Contemporary Gendered Radio: Re-mapping, re-sounding and re-negotiating the borders of research and praxis.

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Let me start with the inequalities and injustices I experienced about being a woman in radio. As an undergraduate student in the early 1980's I came across various methods of gatekeeping in radio stations to prevent me getting access to equipment and broadcasting opportunities. I was told by a station manager that as I was a woman, and I might have long fingernails and long hair, I might get those physical attributes trapped in the whirling tape spools of the editing machines that we then used to edit. At the time I had both short hair short and fingernails... I was also told that audience research had proven (it hadn't) that audiences didn't want to hear women's voices on air: they were too high, too shrill. I then proceeded to work to change that for myself and others. At the age of twenty I also discovered two things: feminism and community radio. A powerful combination! So, it was outside the 'mainstream' public and commercial radio industries that I was able to assert my agency (I didn't know that term back then...). Twelve years after I graduated, I was one of 200 women who set up Fem FM, the first women's radio station in the UK (Mitchell 2000). That experience of women being able to work together successfully to operate all aspects of a community radio station and to air their varied voices as broadcasters has informed my practice and academic research ever since.

The practice of silencing women's public voice in different ways of course predates broadcasting: classical historian Mary Beard studied the silencing of women in Greek and Roman antiquity through the first literary representations (by Homer) where women were effectively told to "shut up" : she says "the tone and timbre of women's speech always threatened to subvert not just the voice of the male orator, but also the social and political stability, the health, of the whole state" (Beard 2014. n.p.). Radio has been intimately entwined with the lives of women since its invention a century ago. Research about women's radio production and praxis has been instrumental in demonstrating a reconfiguration of modern media spaces of identity and agency. Women have been active both historically and contemporaneously as programme makers and audiences in different programme genres and audio platforms however inequalities remain, and research is still uncovering women's historical and contemporary contribution to broadcasting. Paolo Freire's writing about the culture of silence where people are so oppressed that they do not talk about that oppression (1977) has informed my and others' research about the absence and silencing of women's voices on radio (Mitchell 2016; Rimmer 2021). This chapter will review some of the continuities and changes in research and practice over the last few decades to consider the relationship between women and radio in terms of the nature of the gendered radio space. It will discuss the continuing importance of revealing historical accounts of radio made by women; the frustrating persistence of inequalities and gendered roles in different parts of the radio industry and the opportunities and agency afforded by newer forms of sound production and distribution such as community broadcasting and podcasting. It will foreground recent participatory and practice-oriented research projects that explore women's radio voice agency in new audio spaces for programme makers, audio curators and podcasters, including oppositional spaces that encompass the production of counter narratives.

### Archives, history-amplifying voices and feminist radio

In the past thirty years radio studies has encompassed historical research about female radio pioneers, radio stations and practices and has provided a critique of the gender and racial blindness of radio history writing (Hilmes 1997). Online archives function to repurpose women's radio work – enabling new audiences to experience them for entertainment, research and educational purposes. Christina Ehrick (2015) suggests also that we employ 'sonic thinking' when we are dealing with written sources. Whilst most historical accounts of women in radio have been in written form, feminist radio historians have now both written and 'sounded' women's voices back into the history of radio in many ways and in different sectors including addressing intersectional inequalities (Mitchell 2015). Haydari et al have outlined how sound and sonic thinking can be 'feminist pedagogical tools for self-reflexivity, reimagining, and communal awareness' (2023, p.431).

In the 1950's Olive Shapley was the first women to bring working class women's voices to the radio on the BBC and her pioneering work as an interviewer shaped the way interviewers still approach interviewing today. As is the case with many women who worked in radio, it was Shapley's autobiography (1996) that first brought her work to public attention and I included it in my first edited volume bringing work about women and radio together for the first time (Mitchell 2000). Two decades later, Shapley's and other female pioneers' work and influence is now well documented and is woven into official BBC histories including archival work celebrating the recent BBC Centenary (Murphy 2022).

Researchers Yvette Rowe from the University of the West Indies and PhD student Anthony Frampton published an article in 2022 about Una Marson, the pioneering broadcaster from Jamaica who was the first Black woman to work for the BBC. She produced and presented its Overseas Service programs *Calling the West Indies* and *Caribbean Voices*. Their study considers how race, ethnicity, gender, and colonialism contributed to her obscurity and provides new insights into the 'burial' of her broadcasting legacy. They say, "Recently, scholars have revisited her work, but they have not acknowledged her legacy in a way that befits her accomplishments in radio. We find this observation revealing and have traced concrete actions by the BBC to erase her contributions to transborder radio broadcasting" (2022, p. 61). Rowe and Frampton's research was amplified through its contribution to a compelling BBC drama documentary television programme about the broadcaster (BBC 2022), an example of how audiences can be engaged in new ways in archival materials.

