Women on the air

Women in (Community) Radio in Europe

By Birgitte Jallov
Roskilde University Centre, Denmark, 1983

www.empowerhouse.dk
on the air
37 years later - a preface to the first digital version of

“Women on the air - Women in (Community) Radio in Europe”

This book is the earliest known attempt to systematically document women’s engagement in (community) radio in (Western) Europe in the early 80s (1983). It embeds the national presentation of the women’s radio activities within a brief introduction to the women’s movement and the media situation in the country. In the description of the individual radio collective, it focuses on the organisation of the collective and its work methods, followed by information about the programmes and the listeners, ending up with a quick look at the finances and the future.

The book as such provides a peek into a ‘time pocket’ in an era where the feminist movement of the early 70’s in Europe was still at its height, and we were searching for other, ‘true’ ways of moving into the public sphere and engaging on the cultural stages on our own terms. But what were they? Standing proudly on the shoulders of our foremothers, who had prepared the ground along with the broader changes in our societies, we had the strong sense of being pioneers. That we could – and that we had to – create something new. Something that would truly reflect who we were, as seen through our own eyes and lived in our own bodies.

This document is part of that inquisitive search for inspiration to our work to carve out our new way. Learning from – and building solidarity with - women in other countries, other realities, was a part of this.

This document was prepared as a background to the very first international meeting of community radio broadcasters: ‘AMARC’ in Montreal in 1983 (more later). 1983 was the ‘World Communication Year’, and in a world without internet and social media, “the WCY is seen as an opportunity for a “Quantum leap” in the development of a complete world communication network which would leave no one isolated from his or her local, national or international community.”

Continuing this search, I two years later interviewed African journalists at the lawn of the Nairobi University during the 1985 UN Women’s conference. I here among others asked the women how they used communication and media and whether and how they had found some special women’s space and expression? The journalist Eugenie Aw from Senegal among others said that: “Women bring to the public life a strong history and tradition of communicating in our own way. Women used to be responsible for transmitting history, learning, tying communities together. To create space for this – it will not be easy, but we are going to try - women will simply have to reinvent communication!”

(“Women have to reinvent communication” – a half hour video document)

AMARC actually, four years later, became a world association of community broadcasters, which still exists in many parts of the world - much in line with the ambition of the WCY coordinators.

Without internet – or fax - the present document saw the light of day based on limited documentation already available (see references) and because I therefore took my sleeping bag and with funds from the University to cover the train ride, moved from capital city to capital city, went to the telephone booth at the central train station, called the Ministry of Culture, the national broadcaster or a women’s documentation centre, and asked whether they had community radio in the country? This information was in 1983 not centrally available anywhere. Any women’s stations or collectives known? I visited them all, slept on the floors in the squatted communes or apartments of the women – and moved on.

In 1996 I, together with the AMARC-Europe ‘Women’s International Network’ (WIN) put together a new directory and an analysis of women’s community radio stations/collectives: “Women’s voices crossing frontiers”, which now included ‘the new, full Europe’. This time using fax.

And now on International Women’s Day 2020, I am happy to bring you this peek into our history, electronically.

Birgitte Jallov
Gudhjem, March 8, 2020
women on the air

Women in (Community) Radio in Europe

Birgitte Jallov

The present paper is part of the preparations for the Women's Panels at the "World Conference for Community Oriented Broadcasters", in Montreal, Canada, August 7-12 1983. At the same time this paper serves as my final media-production from the School of Communications at Roskilde University Center. I have here received counselling, encouragement and help in overcoming the language-barrier from Robin Cheesman and Barbara Adler. And I have had access to all the facilities of the University besides the financial support I have received from here to make my travelling possible.

Photo page 48 is by Photographer Else Rasmussen, 20, Rue du Bourg-Tibourg, F-75004 Paris, France, Tel: 274 4307. All other photos by Birgitte Jallov.
Preface

It is the "World Communications Year" this year, and one of the events celebrating it is: "The World Conference of Community Oriented Broadcasters".

One of the panels at the conference will be:

Productive progressing programming by women, about women and not "just" for women.

"Radio women" from all over the world will come together and exchange experiences, listen to each others' programs, and discuss future perspectives.

As part of the preparations of this event, I have collected the present material to document the position of European women as productive, progressive programmers in (community) radio.

As there was no collected information in this area, I had to start out from the information that was accessible: lists of women's houses, women's documentation centers, and through these women locate the women's radio collectives this way.

I have spent three months locating, corresponding with, and visiting as many women's radios as possible to inform about the conference, and to collect information for the preparations. After this period I have spent one month digesting the information, writing this paper, producing an audio-cassette with samples from the women's programs and I have designed the poster.
The limitations of the present paper should be seen in this light.

Four months is not time enough to produce a complete portrait of the situation of women on the European airwaves. But it is a start - a good start.

It will be important during and after the conference that we make sure that the gaps will be filled, the missing information be collected, in order for the portraits to be as complete as possible.

Women all over Europe helped me collect the information presented in this paper. Women in information centers gave me hints, addresses, and printed material, women researchers passed on my information, shared with me the relevant information they had, and discussed the outline of the paper with me, and women in the radio collectives answered my correspondance by return mail, shared their experience with me, and put me up for the night, when I travelled through their area.

A very inspiring and strengthening experience that I pass on to you.

June 1983
Birgitte Jallow
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We're on the air'</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do we stay on the air?</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Radio Programming Collectives</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We're on the air!

Since the late sixties women have been on the move all over Europe - in most places resulting in the blooming of a women's counter-culture working together with other progressive forces - towards a better society for women, men, and children.

In many places this powerful movement found an expression in the radio media, which is being used as a tool, a means of fast, efficient communication: not too expensive, and relatively easy to use.

The ideas and the work-style of the new feminist movement have been brought into the studios by the women as an important and necessary background. This has both extended the possibilities of communicating for women and meant a re-interpreted use of radio.

When you want to use radio as a tool in social processes, in consciousness raising among the producers as well as the listeners, you must have regularly occurring programs. In the process of breaking down the traditional barriers between producers and passive consumers it is important as well. This is the reason why I have focused on that sort of women's programming in this paper.
Women's Radio Programming in Different Settings

Originally most European countries have the production of radio and TV organized as a state-controlled monopoly. This control has been handled according to different norms, but has mostly had ideas such as "impartial" and "balanced programming" as a central core. In some countries this has resulted in generally dull programming, in other countries in quite interesting programming, because the balance has been reached by confronting opposing views.

In many countries in Europe these national networks have broadcast regular radio programs directed towards women. These programs have reflected the historical situation of the country and the policy of the network - and therefore been of more or less use as a means of strengthening women's own interpretations and future dreams.

In some places (such as Berlin and Dublin) new women's programs have occurred on the national network in recent years. These new programs have usually had more progressive and activist programming due to the demands of the historical period from which they have arisen. Still, the women I spoke with mentioned the "scissors in your head", the self-censorship, which you automatically exercise when working within the framework of a national network. The alternative to not adjusting to the ideas of "balanced"
and "impartial" programming might be to be put off the air.

Within, or parallel to, the national networks many European countries have regional or local programming. These programs are being produced in a specific region of the country and are broadcast to that area on one of the radio channels of the national network.

Regular women's programming can be found on these stations in some places (for instance Radio Amanda in Kalmar and the women's programs in Great Britain).

In some countries (at least in Denmark and Sweden) you can find a public access possibility in the national media, organized as so-called "tape workshops". Here the public can suggest programs concerning important matters in their own lives. After a democratic selection process where special attention is given to the "communication need" of the proposer(s), technical and journalist staff are available to help out with necessary advice on the radio-production.

Many women have taken advantage of this possibility over the years. However, owing to its irregularity this access-slot can't replace a regular women's program.

Community oriented broadcasting has arisen in most countries over the last 8 to 10 years. This programming is normally broadcast to an area the size of a town or part of a large city - which is a much more
limited area than that of the local/regional programming.

Part of the community radio stations are commercial - the radio is used as a way of earning money.

Another reason for the interest in community oriented broadcasting is to be found in the situation of the Western world. Here people have been showing increasing awareness of and responsibility towards the world around us. The first pirate programs in Belgium were started by activists, fighting against pollution of the waters, who wanted to get their message further out. In Holland the squatter movement has originally been using the radio as a means of communication in connection with their activities.

In Switzerland the first pirate sender in Zürich was a women's radio, and "Les Radio-teuses" in Paris were part of the first wave of pirate stations in France.

The situation of women in the traditional media is generally bad both with respect to the number of women employed, their position in the hierarchy and the image presented of women by the media. Therefore women (in the women's movement) have welcomed the community radio as an accessible means of communicating on own premises (no ideas of "balanced" and "impartial" programming here), with the possibility of viewing and presenting the world as it is seen from the position of women. This gives an opportunity to present the news that is of interest to women
but normally found irrelevant by male staff, and to have women comment the news from on the basis of their experience, instead of the traditional "experts" tell us what to believe. In this way women get a chance to speak for themselves, and in this way give the women listeners a recognizable background for drawing conclusions, making solutions and acting on this background.

In the following presentation of some or the countries in Europe, I will use the radio-categories described above.

The description of each country starts with a brief description of the women's movement in order to have this background for understanding the role of the women's radio.

This is followed by a short outline of the "media situation" in the country. By "media situation" I think only of the position of radio and TV.

The main part in the presentation of each country is the description of one (or more) women's radio(s). This presentation is not made in a completely parallel way, partly because of the obvious differences between the countries and from radio station to radio station, partly because of the heterogeneity of the information I have had available at this point. Nevertheless most descriptions include the organizing of the women's group within the radio station, and the organizing of the work within the women's collective itself, the programs are described, and when the radio collective has had any knowledge about the identity of their listeners this is included. A crucial point in most of these radio stations and collectives is the financing,
because the stations are listener sponsored and the staff is unpaid. Finally I present a view into the future of the station and/or the situation for women's radio in that specific country.

After the description of the countries, a list of addresses of the women's radio stations will be followed by a listing of the sources of information I have used for my description of the single countries.
Belgium

Though Belgium is comprised of two culturally independent communities: one French speaking and one Flemish speaking, I have only been in contact with women from the French speaking community, and thus my description of the situation in Belgium is most applicable to this group.

The history of the new feminist movement in Belgium is similar to that in many other countries in Europe. From the late sixties to the end of the seventies the women's movement has been going through different phases: in the beginning a very activist period, where the women made the public aware, that we were not going to accept the role we had gotten in society as nice, passive girls. The next phase focused upon the consciousness raising, where the group and building up the internal strength was the most important.

The women's movement now seems to have become more decentralized. In Brussels there is, for example, a women's café, a university for Women's Studies (GRIF - Groupe de Recherche et d'Information Feminste), a house for battered women, and classes in self defense for women.

Because of financial problems, the women's house has been closed, which has resulted in a good deal of pessimism. Formerly the women's house was the center for many activities: a café, legal counselling, self defense classes, and crisis center.
Media situation

Besides the national network of radio and TV, RTBF in the French speaking area, BRT in the Flemish, there are both community TV and "radios libres" (independent radio stations). RTBF broadcast a monthly TV programme of two hours for women. According to the women I spoke with from Radio Air Libre, this programme is considered quite feminist in its views. Most of the RTBF radio programmes for women are considered more traditional/conservative, and none of them are regularly scheduled. Though officially the RTBF has a monopoly on the production of Belgium Radio and TV, through cable TV, The Belgian audience can receive stations from France, Holland, West Germany and Luxemburg.

