ironic Curtain'.
35. Kate Aitken was estimated to regularly reach 32% of all Canadian radio listeners—1.5 million at the time of her retirement in 1957. Though working for the public service CBC, advertising was a core part of her show, and even her stationery reminded that she was sponsored by Good Luck Margarine. See (and hear) CBC Archives, 'Kate Aitken: Mrs A. in Paris' <https://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/kate-aitken-mrs-a-in-paris>; Van der Bulk was moderator of Radio Luxembourg's long-running women's programme, 'Heure des dames et des demoiselles'. When the programme re-started in 1946 after a wartime hiatus, it already had a listenership of 600,000. Anna Jehle, *Welle der Konsumgesellschaft: Radio Luxembourg in Frankreich 1945–1975* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2018), 225ff.
36. For Germany, see Alexander Badenoch, 'Time Consuming: Women's Radio and the Reconstruction of National Narratives in Western Germany 1945–1948', *German History* 25, no. 1 (2007): 52–3; for Britain, see Kristin Skoog, 'Striving for Editorial Autonomy and Internal Recognition: BBC's *Woman's Hour*', in *Women and the Media: Feminism and Femininity in Britain, 1900 to the Present*, eds. Maggie Andrews and Sallie McNamara (New York; Abingdon: Routledge, 2014): 99–112.
37. See note 34 above, also Hilmes, *Radio Voices*, 151–182.
38. See, for a British example, Webb, 'Auntie Goes to War'.
39. Spohrer, 'Threat or Beacon?'.
40. *Ibid.*, 49.
41. Zaal, 'Van Vrouw Tot Vrouw', 45.
42. Details from her biographical sketch in: *IAWRT Bulletin*, 1 May 1963, p. 13.
43. In her message to the Amsterdam meeting of the organization in 27–29 October 1952, she gives a list of women from the United Nations who had written in to the US. Few, if any, actually became active members of the organization. In the letter to which the message is

- appended, she speaks first of her recruitment efforts in the US, but also how she is mobilizing UN contacts in other places, particularly the Anglophone world and Latin America. Lewis to Van der Goot, 24 October 1952, Atria, Archief PvdG, Box 25, Folder 'PvdG Corr. IAWR 1951–1953'.
44. No author given, but almost certainly Lilian van der Goot, *Report Brussels Meeting June 1954* (Amsterdam: International Association of Radio Women, 1954), 3. Copy Atria, WER 72 1954 – B.
  45. Lewis had interviewed and been interviewed by, Roosevelt in the late 1940s. She was also recommended (unsuccessfully) by Roosevelt for a position on the US Federal Communications Commission in 1955. Leonard C. Schlup and Donald W. Whisenhunt, eds., *It Seems to Me: Selected Letters of Eleanor Roosevelt* (University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 194–5.
  46. Jennifer De Forest, 'Women United for the United Nations: US Women Advocating for Collective Security in the Cold War', *Women's History Review* 14, no. 1 (2005): 65–6. These activities are mentioned in 'Message from Mrs. Dorothy Lewis, coordinator, American Broadcasts, United Nations Radio, To the meeting of the International Radio Women at Amsterdam on 27-28-29 October 1951'. Atria, Archief PvdG, Box 25, Folder 'PvdG Corr. IAWR 1951–1953'.
  47. De Forest, *Women United for the United Nations*.
  48. *Ibid.*, 65.
  49. Letter from Lewis to van der Goot 25 October 1952. Atria, Archief PvdG Box 25 'PvdG Corr. IAWR 1951–1953'.
  50. Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997), 15–21.
  51. Gabriele Strecker, *Überleben ist nicht genug: Frauen 1945–1950* (Freiburg: Herder, 1981), 68.
  52. 'Marcousé, Betty (1897–1962)', in *Dictionnaire Des Femmes Belges: XIXe et XXe Siècles*, eds. Éliane Gubin et al. (Brussels: Editions Racine, 2006), 388–9; Valérie Piette, 'Betty Barzin (Née Marcousé)', in *Le Dictionnaire Universel Des Creatrices*, eds. Béatrice Didier, Antoinette Fouque, and Mireille Calle-Gruber (Paris: Éditions des femmes, 2015).
  53. Strecker, *Überleben*.
  54. Laville, *Cold War Women*, 87
  55. Strecker to Van der Goot 13 December 1951, supplied the names of all of her West German counterparts; Strecker to Van der Goot, 1 August 1952 further recommends Dr Friedel Hömke of the (then) North-West German Radio in Cologne (formerly the British-occupied station). Atria, Archief PvdG, Box 25, Folder 'PvdG Corr. IAWR 1951–1953'.
  56. 'Who's Who,' *IAWRT Bulletin*, 2 November 1963, 3–4.
  57. Melissa Feinberg, *Elusive Equality: Gender, Citizenship, and the Limits of Democracy in Czechoslovakia, 1918–1950* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014): 169–81.
  58. No date, 'Asian- bloc of IARW is [?] wanted' Chiyo Takeyama and Chiyo Matsumoto, Producers of NCB (Nippon Cultural Broadcasting Company), Tokyo to Van der Goot. Atria, Archief PvdG Box 18, Folder 'Radio Women' 1954–1964.