New ways of doing history research with women are emerging, that move away from individual researchers immersing themselves in archives to more collaborative methods that elicit testimonies from participants who have lived experience of working in radio in different roles. In Haydari's et al.'s (2024)project 'Women radio broadcasters in the history of Turkey',older female broadcasters in Turkey were asked to reflect back on their working lives, including on the challenges they faced in the workplace. Alongside more traditional archival artefacts and written accounts this additional methodological layer of memory work has produced discursive oral histories which show that a collaborative approach to oral history research can reveal new and complex interpretations of women's media histories..

Another example of 'sounding' women's radio history is the Fem FM archive. Fem FM was the first women's station in the UK in 1992 (Mitchell 2000). It opened an archive in 2014 with a reunion of the original broadcasting team who met with young women in community radio of the time. Another iteration of the archive's engagement with the public took place on International Women's Day 2022 when a series about women's radio power was broadcast by 22 community stations across the UK including interviews with present day role models.

I have talked about feminist radio stations as 'short term bursts of inspiration' (Mitchell 2009, p.342). In a similar way, archived feminist media has impact beyond short term stations' lifetimes as case studies to inspire. Alexandra Juhasz identified archived feminist media as having impact way beyond their lifetimes:

"...each of these risky acts makes not just media that lasts for future study (and sometimes consolidation as a movement) but small, beautiful, fleeting instants of potential "revolutionary-instants"—that we recognize and celebrate mostly in their doing and living, and of course, mourn in their immediate passing (only then, sometimes, to also reify in their later study and consolidation)." (Juhasz 2014, p.8)

#### **Radio Station Cultures and employment practices**

There is now a body of research from academic and industry sources about the radio industry in different continents that demonstrates enduring inequalities and limiting gendered roles across the radio industry since its beginnings (Millington 2000; Sound Women 2016; European Institute for Gender Equality 2014; Skoog 2023). Since the late 2000's we have seen development and implementation of processes of gender training and awareness-raising about gender equality issues in different sectors of the radio industry. The campaign group Sound Women was founded by women across the industry in 2011 after a prestigious awards ceremony had no female winners or judges. Powerful data from their 2011 survey revealed that in BBC local radio 82% of shows were presented by a solo man and men made up 90% of studio operators; this shocked the industry into some change so that for instance within 5 years most BBC local breakfast shows and peak time shows at national level were no longer the preserve of solo male presenters. Whilst women are no longer invisible on the radio as presenters, industry women have revealed numerous examples of a gender pay gap for the same presentation roles (for instance BBC 2020). In recent years several employment tribunals relating to the BBC indicate broadcasters will not make changes unless they are legally required to or shamed into accountability.

Research about women's sonic representation is not limited to radio presenter and contributor voices. The past decade has also seen more revelations of historical and contemporary toxic cultures of misogyny by presenters, and defensive denial by managers of persistent problems for women and other minoritized people in the radio industry. Music radio has also contributed to the symbolic annihilation of women (Tuchman 2000) through lack of female singers and tracks. In 2020 81% of songs in the Top 100 Radio Airplay chart featured men (UK Music 2020). In the 12 months to August 2022, female artists accounted for 10% of the top 20 tracks by British artists played on the nation's top radio stations. For BBC Radio 1, one of the UK's largest stations, female artists were represented in just 15% of the station's top 20 most played tracks (Women in Equalities Committee 2024).

In their evidence to the British parliament the pressure group Women in CTRLdescribed the experience of women working in radio as

"being harder for women to progress their careers. Reasons given included 'management being overwhelmingly male and white', 'casual sexism', 'it feeling like a boys' club', and 'men being promoted over women'. 61% experienced sexist comments about their appearance, comments which would often be passed off as 'jokes'." (Women and Equalities Committee 2024, p.11)

The BBC and the larger commercial radio groups have produced a range of diversity schemes and there has been a growth in related management roles. The Bauer Media Group, a Germany based radio network operator highly active in the UK, states on its website that it

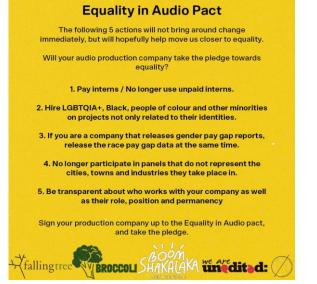
"strives towards creating a culture at work in which diversity is appreciated and supported, where opportunities are open to all, where people treat each other with respect and get the same in return. We want our culture to support the highest standards of behaviour everywhere we operate including commitment to external BITC's Race at Work Charter and the Social Mobility Pledge." (Bauer 2023)