Radio Libre

Since 1976 many "independent" radio stations have been broadcasting, the so-called "radio Libre" illegally. In the French speaking area about 400 stations were broadcasting in March 1983, according to Michel Jocquet from the "Conseil des Radios Libre", and about 300 in the Flemish regions. In 1981 a law was passed in an attempt to deal with and control the "radios libres" in the French speaking areas. And the control of the broadcasting licenses will become effective from May 1983. The law will attempt to eliminate the radio stations sending advertising; at the moment, about 3/4 of the radios Libres. The remaining 1/4 are community controlled stations (non-commercial). Though there is a bit of scepticism
as to the effectivity of such governmental control.

In Belgium there are two types of "local" radio: the regional stations of the national RTBF and the independent local "radio libre". The national network started the regional stations to compete with the independent stations.

According to the new law, for a station to get license to broadcast, an application must be approved by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the French speaking community, and also by the Post, Telephone, and Telegraph department.

Michel Jocquet described the two main types of "radio Libre". The one is commercial: sending music, advertising, and news bulletins; the other is community oriented where the contents are primary importance, and the aims of such stations are to inform and spread social and political consciousness. It is this latter type of station that the government will be giving licenses to. Michel Jocquet mentioned a "third kind" of independent radio, that does not fit into the two previously mentioned categories: the "music, music, music," kind. Non-commercial disc-jockey, that is not directly concerned with community problems.

Libre à Elles

One of the "socially conscious" local radio stations is Radio Air Libre. I spoke with some of the women who work on a program called "Libre à elles" that is broadcast on Radio
Air Libre each Tuesday from 12:30 to 1:00 pm. The women have been producing the programme since December 1982 and they evaluate their radioprogram as an important factor in activating the women's movement.

The program fits in well on the "Radio Air Libre", a station that aims to give citizens who don't generally have access to the media a chance to voice their opinions.

Following "Libre A Elles" a 1/2 hour program called "Les Margherites" is broadcast. This program, though not proclaimed as "feminist", is made by two women who express viewpoints and deal with issues, that support the ideals of women's movement.

"Libre a elles" in "Radio Air Libre"

The women have chosen to work within the framework of Radio Air Libre, which is one of the few progressive "independent" stations in Belgium. It is an open station and without censorship.

There are many women working on the daily morning-newscast, and they influence both style and the contents of the newscast - including coverage of women's news' and viewing other reports from women's perspective. Once every week this morning show focuses upon an area of interest to women either through commentary or a "guest" in the studio.

The women from "Libre a elles" feel that they fit in well at the station, and that it is a good place for them to work. There are
many women working in the station; Danielle even calls it a "feminine" radio station, because there are women technicians, and many women active in the decision making process which is non-hierarchical. The necessary decisions are made during weekly meetings.

The programs

The "Libre a elles" program deals with what is going on in Belgium, discusses feminist books, passes on information about women's cultural activities such as theater, movies, exhibitions and demonstrations. There are also discussions about various issues from a feminist perspective, and in a positive manner, focusing upon women's strengths. Working against the automatic victimization of women; not by suggesting ready solutions but rather by providing women with a discussion of various aspects of life - in a funny way - giving women information they can relate to, that they can think about so they can find their own solutions.

Future

Since "Libre a elles" only had existed for four months when I met with them, they had a lot of future dreams. They would first of all like to expand their sending time to at least one hour, as they now are certain that they could fill the time. They don't really know their listeners, as they don't call in during the programs even though they are encouraged to do it. "Libre a elles" want women to use the radio; they want to do more on the
spot reporting from various activities in the community. They hope to get more time to go out and find interesting subjects to deal with, to find some more chansons composed, written or song by women, to find Brussels-women-writers and other women producing women's culture. Finally they want to get to be better technically, too.

Other Women's Programming?

As far as the "Libre a elles" women knew, there's no other women's programming in Brussels for the time being. A group called "Radio Clette Mariette" was for a period of time transmitting Saturday mornings, but they are off the air now.
Denmark

The largest new feminist organization in Denmark was the Redstockings (Rødstrømperne). This group was formed in 1970 by small consciousness raising (basis) groups, asking personal and private matters be discussed publicly. The new feminist movement was very activist during the first phase - the beginning of the 70's - fighting for equal wages for equal work, for better working conditions etc.

The second phase was not as activist but more oriented towards building up the women's counter culture: women's selfdefense classes and other women's courses, women's summer camp (Femø, Sejrø), women's press, women's magazines, women's studies etc.

In Copenhagen, activities to a large extent centered around the women's house(s). One can talk about a third phase now, where the women's house is still in existence, and many activities are still based there, but many other parallel activities are going on in a house for battered women, women's cafes, art galleries etc. In the Copenhagen women's movement you can talk of a tendency of the feminist movement spreading out as in many of the other European countries.

The ideals of the women's movement have spread far beyond the boundaries of the activist women organized in one of the many diverse women's activities in Denmark today. All women know that if you want to change something in your life, you have to deal
with the problem yourself and with the support of other women. The areas where one can say that the women's movement has not yet managed to get a solid grip is in all the power-institutions in Denmark: Denmark's Radio, Folketinget (Parliament) etc.

An important part of the work of the women's movement has been the development of a women's counter culture. Women made their own magazines, records, bands, theatre groups etc. Women started a collectively run women's art gallery, where they also hold performances and discussions together with topic-oriented exhibitions. In this way they are breaking down the exclusivity of traditional art market - and give art an opportunity of playing a role in a social process working for a better society.

Women have also been active in new areas such as film and video - and in radio and TV. This has been both as employed by others (state or private) or as independant producers. One of the big problems with the independant producing has been the enormous costs of raw materials, etc. But nevertheless some women are working in these areas, realizing the importance of also using these more efficient media.

Traditionally the image of women in all media has been distorted and always seen with the eyes of men. The new period of experiments, community radio and local TV coming up, gives women an opportunity to present own views.
Denmark 25

Media Situation

Denmarks Radio (DR) has had monopoly of producing radio and TV in Denmark. DR broadcasts three radio programs and one TV channel. The broadcasting is non-commercial and is for the most part paid by a licence-fee paid by the listeners/viewers and for the rest by the Danish government.

The stations must observe rules about balanced and impartial programming. The radio-council (Radiatoriet) is comprised by people from the political parties (with the same percentage-representation as in the Danish parliament), by listener organizations, and by representatives from the top of DR.

Familiespejlet

In the national radio there is a daily women's program: Familiespejlet (the family-mirror). This program has been on the air since the 20's, and has been called other things as "The half hour for women". It has been a program where you got advice concerning the areas traditionally considered "female domain", and has slowly changed to take up a broader variety of subjects. The program deals with women's lives internationally as well as nationally, children and school, the situation of the elderly, peace etc. The program is very popular and has a lot of listeners, who call up and give their opinions, suggest programs etc.

The program is staffed mostly by women. They work in an atmosphere very different
from the rest of the radio. At their bi-weekly meetings, where the program is planned and evaluated, everybody submits ideas, and they normally result in programs being sent on the air. The work spirit is, according to the editor, Bodil Graa, as collective as the decisions. Of course she is the one personally responsible towards the higher powers on Denmark’s hierarchical ladder, but she seldomly uses that power of control, she says.

This program has been the only regularly occurring access slot for women in the Danish Radio over the last many years, and it is welcoming the much more local women's programming that will be appearing at least in Copenhagen during the period of the community radio.

Regional radio

Besides the nationally broadcast programs Denmark also has a number (8) of regional radio programs, broadcasting 10 minutes of local news three times in the morning, and half an hour of news and discussion around dinner time at night. These programs are broadcast over one of the channels of the national network.

There is no regular women's programming on any of these channels.

Tape workshop

Through the tape workshop in Denmark's Radio,
people can suggest a program they want to produce themselves. Women in, in the outskirts of, and outside, the feminist movement have used this opportunity with very good results. The problem with this kind of access slot - even though it is important to have - is that you, as producer, never know when the program will be aired.

Community media in Denmark

In May 1981 a law was passed in parliament (Folketinget) introducing a three-year period of experiments with community radio and local TV. Because of delays in the preparatory work of the group under the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the stations are only now beginning to appear in the Danish airwaves. Broadcast licenses have been handed out to approximately 50 radio stations and 15 TV stations. The important criteria in the decisions about who is to receive a license has been the idea to make an attempt to achieve as many differentiated experiences as possible. Therefore groups with different organizational structures and build-ups have been given the permissions. These experiences shall then, in turn, form the basis for the revision of the legislation concerning broadcasting in Denmark when the three years are up.

The Women Waves

One of the groups that has been granted a broadcast license is Sokkelund Radio in
Copenhagen. Sokkelund Radio is built up by 15 grassroots organizations. Three of these are feminist groups, and they are planning to send women's radio one day a week.

The three groups are the Redstocking movement, the Lesbian movement, and "Women past 40". Besides women from these organizations, others have joined the women's radio collective. 24 women are in three (hopefully soon four) production groups, the idea being that the pressure of meeting frequent deadlines in this way could be eased a little, by only having to produce the program once a month. Beside this aspect it will also enable the women to do more research before each program and preproduce some of it.

History of the women waves

The collective was formed in the fall of 1981. Everybody thought that we would be on the air within a few months, which - because of governmental stalling - didn't happen till the first program went on the air Tuesday night, May 31st 1983 from 20.30 to 21.30 and was repeated Wednesday morning from 9 to 10. This will be the weekly space on the air.

The programs

The only program that has been on the air so far dealt with the growing awareness of building up the strength of a woman's body, by body building etc. It was discussed whether this was a liberation for women, or
if it was just another new way of oppressing women. The second part of the program dealt with peace. Specifically about a demonstration by a women's activist group called "The Mothers of Life" (this also means "the womb" in Danish). The demonstration was covered in the form of reportage and interviews. Finally the news of the women's movement in Copenhagen was discussed and other vital news to the grass-root people in Copenhagen was presented.

This is the only program so far. But the group has had a long time to plan, and other ideas for programs are: portraits of everyday women, women's music, the effect on women of the decisions made in the town council, "behind the power", women on the labour-market, women's culture, the women's movement, women's humour. The women emphasize that they want not only to deal with strictly women oriented matters, but the whole world, in which women live, as it is seen from our own point of view, with our experiences and dreams.

The organization of the work

The women's collective meet once a month to plan and coordinate the plans for the upcoming programs. The evaluation of the past programs will also take place here, and discussions about the politics of the women's radio will come as a natural prolonging of these discussions.

The women make a point out of taking turns working as technicians, journalists, re-
searchers for programs, and facilitators. Besides work in the women's collective, the women are also active in the grassroots' radio station. Meetings, where all the major decisions will be taken by the people working actively in the radio, will be held once a month. Beside these big meetings, smaller coordination meetings will be held weekly with the representatives from all the editorial groups of the single days.

The women within the radio station

Originally the women's collective decided to join this larger grassroot radio group, because they found it a good idea to be one voice among other progressive voices in the Copenhagen area. When the idea of having an all women's radio day on the air was originally suggested, it met a lot of resistance from the rest of the radio group. They felt it would be far more productive if the women would integrate with all of the other people in the station. They did not (want to) understand that it is necessary for women working with an electronic media such as radio to form an all women's group. Also the need of having a women's voice on the air, news and other things seen through eyes of women (for a change), they refused to understand in the beginning. This created a hostile situation, which has become much better during the last half year of meetings. How this will work when the station is on the air, is still impossible to discuss, but
now that people know each other, it's likely that things will run smoother.

Financing

The financing is based on a start-amount that each member organization pays. The expenses for the daily work will be paid as monthly dues by the organizations.

The period of experiments in Denmark was also blessed with some money from the state. Not very much though. Sokkelund will be getting a small share of it.