  59. No date (1957) 'Report of the eighth annual conference of the IAWR' Mabel Puw-Davies, Atria, Archief PvdG, Box 18, Folder 'PvdG Corr. Folder "Radio Women" 1954–1964'.
  60. Lewis to Van der Goot, 1 February 1952 (United Nations file DP 16/52/02(4)) Atria Archief PvdG, Box 25, Folder 'PvdG Corr. IAWR 1951–1953'.
  61. Lewis wrote to Van der Goot 19 December stating explicitly 'that we have deliberately held down the membership in the USA so that we would not have a misbalance'. Atria Archief PvdG, Box 18 Radio women 1954–1964.
  62. Lewis to Van der Goot, 1 February 1956, Atria Archief PvdG, Box 18 Radio women 1954–1964.
  63. 'BBC Written Archives Centre: R49 983 Staff Policy, Quigley to Van der Goot, 04/HT/JQ', 16 May 1956.
  64. 'Business Meeting', *IAWRT Bulletin*, 3 November 1964, 23.
  65. Christina Ruhnbro, *Voices/Pictures: The Story of International Association of Women in Radio and Television* (Stockholm: IAWRT, 2008), 30–1.

66. IAWRT Conference Paris Autumn 1962, p. 3. Atria, collection IAV, N2608, 25478. [Emphasis original].
67. International Association of Radio Women, Report Brussels Meeting, June 1954, p. 7. Atria, WER 72 1954.
68. Untitled manuscript appended to the letter Catherine King to Van der Goot, 1 February 1952, Atria, Archief PvdG, Box 25, Folder 'PvdG Corr. IAWR 1951–1953', p. 4. Emphasis in original.
69. Gabriele Strecker, *Propaganda* (Wiesbaden: Büro für Frauenfragen, 1952). See also Laville, *Cold War Women*, 86.
70. Third meeting 1–4 November 1952, 'Summary of discussions' p. 6. Atria, Archief PvdG, Box 19, Folder 'PvdG 1951: International Association of Radio Women 3rd meeting 1–4 November 1952'.
71. Alexander Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins: West German Radio across the 1945 Divide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008).
72. Strecker, *Propaganda*, 4.
73. Lacey, *Listening Publics*, 115–16.
74. *Ibid.*, 116.
75. Strecker, *Propaganda*, 36.
76. *Ibid.*, 37.
77. Olga Autenrieth, 'The Voice of America' Talk prepared for the Larchmont Women's Club, 7 November 1952, 3. Copy sent to van der Goot. Atria, Archief PvdG, Box 25, Folder 'PvdG Corr. IAWR 1951–1953'.
78. Gary D. Rawnsley, 'The Campaign of Truth: a Populist Propaganda', in *Cold-war Propaganda in the 1950s*, ed. Gary D. Rawnsley (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999), 37–9.
79. 'To members of IARW from Mabel Puw Davies, Secretary-treasurer', 'Report [...] March 1957' [of 7th conference in London 1956], Atria, Archief PvdG, Box 18 Radio women 1954–1964.
80. International Association of Radio Women, Report, Sixth Annual Meeting UNESCO House Paris, October 1955, pp. 12–13.
81. *Ibid.*, p.13. [Emphasis original].
82. 'Who's Who', 4–5.
83. Stypulkowska to Van der Goot 14 March 1957 reminds her of a request made for programmes about Easter made at the 1956 London meeting. Aletta, Archief PvdG Box 18, Folder 'Radio Women' 1954–1964. The response was a short 2-paragraph manuscript. 'As sure as the sun rises' (1 page manuscript) Lilian P. van der Goot, Amsterdam, Easter 1957. Aletta, Archief PvdG Box 18, Folder 'Radio Women' 1954–1964. It is not clear when or whether this was recorded and/or broadcast.
84. Monique Scheer, 'Catholic Piety in the Early Cold War Years, or How the Virgin Mary Protected the West from Communism', in *Cold War Cultures. Perspectives on Eastern and Western European Societies*, eds. Annette Vowinckel, Marcus M. Payk, and Thomas Lindenberger (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012), 129–51.
85. Emily S. Rosenberg, "'Foreign Affairs" after World War II: Connecting Sexual and International Politics', *Diplomatic History* 18, no. 1 (1994): 59; Laura McEnaney, 'Personal, Political, and International: A Reflection on Diplomacy and Methodology', *Diplomatic History* 36, no. 4 (2012): 769–72.
86. Rosenberg, 'Foreign Affairs', 60.
87. Johan Schot and Wolfram Kaiser, *Writing the Rules for Europe: Experts, Cartels and International Organizations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014); Johan Schot and Vincent Lagendijk, 'Technocratic Internationalism in the Interwar Years: Building Europe on Motorways and Electricity Networks', *Journal of Modern European History* 6, no. 2 (2008): 196–217.
88. Kate Lacey, 'Up in the Air? The Matter of Radio Studies', *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 16, no. 2 (2018): 109–26.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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