Since the formation of the international social movement Black Lives Matters in 2020 most mainstream broadcasting organizations and industry bodies support institutional ways of ensuring intersectional equality. In 2020, Black women in independent production launched the Equality in Audio Pact (EIAP, see Fig 1). 400 Radio companies, including the BBC, signed this pledge towards more equity, diversity and representation. A review in 2023 said that there was lack of progress and the EIAP team asked production companies to make equality a reality and no longer just a goal. Imriel Morgan of the Content is Queen and the UK Audio Network concluded:

"In my line of work, equity means that creators have fair and equal access to opportunities and resources that help them overcome the unique challenges that prevent them from bringing their ideas to life. For me, that means a massive reduction in gatekeeping, top-down financial models for creators and a focus on super-serving micro and niche audiences currently starved of representation." (Morgan 2023,n.p.)

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# Fig 1 Equality in Audio Pact, 2020

### New Directions for research with (older) women

Recent impactful research projects relate to cultures of listening largely with a focus on female audiences. In her project 'Listening while doing things: Radio, gender and older women" (2020) Sanna Inthorn carried out research in UK and Germany and found that radio structures older listeners' everyday lives and is a daily routine for many. Key life stages (including retirement) may impact on radio-listening habits including 'bundling' listening to the radio with other activities of daily life. Amber Hamill (2022) has developed a grounded theory of radio listening as company among older listeners developed from her research in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. She also explored the importance of radio at landmark life stages or moments: for instance, retirement, bereavement and living alone. Her research took place during the Covid pandemic when radio increased its importance for connecting and informing people, demonstrating that radio "supports listeners' social wellbeing and is a crucial part of the media landscape" (Hammill 2022, p. 194). Hammill also included the method of taking photos as a powerful accompaniment to her research findings: the poignant caption to a photograph that accompanied a recently widowed women stated "...the radio is right there, alongside her all night. She has adapted from sharing her nights with a person to sharing her nights with her radio. Her night radio sits on her pillow until she takes it with her to the shower in the morning" (Hammill 2022, p.194).

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## Research in and through radio production

As outlined earlier, historical and archival research approaches have revealed cultures in media organizations where there is still under-representation of minoritized and female voices, normalisation of sexual harassment, and gender-based workplace bullying. Research and practice approaches that involve participants in setting research agendas with action and media education at their core may help us to understand different kinds of *agency* in contemporary radio, audio and podcasting. Following Perotta's (2023) suggestion that contemporary research approaches should concentrate on gender issues in radio production, I'd like to offer some perspective from emerging research projects that uses ethnographic and participatory methodologies and that include research partnerships with (community) radio stations and groups of listeners/programme makers. Participatory Action Research (PAR) can be a powerful approach that bridges the gap between research and action and "might serve to reveal the power relations, systemic drivers of vulnerability, and opportunities for sustainable action for social change" (Harvey et al 2012, p.101). In PAR people who were the former 'objects of research' have increased agency to contribute to the research aims and outcomes and in so doing become community researchers. Annette Rimmer says

"(we) need to give attention to women's 'radio silence' as it reflects a deeper malady of their inaudible presence in society. The solution to this silence and invisibility requires an activism focused on both feminist historical analysis and the promotion of womanhood in the media today" (Rimmer 2021, p.3).

Over a number of years, Rimmer's project participants became a radio research group in a community radio station as part of her PhD project. Community programme making and broadcasting became a way of counteracting gender injustice, and she concluded that confidence building and making radio led to empowerment and activism:

"Radio is old media, and new technology and radio activism is at the crossroads where different disciplines, struggles and movements meet. It is an effective tool to develop and amplify women's

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distinct identities, draw them into technological fields, to chronicle their invisible histories and ultimately to reform media." (Rimmer 2021, p.113)

This idea of transformative radio training that incorporates research skill development and self actualisation has appeared in a number of previous community media training models developed by community radio station and academic partnerships, including those developed under successive EU funded digital skills and production programmes (Mitchell 2012). Günnel (2006) developed an holistic 'action oriented media pedagogy' approach which can be applied to different target groups, including women. Alongside developing technical skills and self-confidence, one important dimension of this model is for participants to have their consciousness raised (influenced by Paulo Freire's work) about their own agency and self-representation through media production so they can be self-actualized as producers. In my own work I found that this self-actualization transferred participants developing community researcher identities alongside their role as producers, presenters or community station volunteers. Mitchell and Baxter (2006) developed a framework of 'participatory praxis' that nurtured partnerships between adult education providers, radio stations and grassroots and special interest groups who would not normally participate in media. This research identified that long term sustainability of partnerships and projects contributed most to in the way that women got involved in community media and to grassroots change. These approaches to women's radio training, and training with other minoritized groups have changed the cultures of radio stations so that women operate with confidence and are able to take more positions of responsibility over time. Women only training, delivered by women has gained traction in community and mainstream media (including Sound Women courses, workshops and mentoring programmes) so that it is no longer seen as separate or unusual but more part of a raft of strategies for changing radio station culture to benefit particular groups.