This also means that the equipment will be far from professional standard, but as long as the radio can be heard in the Copenhagen area, the group is content. They don't mind that the listeners can hear that it is not DR they are listening to - but a different voice on the air.

Future

Well, it is all future. But the group wants to be listened to by a lot of different women in Copenhagen. They stay in the studio after the program to receive calls with questions, criticism, and praising words - and hopefully also ideas and needs of new programs, a hint that something will be going on ... etc.

The one hour of sending time seems to be enough so far. After three months there will be a possibility to re-negotiate the sending times (Radio Sokkelund is sharing a sender with three other Copenhagen com-
munity radios).
Another future hope of the women's radio collective is that women in other places in Denmark will use the opportunity of the period of experiments with community radio to go on the air.
France

The women's movement in France is a complex and many-faceted phenomenon. You can't talk about one, homogenous movement but about many movements with varying ideologies and strategies forming the women's movement in France.

One of these is the feminist movement: "Mouvement pour la Libération des Femmes" (MLF) which started in 1970. MLAC (Mouvement pour la liberté de l'avortement et la contraception) is another, and it's a very broad and activist oriented campaign that has been working through the past ten years.

The differently organized parts of the women's movement have worked closely together with women workers fighting in their factories - the women at the LIP factory in the early 70's for example. This connection between the struggles of the largely middle-class women's movement and the working-class women means, that the consciousness raising process, that has been going on within and inspired by the new feminist movement all over the Western world, has had a very broad basis in France.

Now, the women's movement has become very diversified. A lot of parallel initiatives are carrying the women's struggles on into the 80's. In Paris a lot of all these different groups two years ago started up the "maison des Femmes" (Women's House). This has been very good, because the different groups have gotten to know each other better, which they had not been able to do be-
fore. But it has also created a lot of problems and discussions. The only women's radio in Paris "Les Nanas Radioteuses" is one of these groups belonging to the Women's House.

Media Situation

France has three TV channels and can in many areas receive TV from other European countries. "Radio France" has, until the election of Mitterand in 1981, had a monopoly of radio-broadcasting. It broadcasts three programs and controls a number of regionally organized local radio stations. These local radios originally were music stations but now send increasingly more cultural and local information.

Radio Libre

The monopoly-status of "Radio France" and the political relationship between the president and the media was questioned by the opposition. "Le Mouvement des Radios Libres" was getting started and the pirate senders had been growing in number since 1977. Even organisations, such as the socialist party and the largest labour union (Confederation Général du Travail) had their pirate senders.

In 1981, when Mitterand was elected he immediately legalized all the illegal senders. Now the French state is working on some regulation of the French air waves and the radio stations have had to apply for licencing. The limited number of frequencies
has meant that the most powerful senders have terrorized the less powerful ones. In many cases radio stations have been asked to cooperate and share a frequency. This has sometimes caused problems.

Les Nanas Radioteuses

In Paris I spoke with women from "Les Nanas Radioteuses", who have experienced this development. They are now sharing a sender and frequency with "Canaille FM" at "Frequence Libre".

"Les Radioteuses" started out broadcasting on own radio station in 1977 and did that all way up to the "liberation" of the air waves as Mitterrand was elected in 1981. They were sending regular programs and were producing a lot of activist radio. Among other events they broadcast directly from illegal abortions done by the MLAC (Movement for the freedom to have abortion and contraception).

As all other pirate senders, they were broadcasting under the eternal threat that the police might find them and confiscate their equipment.

During the same period another group called "Les Nanas" was broadcasting occasional women´s programs. As they too had to adjust to the regulation of the radio situation, the two women´s groups joined forces and are now broadcasting six hours of women´s programming on "Frequence Libre". As their radio equipment was stolen from the women´s house, they now use the studio of Canaille
FM, with whom they share a frequency. This situation will last until they have gotten money enough to rebuild their own studio.

The politics and the aims of "Les Nanas Radioteuses"

"Les Nanas Radioteuses" write in a pamphlet about themselves:

Every day we are confronted with the nature of the destructive oppression of our opinions. The annihilation of the identity of women is happening particularly by stifling our discussions. That is why it is so obvious to us that these discussions should be listened to, should be passed on by other means of communication than the written word, by faster means of communicating.

A feminist radio in Paris is an irreplaceable tool: an opening for the feminist movement and for discussions about real changes of the sex-roles. (Translated from a pamphlet).

"Les Nanas Radioteuses" want to provide a means of expression for all the varying parts of the French/Parisian women's movement. They don't want to take a stand and exclude somebody. It's so important that women finally have a chance to express themselves, Michelle from "Les Nanas Radioteuses" emphasized.

The structure

The radiocollective plans their work as a real collective. They don't have a leader, and want to share responsibilities as well as the various jobs as "journalist" and "technician".
In order to have a say at the weekly planning meetings in the women's house, you have to be active in the radiowork. The meetings every Friday night in the women's house are open to all women, however. Here they evaluate past programs, discuss the politics and plan new programs.

The programs

"Les Nanas Radioteuses" are broadcasting six hours from 6 to 12 pm every Wednesday night. They have a prescheduled format, that they fill in every week:

06.00-06.30 News from the women's movement. Activities, demonstrations, etc.

06.30-07.30 A woman tells about her life. The woman can be either famous or not.

07.30-08.00 Information about the rights of women, about women's situation at the labor-market etc.

08.00-08.30 Women and French Chanson (music). Historically and at present.

08.30-09.00 Women's struggles now (for example the problems of the immigrant women living in France).

09.00-10.00 Women's culture: theatre, movies, books: protection and reviews.

10.00-11.00 News - general - the same time every day all week.

11.00-12.00 Women's rock.
As the weekly program shows "Les Nanas Radioteuses" want to portray women in all the aspects of daily life, give advice and history.

Michelle meant that there was too much talk in their programs and that they might be a bit dull to listen to, but on the other hand women needed to get a voice on the air. She also said that they didn't do much produced programming - which was a question of time: it simply took too long. Normally they produced live radio with women in the studio.

The women in "Les Nanas Radioteuses"

The collective consists of ten women producing the program with some "free-lance"-women, who work once in a while. The core of the group includes a technician from Radio France, students, teachers, a dancer, a printer and an artist. All of the women have their regular jobs on the side, so they don't have much time to produce programming besides the Wednesday night on the air, and Friday nights in the women's house for evaluation and planning the upcoming shows.

The women don't know much about their listeners. They always encourage women to call up during the shows, but not too many really do that.

Future

The group dreams of re-establishing their own studio in the women's house. They also
encourage women to join their group in order to be able to expand their sending time as much as possible - and perhaps even get time for more produced programming.
Radio Pleine Lune

"Radio Pleine Lune" is another women's radio in France. It started out as a women's pirate sender. In November 1981 they were one of more groups forming the radio station "Radio Zones" in Fernay-Voltaire in France, because they wanted to send regular programs.

They started out by sending every two weeks, but soon began sending every Wednesday. For a long time they transmitted from 7-9 pm and for the rest of the day and night the wavelength was "empty". The women have all day Wednesday at their disposition, though, and urge other women's group to take up some regular time every Wednesday, in order to make the whole day a women's radio. They even say, that if they could they would love to be able to fill a whole week with women's radio - but that is a future-perspective; very far from reality.

They have progressed towards their goal of sending all Wednesday, since a group of women squatters have taken up the invitation and since January have been sending women's radio from 10-12 pm. Wednesday nights.

The programs

The women in Radio Pleine Lune find that the most important role of their radio is to be the voice of women, as many different women as possible. Not necessarily feminists. The most important is to show how women in different lifesituations and from different countries have worked towards and reached autonomy. They want to give women a chance
to speak for themselves, and are very careful not "just" to play the role of journalist: they want the role of the interviewer and the interviewed to be close to a real life situation, where two women are sharing experiences.

Radio Pleine Lune starts their programs out by sending the news, that they have prepared in the women's collective. Afterwards they usually have a discussion in the studio. They would like to do more preproduced programming, but because it takes much more time to produce, and since the women have jobs and kids besides their radio work, they simply don't have time for that kind of thing. They also like the idea of sending live, being on the air while the program is being produced, because it gives an intensity and adds an authentic quality to the discussions.

In the beginning of the programs, "Radio Pleine Lune" always announces their phone number, and ask women to call in. They accept all calls, and let everybody on the air. Unfortunately very few people call up. This, the women from Pleine Lune explain as being due to the fact, that they are transmitting for too short a time. When they only broadcast once a week, and only from 7-10 pm, their listeners will have to turn the radio dial at 7 o'clock.

In January 1983 the radio station had a marathon-week, where they transmitted 24 hours a day, the women's collective then also extended Pleine Lune, and had all sorts of programs, a lot of different women comming in
to speak and share experiences and tell about activities going on. That day they could really feel the difference: a lot of women called up, because they could stay tuned in all day - they could do all their normal chores and listen once in a while. This was really a good experience, but unfortunately far from a realistic possibility at an everyday basis.

They have been making programs about women's rock'n roll, women squatters, pornography and rape. They want to encourage development of the women's culture by reporting what is going on, interviewing women involved with cultural as well as political views to come and share their experiences. They want women with all kinds of political views to come and share their knowledge, and emphasize, that not only do they want to deal with traditional women's areas, but also with the whole world as seen through the eyes of women.

Work in the women's collective

Radio Pleine Lune is 7-10 women. They have a monthly planning meeting, where they schedule the following month. Women suggest programs, and two or three work on a program together. This means that every woman works on a program once every three or four weeks. Besides the normal program planning one of the women work one month at a time, preparing the newscast for the 4 or 5 programs airing in this period.

One of the ideas of Radio Pleine Lune - and Radio Zones as well - is that there should be no specialist, that everybody should take
equal part in the technical and the journalistic jobs on the radio-production. This they find a very good ideal, but question the actual use of the system. It's very sympathetic, but not everybody is good at doing everything, they say:

It's a good idea that everybody is equal, but when we don't have an excellent antenna, don't have an excellent sender, don't have excellent equipment... But those are the conditions.

It often is a problem, that people can't hear the radio because of poor quality. In the beginning they had a 25 W sender, and the equipment of vary varying quality that they each brought from their homes. They have now gradually improved the standard of their equipment, and Radio Pleine Lune has bought a 100 W sender for the radio station. Also the radio-activists have grown better at making radio, all in all, the situation is much better technically now than two years ago.

Financing

You can really start with very few means, but...

Financing they take care of by giving 10 SFR to the radio station every time they broadcast. Besides that they have formed an "Association des Amis de Radio Zones" to get both political and financial support. It costs 30 SFR a year to be a member, and the idea was to have both organizations and individuals be members. It has turned out to be mainly organizations, however, that joined this association, because they then also can...
use the radio to get some of their informations on the air.

The Women in the Women's Collective

The women in Radio Pleine Lune are based in the women's movement, and they believe that the way they like to make the programs: through interviewing; giving women a voice on the air, is based in their experiences here. They still consider themselves a part of the feminist movement, and urge other women from the movement to participate in the programming, to consider the radio theirs. But they have not succeeded with this very much as they don't have any real idea of who their listeners are.

From their connection in the community, they know that many women listen, but they really miss the response from the groups.

Women within the Radio Station

Radio Zones is a very collectively organized radio station. The decisions are taken at the meetings for all the radio activists, and there is no kind of leadership in the station. People making programs are autonomous. There are no prevailing ideologies to conform to.

Still, the women in radio Pleine Lune have been going through a lot of discussion with the other people in the radio station, who have not totally accepted the idea of a separate "Women's Radio", within the station. It has been suggested, that the women work together with all the other people on all days.
Birgitte Jallov interviewing one of the women in 'Les Nanas Radioteuses' collective in 'Maison des Femmes' in Paris.
The women have been very definite, though, that the reason why they are working with radio is to give women an autonomous space on the air. And since they are a very strong group within the radio station, they will continue working the way they have been working so far.

One of the discussions have been evolving around the news. Radio Zones has a news-collective "editing" the news. They wanted Radio Pleine Lune to also broadcast this recorded news-tape. But Radio Pleine Lune did not want to do that for at least two reasons: The first and most important is, that they don't agree with the concept of "what news is" that the (men's) news collection works out from. They find that they as women, find other news items as relevant, when looking through the newspapers. Secondly they find it very important that Radio Zones air different voices and opinions every day – that different kinds of sensitivity is also behind the news-casts. This has, to some extent, been done, as a South American man doing a program on Friday nights mainly is interested in news of Latin America and other Spanish speaking parts of the world. Another day there's a Palestinian program, and here the interest is focussed differently since the Palestinians of the area have different opinions of what "news" is relevant.

**Future**

Their future hopes are, that they could become more of an active voice for the
feminist movement, so that, when they were exhausted, somebody else would be ready to take over. They fear, that one day the Pleine Lune women might not have the necessary energy anymore, and would that then mean, that there would be no women's radio in their area? In this perspective the dreams about an all-women's day or even an all women's radio are put off into a distant future.

Other Women's Programming?

There are a number of women’s radios or women's radioprograms being broadcast from mixed stations in other parts of France. I can't give a description of them, but know that they are situated in: Lille, Gironde, Alsace, Montreuil and Riom.
Germany

The women’s movement in West Germany can in its startphase be seen as a movement similar to the student movement and the groups formed during the creation of the social-liberal government of the late 60’s.

Herrad Schenk interprets the development of the new feminist movement as happening in three phases in her book: Die feministische Herausforderung (The feminist challenge). The first phase (1971 – 1974/75) mainly evolved around the fight for legal abortion (the so-called Amendment 218 fight). Women with differing backgrounds got together and developed consciousness and solidarity. This phase is furthermore characterized by spontaneous actions.

The second phase that started around 1975, turned from more outward activist developments to internal discussions. Many women joined the womens movement in this phase and the consciousness raising groups formed the core of the movement.

The third phase started around 1977 and is characterized by the development of "feminist projects," a term which covers such projects as printing feminist materials, establishing more meeting places: women’s restaurants, cafes, and alternative health-centres, counselling etc. - all in all a feminist counter-culture.

It would seem very much a natural prolongation of this third phase that the women would explore the possibilities to have a free women´s radio. This is however not the
case. The media situation in Germany can give part of the explanation.

Media Situation

The media system was rebuilt by the "allied forces" after the second world war. Television and radio-stations were to be controlled by the law and as such they were to be non-commercial and with a controlling board of directors comprised of representatives from the political parties, religious groups, youth organizations, cultural organizations etc. This still is true for the radio - but the question is: for how long? Ute Bromberger from Nord Deutsche Rundfunk (NRD) believes another two years, because the possibility of having private radios is being widely discussed. This will mean a great change since the radio so far has some high content standards - and a private radio will primarily think about the economical gains.

The radio is now independently organized in each province of Germany: Nord Deutsche Rundfunk, Bayrischer Rundfunk, Hessischer Rundfunk, Sender Freies Berlin and so on.

Free radio

There are no possibilities of community media in Germany. There are some pirate-senders, but they are prosecuted - and there are no women's pirate senders for the time being. An active movement is growing to fight for "Freie Radios" (free radio stations) in "Die Assoziation Freier Radios" in Germany.
They plan conferences, workshops etc. But so far there has not been any group of women organized within this framework.

Frauen/ Familienprogramm

In the regionally organized national media however you can find some women's programming. These programs usually have their roots way back to the days of the Weimar Republik in the 1920's. Journalists Ute Bromberger from Hamburg, and Madi Kemper, Frauenfunk, Sender Freies Berlin (The free Berlin Broadcasting Corp.) told me that these programs were originally quite progressive women's radio. This changed during the Hitler-period and programs were used to serve the ideologi of the Nazis.

Right after the war, the women's radio made a come-back; in some ways re-inforcing the rights of women in society, in other ways glorifying the chores traditionally part of the female domain.

Now, the situation of the various Frauen (Women's) or Familien (Family) programs is different depending upon where they are located. Ute Bromberger and Madi Kemper with whom I have spoken, are working under quite different conditions.

Hamburg

In Hamburg the women's radio changed its name to "Family-radio" some years ago. This happened partly as a result of an ongoing discussion in the feminist movement, that
it was not a good idea to be too separatist - to create women's ghettos, rather women's views ought to be included everywhere. They changed the name, but women didn't get included in more of the other programming, so the change of name proved to be a mistake because the leadership (with very few exceptions male) interferes more frequently and requests coverage of family-aspects in the (still) women's programs. And the women's voice is needed more than ever in a Germany becoming increasingly conservative - which of course affects the possibilities of women very much.

Berlin

In the Berlin "Frauenfunk" things are a little better. The program has been on the air four years. They are sending one hour of women's radio every morning and they have had a lot of listeners from the beginning.

Because of the hour of the broadcast, the majority of the listeners (ca. 70%) are housewives. The last part of the audience are people working in factories or offices with the radio on. They know that many housewives plan their day in order to do chores in the kitchen for example while the program is on the air.

The women doing the radioprogram are also very pleased that they by the listeners are viewed as their representatives in the radio. Many women call up and suggest programs, ask the radio to come and report, etc.
Germany 55
Frauenfunk

When the women's program went on the air 4 years ago, it still was a good thing for the politicians to support. But the political winds have gotten colder in the meantime, and Madi Kemper told, that the women working in the radio were well aware of the "scissors in the head" (die Scherer im Kopf) that censored the programs before they went on the air. Therefore the repression from the higher levels in the hierarchy was seldomly necessary. They did, however, receive complaints if they, for example, focused too much on the subject of free abortion - and be requested to also tell about the importance of the family.

The women's radio work force consists of four editors, 25 freelancers (also women) and one male editor. They have a working style very different from the rest of the radio station. They are very close and supportive of each others, have a group spirit. They are very strong because of this and because of the support from listeners to the program, which means that their feeling is that they almost have the freedom of expression they want. But it could easily get damaged because of their position in the hierarchy.

The workstyle of Frauenfunk

At a weekly meeting of all the women working on Frauenfunk, they plan the program of the upcoming week by each proposing the ideas they
have. These ideas normally turn out to be the final subjects. At these meetings they also evaluate the programming of the previous week, and discuss how to follow-up certain areas.

Most of the freelancers had never touched a microphone before they start to work for Frauenfunk. They had worked as tailors, lawyers etc. But they turn out to be real good, because they don't have all the inhibitions one normally assumes in order to fulfill the traditionally expected journalist-work, Madi Kemper said.

Programming

Interviews is one of the most used techniques of the programs in the Berlin Frauenfunk. Once in a while they use reportage and when reviewing books and movies etc. they use manuscripts and studio speaker.

They want to portray the everyday life of women in all varying aspects and phases. They always interview "ordinary women" in case of a strike, for instance, instead of finding a leader or "expert" to question.

They have been discussing the possibilities of making more experimental programming, but want to make the change very slowly in order not to loose their listeners, who they believe are very conservative in their conception of what "radio" is supposed to sound like. They want to use the traditional forms and fill them with new contents - new areas never covered by radio before.
Frauenfunk and the Community

Because of the special political and geographical status of Berlin one can talk of very locally oriented programming (even though the radio program of course can be heard by a lot of people in the German Democratic Republic).

This local orientation is very obvious in the programming. The women want to mirror all the various things going on in the very active women's communities in the city.

This is a strength - and a weakness, Madi Kemper thinks. She would like the programming to be more international too - have a broader perspective, but there's no room for that, because of their local focus.

Future

If the political situation - and thereby the ideological pressure on the women in Frauenfunk - doesn't change too much, Madi Kemper is satisfied. But the political climate in West Germany (BRD) is getting colder. Therefore it's important that women have organized in a "women and media" group to fight the coming cut-backs. Madi Kemper likes the idea of "free radio" very much and believes that there will be a strong women's radio the moment the repression against the pirates will be eased. The theme for the upcoming "women and media" conference is for example: Alternative media.
Great Britain

In Great Britain the development of the new women's movement since the late sixties has been parallel to most other European countries. Special for the development in England it is the fact that the movement grew out of a women's strike for equal wages at the Ford factory. After this strike the women continued to fight for equal pay on a more general scale and on this base the connections between the mainly middleclass feminist movement and the activist women workers has been established.

To put it briefly, the women's movement began with radical actions, support of women fighting for better working conditions, consciousness raising groups, where the experience and knowledge of the individual woman has been taken seriously, and formed the basis for the discussions of the role of women in society.

Ellie Austen, one of the woman working with women's radio expresses the position of the feminist movement in Great Britain this way:

I find whenever I go to women's meetings all the women agree, that we're not quite sure, whether we're part of the women's movement, knowing whether you're a member of it or not is very difficult. For a lot of women it's just nice to meet other women and realize that basically there's a sort of chain, but maybe that's all. Because I suppose that the women's movement was so much to do with consciousness raising groups. But now it's spread away from that, and is just women working together in lots of things... I know that meeting the women I do, I'm amazed of how much energy they have got, and how many fields there are of women working in so many things.
Ellie told this during an interview from a community radio conference in Sheffield, Great Britain, April 9. and 10. 1993. She is, herself, part of the women's committee of the GLC (Greater London Council) and is working especially on community radio and women's programming. She ends her description of the situation of the women's movement by discussing what happens, when women's affairs are "dealt with" by "the establishment":

A lot of leftwing labor councils recently have appointed a work(?) especially to look into women's affairs. That sounds wonderful, you think you are getting somewhere. But the problem is that then people say: Oh! somebody's dealing with women. We've looked after them! And perhaps a lot of energy goes out of it. So that is a problem. The GLC found, that although women are being asked for their opinions on something, it doesn't necessarily mean that they're affecting the decisionmakers ... It's is becoming something, that the politicians are aware of. But it might mean, that women loose a lot of the energy that originally went into the movement.

Media Situation

In Great Britain BBC (British Broadcast Council) and IBA (Independent Broadcasting Authority) are two nationwide networks. They have the rights of sending local radio, too, and BBC started out a period of experiments in 1967 giving broadcasting license to nine local radio stations that were sponsored in part by the community, in which they were located. This period ended in 1969, and besides the still existing eight local radio stations another 12 were granted broadcasting license.

In 1970 the government also opened up for commercial local radio, and under IBA, ILR (Independent Local Radio) was formed. In 1981, 43
local radio stations were broadcasting in Great Britain: 21 under BBC and 22 under IBA. The biggest difference between these is that the IBA programming is paid by commercials and the BBC by license fees.

Community/Neighborhood Radio

Besides the local radio stations, BBC has been doing some experimenting with airborne community (or neighborhood) radio, but the most experience with community radio has been with the cable community radios. In 1981, nine such were in existence. These cable radio stations have to follow the same guidelines concerning impartial and balanced programming as the BBC.

After the appearance of the Lord Annan Report in 1977, proposing a radical change in the local radio structure in Great Britain, and giving much more independence to the individual local radio station, a pressure group called "Community Communication Group" (COM COM) was formed. COM COM consists of local groups all over the country working to get permission to broadcast community radio and local TV.

Because this is not yet permitted there are quite a few pirate stations in Great Britain; Ellie from GLC estimates that at the moment there are between 13 - 19 in London.

Women in Radio?