#### Unlocking heritage, history and memory.

The model of PAR that I have been developing in recent years, inside, outside and alongside radio stations, is influenced by research and praxis in community development, feminist community media, memory studies and action-oriented media pedagogy. C-MAP (Culture Mapping through Media, Arts and Participation, Mitchell and Winter 2017) combines participatory mapping, community media and arts-based methods. Working in collaboration with community researchers drawn from the target area of the research, it has developed a new method for working with communities to investigate their existing place based cultural and media lives. Projects aim to explore and take action on grassroots cultural initiatives developed by participants through the production of interviews, oral history recordings and

community radio activity. The method is influenced by Avery Gordon's concept of 'social haunting' – where 'ghosts' of the past are explored as part of researching social life. She argues that 'ghostly matters' are signifiers of what is missing and what must be examined. In my research in the northeast of England this includes generations of damage caused by the dismantling of traditional industries such as coal mining and ship building without adequate replacement employment or support for communities affected. Gordon suggests that we consider alternative methods and forms that can produce reality and truth about such communities (2008, pp. 23-24). In research with women in community radio we can see that exploring past hurts through research and programme making can produce new narratives of participants' authentic life experiences. This iterative approach cycles between methods: workshops for mapping of tangible and intangible cultural resources and stories; training in community media, community research and digital skills; arts-based workshops in writing, music and visual arts. Alongside this there is attention paid to feminist ethics of care approaches (Dieterle 2021); this research has begun to form a set of participatory media practices that contribute to participant led 'community public spheres' (Forde et al 2002) and thus contribute to the increase and amplification of previously underheard voices.

### Podcasting as texts and spaces for women's agency

How can we ensure that women's voices, including those from the Global South, continue to be represented in important media social movements relating to the decolonization and production of creative responses to environmental change and climate emergency? Anne Karpf's 2021 treatise relating to women's dual role of being both disproportionately affected by climate change and their role in leading change to reduce carbon emissions is important in this respect. Birgitte Jallov has been a pioneer in setting up sustainable community radio stations and community media sectors across the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. Her frameworks for community radio, training programmes and now podcasts (2023) featuring women in community radio leadership roles have been formative in many countries as they develop inclusive community radio sectors. She argues that community radio stations are a key space for women's and girls' human rights through developing women's leadership in positive radio station working cultures, promotion of equity in power relations, inclusive working practices, an ethos of collaboration and the promotion of caring relationships in the (radio) workplace (Jallov 2012).

Feminist approaches to research and leadership in podcasting, highlighting global south perspectives and the work of Black female podcasters have been pioneered by Kim Fox, Professor of Practice at the American University of Cairo (Fox et al 2020). Fox and Ebada's research (2022) about how young female podcasters in Egypt acquire feminist knowledge, how their feminist identity has been shaped and how podcasts became a form of digital feminism, conclude that production of podcasts, informed by feminist pedagogy and epistemologies, is an empowering mechanism for the audio content creators. Evi Karathanasopoulou and Helen Williams' research (2023) about *The Heart* podcast as a feminist and (quiet) activist space, demonstrates how interdisciplinary research from the perspective of both criminology and podcast studies fields sheds light on how non-visual media can provide a safe environment to reveal deeply personal experiences.

#### Conclusions

Research approaches and methods that foreground sound and sonic thinking help us to understand contemporary gendered radio, audio and now podcasting. Interdisciplinary, collaborative and participatory research can extend the focus and impact of 'traditional' radio studies, including research relating to allied practices of audio in heritage studies and use of oral histories. New sound platforms such as podcasting and online archives have amplified the voices/spaces and ultimately the reach of women's radio, audio creativity and activism, renegotiating the borders of gendered media praxis. I agree with journalist Gary Younge, who, commenting on progress in the Black Lives Matter movement, wrote:

"I am by nature an optimist. But I am not delusional...I have seen how much change is possible and the potential of humanity to rise to those changes, but I have also witnessed the power systems have to thwart those aspirations, openly and covertly. The progress we seek will not come about through benevolence and enlightenment, but by will and resistance." (Younge 2023, n.p.)

Evidence of this 'will and resistance' can be seen all over the world in community-based radio projects that foreground women's voices and experiences.

Feminist approaches to researching women's radio histories and practices have existed on the academic margins for many years and it is heartening that both radio and participation has been recognized as a field and focus and that there are now new theoretical and methodological dimensions through which academics, industries and communities can work together to produce meaningful and useful research and practice.

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