In an application to the arts council the Women's Radio Workshop describe the "Women's programming" in BBC's radio 4 (news, current affairs, speech and drama) this way:
An average day's listening to Radio 4 ... leaves the listener convinced that her concerns are getting her family through the breakfast cheerfully (TODAY), politics have nothing to do with her (The news), Christianity is the cultural norm (My Word) her creativity is limited to domestic skills (Women's Hour), her children are her own and no-one else's responsibility (Listen with Mother) and that other women's lives are slightly more glamorous than her own (The Archers/Afternoon Theatre) (Anne Karpf: Women and Radio, in: Women's Studies International Quarterly, 1980, Vol.3, p.53:)

Besides this women's programming in the national networks, many women's groups are working with radio, using radio programs as a tool for debate and consciousness-raising in women's groups. Ellie Austen from GLC puts it this way:

The nice things about a women's group who wants to make a radio programme is that it's normally a small part of a very big educational process. The women get less isolated ... The radio programme is a tool. People express themselves in a program. They have to. And they might not have said it to each other in such a concrete way otherwise.

And she gives an example of how it has worked:

An Arts- and community group that work on a special estate in London, are trying to get the estate to be a closer community. So one of their interests has been to make programs about the experience of, say, women of the estate. What's the experience. "Women" is an area that they know is of specific importance especially since a lot of women are isolated. The reason why they did the program (on safety) was that the women were frightened by the violence at the estate, and a lot of women felt insecure. So the tape was a protest - say: listen, this is what women at the estate have to suffer. But as a result of coming together to talk about these things apparently all sorts of things have
happened. The women have set up defense classes and so on.

Radio is in this example being used as a tool of consciousness raising for the producers and the listeners. This is a normal situation for women's groups making radio programs in Great Britain.

Two women's radio production groups are "Women's Radio Workshop" and "Women's Airwaves".

Women's Airwaves

Women's Airwaves have existed for 5 years. The group grew out of a local radio workshop; they are 10 women, and they want to be a cohesive group, so they close it occasionally, and open it up and have training sessions once in a while. They are all feminists and believe that in general broadcasting is very male dominated, so they want to produce an alternative.

The situation for Women's Airwaves seems to be the same as for the other women producing women's radio: they try to get the programs on the air in the local radio. This is very difficult, as the reaction, according to Ellie, is either "Good, we'll broadcast it" but usually the station find it either of too poor technical quality, and they want to redo it, or they like the idea but want to make it in a different way.

There are no women's pirate stations, and
there's only a regular space for women every Wednesday night, "Women on the Waves". But the station has just been bosted by the police, so they don't have any equipment anymore. This shows why it's a problem to get the women's programs distributed. Caroline from "Women's Air-Waves" puts the various attitudes in their group to that problem this way:

At the moment in the group, there are some people that are more interested in getting a regular women's program on Radio London (a local radio) and there are some people, who are interested in getting on to a pirate station, and there are some who are interested in doing cable or something like that...

She continues to say that it's a ridiculous situation to produce program after program and never have them broadcast. But it is satisfactory anyhow, and that's why they do it. They play the tapes in women's groups and have discussions about them afterwards.

Women's way of working in radio

Caroline thinks that one can talk about a special "feminist way" of working with radio. For instance they don't work on their own very much, they give each other a lot of support, and teach each other skills. They also try to avoid the idea of having "experts", because they believe that it is a woman's own experience that is valid, and try to give credence to women's experience.
Future

Women's Airwaves believed in trying to change the existing system rather than supporting alternative systems, but they are now realizing that it doesn't really work that way. Most of the pirate stations are run by men, and would not broadcast a program produced by women. Few of them are really interested in setting up a new kind of democratic radio by giving access to groups that are underrepresented, Caroline finds. The pirate stations mostly play music - and they are oriented towards men, Caroline finds. The women in this group therefore have decided to both continue trying to get through in the traditional media (local radio) and take part in the upcoming community radio.
Holland

In Holland the best known group from the new feminist movement was Dolle Minas: women cutting their hair, demonstrating in the streets, protesting against the traditional suppression of women. There were of course a lot of different trends in the women's movement, but they all had the common base: they could see, the social mechanisms making women second class citizens, and they wanted to change that position.

This happened in the late sixties along with the "sexual revolution", the anti-authoritarian uprisings among students and other youngsters, and the anti-imperialist activities provoked by the Vietnam war.

A women's movement consisting of many different groups with different struggles and aims exists in Holland today. Dominique and Hester from the "Vrouwenradio" in Amsterdam told me that recently from the women's house, there have been a lot of actions done by women on welfare.

The group from "Vrouwenradio" consider themselves, as lesbians and squatters, from the more radical part of the movement. They are not against illegal actions, as they called it, not against using forms of violence - their radio station is illegal too.

In other parts of the feminist movement women often are actively working on particu-
lar issues: work for legal abortions, for example.

Media situation

Eight religious and politically oriented program organizations share the broadcasting of radio and TV in Holland. They are all part of the Dutch Radio, that covers both Radio and TV. They have two TV channels and 4 radio programs.

There is a women's program once a month on television called "Look at Her". It's not especially feminist, but better than other programs, the women from "Vrouwenradio" found. On the radio, there's a one and a half hour long weekly women's program. Dominique from "vrouwenradio" in Amsterdam describes the women's programs in the national networks this way:

The programs are not very dependable. One day they'll have a great program about the women's strike last year, and the next day they'll make a program about lesbian women, that is just awful... It's not very consequent.

Local radio in Holland

There are four regional radio stations and two experiments with local radio: "SROB Brabant" in Eindhoven and Radio STAD in Amsterdam. Radio STAD is broadcasting three hours a day: from 12-1 pm, a few minutes after every newscast at the national networks, and 5 to 5.45 pm. These local radios are broadcast over one of the national
One of the ideas of Radio STAD is to be an alternative source of information, and especially to reach the group of people with little education, who normally don't have much of a chance to get a voice in the media. Radio STAD has for instance been very interested in the squatter-movement, and has given extra time for their cause, during the fighting in the streets. They make an effort to have people use the radio, and once a week, they have an open microphone some place in the city. Dominique points out, that Radio STAD does not have any special interest in women and you can definitely not talk of any women's programming here.

Pirate radio

Besides the local radios, there are many illegal piratesenders. Most of the pirates are commercial and not very community oriented. There are lots and lots of pirates in Holland now - many more now than 2-3 years ago. At peak hours there are 10-15 programs in Amsterdam.

In the eastern part of Holland there are a lot of pirates too, as a protest against the West-Holland oriented national radio networks. Most of the pirateradios are commercial.

One of the pirates in Amsterdam is the squatter-radio "De Vrije Kaiser", that started when the street fighting going on,
Elke dinsdagavond van 7 tot 8
Vrouwenradio!
op 95,6 FM
(mhz)
and it was necessary to get information out. This happened 3-4 years ago. After the riots died down they started out sending every night. Every neighborhood had one night on the air, but Tuesday evening nobody was broadcasting, so the women claimed that night for a women's night.

Now only the women's radio and the Saturday night group are still functioning - the other groups have collapsed because too few people were responsible for the radiowork.

In the start they carried the sender from one place to another. Now the Squatters are building a studio in one of their buildings. The women's radio has also built it's own studio, so now they don't need to work in someone's room anymore, Dominique points out.

Vrouwenradio in Amsterdam

The Vrouwenradio started out by having an open meeting every Wednesday night. A lot of women came, and it was a lot of fun and very chaotic, Hester and Dominique from the radio tells. Sometimes the technical quality of the programs was so bad, that you couldn't receive it. After a couple of months they decided to form a smaller group, learn more about the technical aspects of making radio, about the interview techniques, they bought some better equipment and since then the radio has been growing and getting better. Now they have a new kind of problem, because the women working with radio have gotten to know each other so well, that new
women are reluctant to come and do programs.

The women in the radio group call themselves "anarkist feminists" and have never had the intention to reach all women listeners or even to make all women want to come and participate in making radio. Still it's possible for women with other viewpoints to come and make programs about whatever they want. But it doesn't happen often.

The programs

They started out using a bathroom as the studio. Three women would read poems, tell stories, improvise dramatrical sequences, they would tell about their demonstrations and play live music themselves. Part of their program was serious, part was just fun, getting used to the microphone.

Besides reporting about the things going on in town, the group finds it very important to report on discussions in the women's movement such as mothers, lesbians relationship, women in prison, and abortion. In this way they use radio as a way of keeping the discussions going in order to develop new strategies. Beside this, they also want to develop women's culture, by supporting and reporting on the women's theatre, music movies and other things going on.

The programs have developed to include recordings made outside, and by building up the programs around themes or issues. Instead of just reporting about events, actions going on they have started to ask ot-
her women to tell about their impressions. In this way the women's radio is progressively changing. They have learned from experience for example that it easily becomes boring to listen to a discussion going on for half an hour. They usually have music after 5-10 minutes, and try to balance lighter and heavier subjects. These improvements have grown out of their Wednesday night discussions.

The type of program they liked best is reporting from an event and then follow it up by discussion in the studio. Produced programming they found to be a very good form, because it is interesting to listen to. However it takes so long to produce. If something is going on in town, they send the program live.

The listeners

Though women from other groups of the feminist movement don't give much feedback to the women's radio, but when they need to get information out, they anyhow contact the radio. They take the radio serious enough to use it. Sometimes a group submits a tape, that simply can be played, other times the group come and say, that they have a topic they want to be interviewed on.

The Women's collective

They are 10-15 in the women's group, and they have a weekly meeting to plan the pro-
gram. A month in advance they decide the contents of a program, and 2-3 women will be responsible for each: one for the technique and two for the contents of the program. Sometimes the women responsible make the program themselves, sometimes they transmit something that other women have produced for the radio.

During the weekly Wednesday meetings they discuss what is going on, and who has the time to attend upcoming events, meetings etc. They also evaluate the program from the day before.

Their program is on Tuesday nights at 7 o'clock and usually lasts 1 to 2 hours. Since many women are busy putting kids to bed and doing other chores during that time they tape the programs and repeat them Wednesday mornings at 10.30 pm.

**Cooperation in the radiostation and financing**

In the beginning there were some discussions about the financial cooperation between the different groups in the squatter radio. The women set up an organization called "Ease your conscience", for women who were rich, and didn't want to take part in the actions and the radio work. The money that came from that account was used to build up the women's radio. The other groups in the radiostation were dissatisfied with this, and it caused some discussions about the degree of independence of the single groups in the radio.
Now that only the women's radio and the Saturday night group are transmitting, they are so dependant upon each others that the cooperation has gotten a lot better.

Beside the "Ease your Conscience"-account, the women finance their radio by donating five guilders each a month, by selling posters, by speaking about radio in schools and neighborhood centers, and by holding benefit concerts. Once they participated in a "homo night" in the national radio. They broadcast 15 minutes each hour from 11 pm. to 6 am. and got paid 1000 guilders for it.

The individual radio groups do not discuss or try to influence each others programs.

Future

Their dreams of the future include a different transmission-time, and they want longer air time, so that the programs do not have to be as crammed with information as has been the case so far. Also they would like to have time to play a lot more music. This new format has been taken into use from March 31st this year: Every Sunday night they now want to send women's radio from 8-12 pm.: "easy listening".

They also wish to be able to make more controversial programs and to make more of live radio.

They don't believe, that the station will be given a license but they think they can continue the way they have until now. A lot of the commercial pirates were traced in
the beginning of 1983, but the squatter radio survived - and the women plan and hope to be able to do that for a long time.

Other Women's Programming?

In Holland there are five other women's radios: in Utrecht, Delft and Den Bosch there are radio stations similar to "Vrouwenradio" in Amsterdam, and in Rotterdam the women from the women's radio in a newspaper article have stressed, that they were not feminists, but that they want to focus upon neighborhood activity - and that they want ordinary women to use the radio as their own. The last one in Nijmegen hasn't been transmitting lately, because the women in the radio group have been discussing what they want to use the radio for.
Italy

The strength, the fantasy and the enthusiasm of the Italian women's movement has been sending vibrations way beyond the boundaries of Italy itself. Women in Denmark, Sweden and other European countries have been wondering what has enabled the Italian women to become so strong?

One of the answers to that question is the very definite oppression of women in the Italian society.

The first feminist collectives were organized in 1968 and in 1970 "Movimento de Liberazione della Donna" (MLD) was started at a seminar arranged by "Partito Radicale".

"Unione Donna Italiane" (UDI) has existed since 1937 where it was founded as women's organization against fascism. They are the two major women's movements in Italy, ideologically different but working for some of the same causes.

One of the struggles have been the right to free abortion. Other important issues have been: the right to divorce, to have access to methods of contraception, working against violence against women and a variety of other issues securing the possibility of an autonomous, strong life of women.

Beside these national organizations there have been and still are a lot of minor, more or less radical, regionally organized women's groups. Also the women workers have been very active in this period. A lot of strikes have been going on, and the women
workers and the women in the feminist movement work together in areas of common interest.

The way of working within the women's movement in Italy has been changing over the last years. Now women are working within more organized frames in the communist party, in the autonomous women's university, and in other women's groups working in specialized areas. A lot of changes have happened with women: their consciousness as well as legal status over these years.

Media situation

Until the reform in the broadcast media was heavily centralized and controlled by the government through the statemonopoly. Some radio stations challenged the monopoly, and the supreme court passed the decision that the monopoly of RAI was unconstitutional. This decision encouraged lots of other pirates to go on the air. In 1979, official statistics were, that 2,800 private radio stations and 700 TV stations were in existence. This means, that there were more radio stations per capita than in the United States. Only in Rome one heard 70 different radio stations in 1981. 7 out of these were producing community oriented programming. This number of stations meant that a major struggle was going on on the airwaves. The success of each battle depended upon the strength of the transmitter, and the stronger transmitter the more expensive. This means that the commercial stations of-
ten could out-power the more activist, community oriented stations run by listener support.

Women's Radio

As, the women's movement in Italy, up through the 70s was multi-facetted and strong, it seemed quite obvious, then that women have their own radio programs in many of the progressive radio stations.

Radio Donna was one such women's program in the "Radio Citta Futura" sending 1 hour each morning and 1 hour each night. They started sending in the spring of 1977, together with about 10 other groups forming "Citta Futura" in Rome.

Other women groups did the same. In Milan there was a women's collective within "Radio Populare" and also in the "Cita Futura" in Bologna, for example. But these programs do not exist anymore. Radio Lilith took up the work in Rome after the end of Radio Donna, and became the first all-women's radio station in Italy.

As far as I have been able to find out, by contacting progressive radios in Rome, Milan and Bologna, there is no regular women's programming anymore within the radio-stations. There are still quite a few irregular programs on women's special interest areas produced by women, though.

I will therefore describe Radio Donna and Radio Lilith in Rome in order to have some of the history of Italy represented here too. These two radios are furthermore examples of different ways of organizing.
Radio Donna

The Radio Donna collective was started by young, leftist women. After a while the group was mainly housewives.

The programs

The programs were preproduced and lasted normally half an hour. The next half hour was used for phone-ins, where women could comment on the program, ask advice, tell about activities in the city etc. A lot of women used this opportunity, and from this contact with the listeners, it was obvious that a lot of women listened to the program. For some women, the radio was their sole source of information, as many women were illiterate after the years of Mussolini and his politics against women.

The radio worked as a network and source of information for the female listeners. It dealt with issues such as labor, rape, abortion, divorce and encouraged women to be active, attend demonstrations, etc. In this way the radio got to be an important connection between the various different parts of the women's movement in Rome.

The success of Radio Donna also showed up in the amount of money that was sent in by the listeners, to support the work of the women's radio. This financial support caused a disagreement with the rest of the radio station, since they wanted all the money to be used for the radio station and none of it for other women's activities. This is one of the reasons why the women taking over after Radio Donna wanted to form their own: Radio Lilith.
The end of Radio Donna

The open discussions of rape and abortion caused many male listeners to react. Radio Donna worked under the eternal threat from men, who wrote that Radio Citta would be bombed, the women working there be killed, raped etc.

Five housewives were broadcasting a program in which they encouraged housewives to have abortions. During the program a commando of masked men came into the studio, shot each and every woman in the womb. They also destroyed most of the equipment. This was the end of Radio Donna, though none of the women were fatally wounded.

Radio Lilith

Out of the collective of Radio Donna grew the Radio Lilith. The station was opened July 1st., 1979 and was located in the women's house in Rome. The radio was the first all-women radio station in Italy. The radio collective consisted of 20 women, with the daily responsibility resting on the 6-7 of them, who had the most time.

All of the women worked without pay and their equipment was simple and cheap.

The programs

The radio station was open for all women to use as their channel on the air, but with the condition that the collective give their approval first. For instance, pro-
grams speaking against legal abortion would not be aired.

The women in Radio Lilith were very concerned, that the language should be straightforward, and that the atmosphere of the radio station should be cozy and inviting for women, who had never had contact with radio before. Their aim also was that all women should understand the news.

Produced programming and news were mixed with music. The telephone was always open, and a lot of women called to comment and add something.

The programs always had a feminist aim. A program on jazz would naturally include a part on women in jazz. Radio Lilith was sending a lot of informative programs directed to women on abortion and contraception, etc. and about the discussions going on in the feminist movement.

Every day at a set time Radio Lilith had a one and a half hour phone discussion on some topic. The radio also invited the listeners to join demonstrations, attend dances in the women's house and other similar events.

The radio was quite different from other community radios. The women cried a lot and laughed a lot on the air. They made a point of speaking in first person simple tense: "I". Thus they followed one of the basic principles of the feminist movement: to respect and to value the personal experience, to enable the women listeners to identify with what they said.
The end of Radio Lilith

The original group of women in the collective of Radio Lilith were recruited in the women's movement and from the left-wing parties. These women all had the common wish to give women a voice on the air - and to present the world to the women listeners in an understandable way. They had not really spent much time discussing politics, because there was a consensus, that they all had the same ideas and ideals with the radio work - and with their own political work in that connection.

Unfortunately this proved not to be true. According to Gloria Negro, with whom I spoke during my visit to Rome in August 1981, and who had been part of the radio collective for a period of time, the cooperation of the women disintegrated at some point, because too many disagreements had been stored away. They had hard economical problems and ideological conflicts. More and more of the women lost interest, because it got to be so strenuous, and at a very weak point - on March 8th. - the equipment was stolen from the women's house.

Future

As far as I have been able to find out, there unfortunately is no future for Radio Donna or Radio Lilith in Rome. And a woman, Jane, from "Radio Populare" writes the following about the role of women in their radio in Milan:
Italia 85
"The radio first started with a lot of women directly involved - in fact there was a collective of women within the staff. There were women's programmes on abortion, health, social problems of all kinds. There was one programme called "Woman's Space". Probably it was necessary at that time but after a while we felt it was insulating and deprived us of being able to participate in larger areas such as politics. Our public has changed, too. Ironically, the Italian state radio has taken up some of our ideas and perhaps their female listeners have more need for it. What the women in the radio try to do now is to have a more active role, not only within the structure of the radio but also towards their listeners, campaigning against the pill for example, or for the referendum on abortion - informing but also until a few years ago women were definitely more active. We actually had self-consciousness phone-ins. They were ready to talk and discuss personal, intimate problems - a memorable phone-in was triggered off by the presenter discussing the incident of a woman killing her newborn twins. We received lots of phone-calls by mothers speaking about their innermost feelings which caused a great scandal. Nowadays this does not occur - they prefer to talk more generally and avoid the personal side. Perhaps because our public is larger now."

Perhaps this situation is true for other radio stations in Italy, I don't know.
Italy was one of the first countries in Europe to have a blooming community radio movement. Does this development show a characteristic development? Or is it more of a national, specific situation?
Norway

The feminist movement in Norway has developed into more different groups since "The New Feminists" (Ny-femisterne) started their work in 1970. They organized their work in groups: for consciousness raising, to study specific areas of women's lives, struggles, history, etc, and to form actions and outward activities.

The socialist oriented "Women's Front" (Kvinnefronten) was started in 1972 and has as its main slogan: "Fight against all suppression of women - for the liberation of the women". There has been a lot of discussion within the organization on the political program and action.

In the fall of 1975 some women split out of the Women's Front and founded "Bread and Roses" in the spring of 1976. In a letter from 1977 they express their attitude to women's liberation in this way:

We believe that the capitalist society is incompatible with the liberation of women. Suppression is closely tied together with the economical forces/powers dominating our society today. (Translated from the Nordic Women's calendar 1978 by BJ)

Since 1975 the women's movement has had a women's house to room all the diversified activities: meetings, courses and seminars, workshops, and a café. Having a place to gather has been of major significance to the Norwegian women, since there has not
been much room for the liberation of women on the overall scale in the conservative Norwegian society. Norway is a heavily religious society and does not have much tolerance for the women's liberation movement. This can be seen as an important reason why the activities of the women in Norway seem to be so forceful - to contain so much will to survive in spite of the surroundings. A lot of fantasy has been developed in this connection.

In 1976 the lesbians of Oslo formed their own movement and have their base in the women's house, too. They tell that they are building upon the ideas of anti-authoritarian organizing, and that, moreover, they work a lot with expressing their ideas through theatre, music and so forth.

A "Women's Culture Center" has been added to the other women's activities in Oslo in 1982. One of these cultural activities is the women's community radio: radiOrakel.

Media Situation

"Norges Rikskringkasting" has had monopoly of sending TV and radio till the community radio experiments started in December 1981. The national network is responsible for one TV channel - and - as one of the few countries still in Europe - one radio program.

There has been no local or regional radio in Norway as a decentralized part of the national network as is the case in several other European countries.
But in 1981 a period of experiments with community based radio started. Three different organizational forms are possible: general community radio including privately organized and supported radio that serves a town - or a group of people with similar interests, organization radio is seen as the second kind, and finally the training radio typically organized at a university or another educational institution with education in the area of mass communication.

A lot of the Norwegian community radios are produced by religious groups. In Oslo the lo community radios are sharing the same frequency.

One of these is radioOrakel.

radioOrakel

RadioOrakel started in October 1982 after half a year of preparations. They were broadcasting 7 hours in the beginning but now they are on the air 10 hours a week. RadioOrakel is based in the women's community of Oslo - and grew out of activities to get a women's culture center, where they have their studio.

Organizational structure of radioOrakel

RadioOrakel has 80 members of which five are men. They are organized in 12 fixed editorial groups producing programs every week or every two weeks. In the coordination group 12 women meet once every two weeks
and connect the work of all the editorial groups, take care of the economical matters, other administrative tasks, and check the technical facilities.

3 or 4 of the editorial groups concentrate upon cultural issues, others concentrate upon other specific themes. One of the groups takes care of the news and news-related matters. A number of volunteers take care of the daily administration.

One of the important points in radiOrakel, as in most other women's radio collectives, is that they don't want "technician" experts or "journalist" experts. On the other hand they focus on the technical training of the women, because they have realized the importance of a decent technical quality of the programming - and the self-confidence that accompanies technical skills.

The programs in radiOrakel

In the beginning they only broadcast produced programming in order to get a chance to become familiar with the media. Therefore they got the reputation of being very "prof".

Now half of the program is normally pre-produced, the other half is sent live.

The intention of radiOrakel is to go out and get as diversified a contact as possible. They are opposed to the idea of expressing one opinion saying that "radiOrakel is just as exuberant as the life of
women". It is not the radio of the women's movement, and the women working in the radio are of all ages, even though most are in their 20's or 30's. The idea of the radio is that everybody who wants to should be able to be part of the radio.

They hope to use the programming to spread women's culture which develops from the experience of women, themselves. Feminist journalism they define as women doing the journalist work - and in this way they feel free to deal with all areas/matters.

Some of their programs are: LauraLur: where the listeners can call up and get information on matters such as health, law, psychological matters, religion, electrical installations etc. "Samlivskvartetten" (living together quartet) dealing with the family and alternative ways of living together as well as sexuality. "Sjuern" is a debate program, in which two people confront each other and debate a specific issue. "Kvinnomoroskopet" deals with astrology and the occult. "Fritt fram for lyttene" is a program consisting of 4 minute tapes on topics listeners send in. "Portrettet" is a portrait of an individual woman. "Brennaktuelt" is a news oriented debate program. "Veteranrunden" is directed towards older women. Besides these areas, radiOrakel deals with women and the labour market, unions and movements, prostitution, pornography, battered women etc.
The listeners

According to a survey done by the Norwegian Media Research Institute the typical radiOrakel listener is a "young girl, 15 to 25 years of age, interested in cultural matters". This survey also showed that there was no preference shown by the listeners to one specific of all the community radios in Oslo.

Future

The women from radiOrakel are satisfied with their program, both as to content and organization. Financing is their biggest problem. Right now (May 1983) they have a debt that they must pay. It is very exhausting to produce all the programming they do, when it is all dependant upon the personal initiative and interest. Therefore they are having an activist week, where they demand that Stortinget (Parliament) do something to help finance their period of experiments with "nærradio" (community radio). So far the Norwegian government has had no expenses, but in July the period is expected to be prolonged for the third time, and the groups now want economical support.
Sweden

In Sweden the women's movement took a different form than in many other countries, because of the vastness of the country. You therefore can't really talk about the development of a national women's movement.

In 1968 a group of 8 women decided together to study the women's question through marxism. They called themselves "Group 8". This developed two years later into a women's organization, and other "Group 8" 's were started all over Sweden. They define themselves as a free socialist women's organization.

This was the beginning - and other women's organizations and groups were being formed. Women bookcafés, women's houses and women's culture has been blooming during the more recent years. I Stockholm, the women established a women's house which is the center of activities. Among these, the women's program at Stockholm grass-roots radio: Radio Klara.

In many ways, the situation for women in Swedish society is relatively good. The development can be compared with the situation of women in other social democrat-governed countries like Denmark for instance. The situation of women does not get to be so unbearable, that you find a strong resistance movement - among the women too. Of course it doesn't mean, that everything is perfect in Sweden. It of course is not. There still are things to be won, there still are areas where women are not really equal. And where women are equal with men, you can discuss if that
is what they really want? Equality with the men as men??? The fundamental influence on the country and the politics still has to be won. The voice of women still needs to be heard - and still needs to be heard in specific women's programs on the radio for instance.

Media situation

The Government of Sweden has monopoly of broadcasting. Sveriges Radio (Sweden's Radio) broadcasts 2 TV programs and 3 radioprograms, additionally 24 local were established. These local radios are organized one company - all owned by Sveriges Radio. They each broadcast specifically to a whole region or county. They operate with guidelines, to ensure that they are locally oriented in their news, there information and debates are about local matters. They report on all the various activities in the area: schools, church, business, movements and art. Besides these obligations they also send music and entertainment programs.

The local programs of the local radio are being broadcast over the national networks and they have to conform to the rules of the national networks as well. Still they have, as long as they fulfill thes demands, quite an extended autonomy within the single station.

The local stations have a phenomenon called "Allemansradion" - (everybody's radio), that is more or less encouraged in the different regions of Sweden. The people producing the programs can get technical and journalistic advice from the staff of the local radio in case they need and request it.
A similar access-slot is to be found in the national network, in the "Bandverkstad" (tape-workshop).

Närradio

Finally, there is in Sweden, community-radio. This was started as an experiment in 1976 and last 3 years. After the termination of these, additional years have been granted - the experiment is now in its 5th year. Most of the community radio in Sweden is more produced by religious groups but some more socially oriented groups have also obtained sending permission. One such is Radio Klara in Stockholm consisting of 11-12 groups from Stockholm. One of these is the "women's house-group", who are sending women's programming 2 ½ hours, once a month.

Women's Radio

You find women's radio on all the different levels of radioproduction in Sweden. Women can produce women's programs in the tapeworkshop in the national network, and in the local radio. These will by the nature of the type of access it is, be irregular.

Radio Ellen

In the national network you can find "Radio Ellen". This program has existed since September 1981, and is broadcasting one hour from 9-10 am every Saturday morning.

The women behind Radio Ellen describe the program as:
Art, talk on a subject, a newscast, some short reportages and a couple of "every-day people", mostly women who can tell about, for instance the work in the studio.

and the women continue the description:

The thing that is different in Ellen is not so much the fact that she is a woman: rather that the program is sent directly from the studio, and that we don't have any experts in the studio, but instead try to get down to the knowledge that women do have.

It's very important for the succes of the program, that the women in charge are able to make the women visiting them in the studio for an interview or discussion, feel relaxed and at home, since they are concentrating on women, who are not used to be speaking into a microphone. They have made the studio into a cozy place with plants, prints etc. And when that is not enough they encourage the women to bring a friend, so that they don't feel so alone in the studio.

The programs

Radio Ellen have sent programs on nursing, lovepoems, women's oppression in Iran, peace, statistics on the labourmarket, the tired feet of waitresses and many other things in the lives of women. They have had a series of programs on the computerization of the jobs; to which they have also received a lot of response, (just as they do in reaction to many of their programs). Unions and individuals have called up and asked to get a copy of the programs in order to pass on the information.
The programs have had the function of alarm-clock, the women's description of the reaction is:

We hope that our programs show how it looks in some women's job areas and in the lives of women. Even though, on the surface, it looks like women are equal - it isn't that way. That is easily seen by looking at the statistics, for example. We hope that women better can see their own situation, by hearing their friends describe it.

The listener

Radio Ellen have open telephone after the program for at least half an hour. Here women can call in (the radio Ellen women return the call in order to save the expenses of the caller) to tell what they think was good, bad, suggest new programs etc. By this contact the women know, that they have quite a few listeners.

A description of the typical listener can be told by quoting what one listener has said:

Ellen - that is the women who never has written any letters to the editor in her life, but who is very good at cooking.

and the journalists add to this description:

After our program we hope that she will write letters to the editor and that we will have learned to cook well.

The newscast of Radio Ellen

The newscast is one of the very important areas of Radio Ellen.
The newsbulletin is one of the most important items we air in Radio Ellen, Isa Edholm says. The women's world is to be found all over, but the news about it often disappear in the waste basket at the traditionel editorial offices.

They tell that this discovery has been done many places and that women's news staff are being created all over. They get their news from the existing women's news-services, from traditionel new-services and from newspapers from other countries. The staff at Radio Ellen also find statistical material on matters concerning the lives of women and report on the discoveries themselves.

The program guide of Radio Ellen

After each program Radio Ellen send out a kind of program guide, where they follow up the items that have been dealt with in the program. This is being subscribed to by more and more women, by organizations, political agencies etc. In this way the program doesn't just disappear up in the air.

Radio Amanda

Another type of women's radio is Radio Amanda at the local Radio: Kalmar Radio.

This program is being aired once a week on Fridays from 5.20- 6 pm. It's produced by two women journalists, who started the program in the fall of 1981. The reason for the start was the discovery by the two journalists that it was very difficult to keep the women's perspective in the normal programming. They wanted to work in a framework, where this was the main purpose.
In the newsbulletin of Radio Kalmar, Eva-Britt and Helena are actively trying to keep up the stream of "women's news" on the days where Amanda is not on the air.

The programs

Amanda is a magazine with produced programs mixed with music. They try to be as up-to-date as possible, have dealt with medical problems, labor market, the everyday of women, the leisure time, relationships, flirt, dance, sport, children and politics.

The listeners

Radio Amanda is listened to by many women, and women call them up and tell them, that they are happy that "their petty problems are being taken seriously".

Amanda in the Kalmar local radio

Eva-Britt and Helena want to continue with the program, want to keep adding new perspective to those that they have already highlighted. The other journalists, who were very supportive in the beginning have started to think that it must be about time to stop that "experiment". Eva-Britt and Helena, however, feel that they have just started. And they believe they will continue for a long time.

They use three work-days to produce Amanda and they decide the contents all by themselves. So far they have not met any interference or censorship from higher levels in the hierarchy.
The feminists in Radio Klara

Radio Klara is one of the community radios in Sweden. It is located in Stockholm, and is made up by grassroots movements in Stockholm. It started sending in the spring of 1979, and the women's group joined in the fall of 1979.

Each group in the radiostation has to pay 150 Swedish Crowns a month to be part of the organization, and to have the right of sending for half an hour a month. Because there were not really enough people in the other groups, the women's groups had 2 ½ hours a month.

The programs in Radio Klara

The group has been sending programs on nuclear power, a women's festival in Amsterdam, interviews with women musicians, the matriarchy, patriarchy and the future society, reviews of feminist books and women's news.

Future

As long as the group has the money and the interest to continue, and if the period of experiments with community radio gets extended, they will stay on the air to have a women's voice take part in the debate on the Swedish airwaves.
Switzerland

The new feminist movement in Switzerland started out in the early 1970s with a strong, activist, anti-parliamentarian street movement, fighting for abortion and other basic women's rights.

In Switzerland you can't really talk about one feminist movement though, as the three language-areas have their own culture, heavily influenced by the countries sharing their language: in the French-speaking part of Switzerland by France, in the German-speaking part by Germany and in the Italien-speaking part by Italy.

I spoke with some women in Geneva, and their evaluation of the situation today in Switzerland generally was that the women's movement hasn't really gained anything. In Geneva it's easier to get an abortion now, but it's illegal! The consciousness of the women has changed somewhat, but with the economic crises also affecting the Swiss society, women are now being sent back to the homes (if they ever got a chance to get out), mothers have won small victories, but the situation of day-care facilities and maternity-leave are still very, very bad. The women in Switzerland felt, that they have the worst conditions of all women in Europe. Women got the right to vote in national elections in 1971 - and in some districts women still can't vote in regional/local elections. The vote is not a main issue in the women's movement, the two women I spoke with meant, because their political work was outside of the parliamentary system.
anyway - but it tells something about the role of the women in the Swiss society.

Looking at the Swiss women's movement as an activist movement today, it seems weak, but a lot of things are going on. In Geneva, for instance, there's a women's health center, a house for battered women, a women's library, a women's center and other decentralized activities vital to the women living in the area.

Again we can observe the tendency to decentralization of the feminist movement in Switzerland, as in many of the other European countries. In Switzerland on top of this development, there also was a big crisis in the feminist movement, that was initiated by the upcoming of a Lesbian movement. As a result the lesbians split with the women's group after a lot of discussion.

Women culture is, as mentioned above, very affected by the three language-areas, so you can almost talk about three different women cultures. This means that there are at least two French women's magazines and two German. There are women's libraries and bookstores. And the women I spoke with mentioned the important role a women's radio could have as a way of coordinating the many different activities forming the women's movement, a way of keep discussions and exchange going.

Media situation

In Switzerland you also (of course) in the area of radio and TV will have to talk about
the three languages: there are three French radio programs, two German and two Italian under the Swiss state monopoly, and one TV-station for each language. Beside these national stations many foreign TV-stations can be received in different parts of Switzerland.

Pirate radio/community radio

So far there has not been any legal community radio in Switzerland; but because of pressure from the citizens, there will be a 5-year period of experiments with community radio starting up in the end of 1983 or the beginning of 84. These stations will be allowed to be commercially sponsored, which will make the possibilities for the listener-sponsored initiatives more difficult, when you think about standard of equipment, sender-capacity and so on.

So far there has been several pirate radios in Switzerland. The first one sent for one week in 1975, before it was stopped. It aired among others women's programs - had a very bad sound-quality, but a lot of listeners. In 1979 Geneva witnessed a women's pirate station for a period, and in Zürich the first pirate radio was a women's radio too. This radio succeeded in sending for almost two months before it was shut down by the police, and the equipment was confiscated.

Other pirates have been luckier (or more clever) and have been able to send for longer periods of time, being able to get better equipment and to get to know the media better.
One of these even interfered in the monopoly programs to announce their frequency and programs. In this way they could avoid announcing their programs ahead of time, with the PT&T jamming their frequency.

Another women pirate sender in Zürich succeeded in sending women's radio once a month for two years from 1980 and on.

There aren't any pirates left in Switzerland anymore. Quite a few radio stations from France and Italy can be listened to in Switzerland, though, and they have a big audience.
Other Countries

Our tour of Europe stops here, but there are still several countries to visit. For a variety of reasons I have been able to write about the above ten countries and not about the rest.

First of all I can say that if I had had the time I would have included all the countries of Europe. Secondly: I have written about all the countries that to my knowledge have women's programming in community radio, which has been the main focus of this material.

I will here briefly give the sporadic information I have about the situation concerning community radio in other countries in Europe. I do not have any information on Iceland, Luxembourg, and Portugal, as well as most part of "Eastern Europe", so they are not mentioned below.

Austria

In Austria the state has the monopoly of producing radio and TV. There are 2 TV channels and 3 radio programs: one with light entertainment (mainly music), one more culturally oriented, and the last one airs locally produced programs.

A few pirates have been on the air, but it is said not to be anything of significance.

There are no signs that this situation should change significantly over the next couple of years in the area of radio.
Talking of cable TV the case is a little different, since some local video-initiatives have been developing.

Finland

The Finnish Broadcasting Company has the monopoly of producing radio and TV, and the programs are under parliamentary control.

In Helsinki, Tampere, and Turku in the southern part of Finland, there is independent commercial local cable TV.

There is also some regional radio working within the state monopoly as well as the three local radio stations do in Tampere, Turku, and Helsinki.

Ireland

In Ireland a women's program "Women Today" is broadcast on the national network "Radio Eireann". This program started in 1979 and has been airing programs that have seemed to be very provocative to the Irish listeners. Reactions have been very strong in positive and negative directions.

Also an Irish community radio movement is working to change the law so that the community radio can be legal, and not as now: semi-legal.

Greece

Beside the nation-wide monopoly-media some pirates have been on the air, especially in the capital, Athens. These pirates are said
to be commercial music stations, normally run by one single man - no women.

Spain

The people, I have been in contact with, who know about the Spanish media situation, have all denied that there is any women's programming in the Spanish radio. The few women's voices, you hear, are in the children's programs.

The situation of private radio is being dealt with by the court, for the time being. Therefore the Spanish Ministry of Information was reluctant to pass on information on the situation. Around 30 regionally based community radios are on the air legally, I was told.

Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia consists of many different cultures and languages, which, combined with the ideas of decentralization in the political system of the country, has given an evident base for a very well developed system of local radios.

In 1979 8 central radio stations, 17 regional, and 182 local radio stations were to be found, according to official information.

The centrally organized radio stations are situated in the capitals of the autonomous parts of the country. The regional stations are in the big towns and cover an area of
several townships.

Communication on the local transmitters has come to play a significant role in the process of decision making that is handled by autonomous groups.

The local radios are working within the same legal framework as the other radio stations in Yugoslavia.

Economically the stations survive by license fees, controlled advertising (the items have to be approved by the state), and funds from the administration of the local area.

The size of the stations vary from 10 to 70 employees.

In order to help better understanding among the different cultures, the regional as well as local radio stations can "plug into" the central stations and have their programs broadcast nationwide.
How do we stay on the air?

Even though women - by chance or choice - are working within very different frames in European women's radio, a common thing is that women want to use the radio for change, use the radio as a source of information that shall enable us to act, do something about our lives - move and be moved.

Planning the work within the radio collective and with the programs shows other characteristic traits. The decisionmaking process is collective to the largest extent possible. A collective responsibility towards each other (share skills) and each others' work (evaluation of the programs) create a secure and mutual atmosphere, where the roles of technical and journalist experts are not necessary.

The programming, even though it of course has its national characteristics, also points in the same direction: to look at the world with the eyes of women by giving them a voice on the air to discuss matters of importance to our lives.

Still, there are also differences between the different stations, for example: "Radio Pleine Lune" in Fernay-Voltaire emphasizes the international experience of women and "Frauenfunk" in Berlin focus on local activities, "Vrouwenradio" in Amsterdam produces radio for women more or less like themselves, and "Les Nanas Radioteuses" in Paris want all women to use their radio,
How do we stay on the air? 114

a lot of women called up "Radio Lilith" in Rome, and few women call up "Libre a elles" in Brussels,
the Italian women's radios were some of the first feminist voices on the air in Europe, and they seem to be practically off the air now, as the Copenhagen "Women waves" just got on the air,
Radio Lilith was a radio station all by itself, most other women's collectives are part of a mixed station.
Where will women's radio in Europe be in 1985? in 1990?

More and more countries in Europe are decentralizing the radio-structure, more and more public access and participation is possible. The pirate period in France, the French-speaking part of Belgium, and Italy is gradually being replaced by a legal community radio situation, and legally initiated experiments are on the air in Sweden, Norway and Denmark. An opening up of the monopoly is being discussed in Switzerland, Germany, and Great Britain.

At the same time the crisis in the West European countries is getting worse, the winds are getting colder, and women are being told that "the real place of a real woman is ..."

What will happen?

Will the pressure from our changing life
How do we stay on the air? 115

situation be so hard that we don't have the energy to produce radio?

Will the suppression be so bad that the need for information and activity increases, and the radio gets to play an even more important role for women?

Will the decentralization of the media continue to room progressive voices?

Or will we all "go pirate"?

What do we want to happen, and how do we want to achieve it?

How can we keep our radio as our own means of expression to strengthen our local culture, and share experiences across boundaries with our "international sisters"?
Women's Radio Programming collectives

Belgium
Libre a elles
c/o Radio Air Libre
185 Chaussee d'Ixelles
1050 Bruxelles
Tel: 513 10 50

Radio Femmes
c/o Cafe des femmes
Rue Nagelmackers 8
4000 Liege

Denmark
Women Waves
c/o Sokkelund Radio
Rådhusstræde 13, 3.sal
1499 Copenhagen K
Tel: 01 - 13 28 07

France
Les Nanas Radioteuses
c/o Maison des femmes
8, Cité Prost
75011 Paris
Tel: 348 2491

Radio Pleine Lune
c/o Radio Zones
7, Grand Rue
Ferney-Voltaire 01210
Tel: 23 - 20 01 93
Women's Radio Collectives

Myrian de Gusseme
26, Rue Roland
59800 Lille
Tel: 20 - 92 14 57

Elisabeth Schultess
c/o Radio Dreyeckland
10, Rue de Franken-Zaessingue
68130 Altkirch
Tel: 89 - 40 13 55

Fréquence Gaie - Paris
Tel: 1 - 258 30 00

Germany

Berlin Frauenfunk
c/o Sender Freies Berlin
Masuren Allee 9-12
Berlin 90
Tel: 30 - 826 2423

Familienredaktion
Ute Bromberger
c/o NDR
Rothenbaumchaussee 132
2000 Hamburg 13
Tel: 040 - 413 2607

Great Britain

Women's Airwaves
Local Radio Workshop
12a Praed Mews
London W2 1QY
Women's Radio Collectives

June Ayling
21 Delius Drive
Tonbridge, Kent TN10 4DW

Walworth Cable Radio
c/o Walworth & Aylesbury Community Arts Trust
Shop 8, Taplon
Aylesbury Estate
London SE17
Tel: 01-701 9010
Contact: Caroline Mitchell

Holland
Vrouwenradio
Postbox 3316
Amsterdam

Rotterdam Vrouwenradio
Postbox 21698
Rotterdam

Den Bosch Vrouwenradio
Postbox 728
Den Bosch

Utrecht Vrouwenradio
Postbox 573
Utrecht

Ireland
Women Today
Radio Eireann
Dublin
Eire
Italy
"Donne d'Europe"
RAI-TV
Rubrica Donne D'Europa del GR 2
9, Via del Babuino
Roma
Tel: 3878

Norway
radiOrakel
Pilestredet 30C
Oslo 1
Tel: 02 - 20 50 11

Sweden
Women's Radio Collective in radio Klara
Kvinnohuset
Snickarbacken 10
11139 Stockholm
Tel: 08 - 10 22 76

Radio Amanda
c/o Radio Kalmar
Box 805
39128 Kalmar

Radio IPFI
c/o International Association of Immigrant Women
Vasagatan 36
11120 Stockholm
Tel: 08 - 20 83 87

Radio Ellen
Riksradion
Box 200
95123 Luleå
References

Following a listing of the background information for the single countries. The complete information on the single sources are only brought the first time they are mentioned.

All interviews with the women's radio collectives are, when nothing else is mentioned, carried out by Birgitte Jallov, March 1983.

The references are listed in order of importance in the single chapters.

Belgium

Interview with "Libre a elles"

Interview with Michel Jocquet, Ministere de la Communauté Francaise, March 1983, by Birgitte Jallov


Media et Action Culturelle: REPERES, no. 11 Mai 1981

Denmark

Minutes from meetings in the Women Waves (Unpublished material)

Minutes from meetings in Sokkelund Radio (Unpublished material)

Interview with Bodil Graae, Familie-spejlet, Denmarks Radio, March 1982, by Anne Wegeberg, Birgit Skovgaard Petersen and Birgitte Jallov.

Sokkelund Radio er klar til at gå i luften, in: KVINDER 46, 1982
References

Jordmorupjecen, Copenhagen 1981
Uprofessionelle billeder, ed. Erik Thygesen
Copenhagen 1980
Mellem opgør og tilpasning, Elisabeth
Flensted-Jensen et al., Aarhus 1977

France
Interview with "Les Nanas Radioteuses"
Interview with "Radio Pleine Lune"
"Dix ans de Lutte des Femmes", paper from "Agence Femmes Information" March 1980
French newspaper articles from 1977-1983
Written materials from "Radio Pleine Lune"
(letters and pamphlets)

Nähradio
Kvinder i kamp, ed. Suzanne Giese,
Copenhagen 1976

Germany
Interview with Madi Kemper, Frauenfunk,
Sender Freies Berlin
Interview with Ute Bromberger, Familien-
redaktion, NDR, Hamburg
Materials from "Assoziation Freier Radios"
Herrad Schenk: Die Feministische Heraus-
forderung in Deutschland. München 1981
Materials from Frauenfunk, SFB
Materials from NDR and SFB

Great Britain
Interview with Ellie Austen, Sheffield,
April 9.-10.1983 (see below)
Interview with Caroline Mitchell, Sheffield April 9.-10.1983 by Lotte Nielsen and Bodil Grue-Sørensen, Copenhagen
Kvinder i kamp
Närradio
Uprofessionelle billeder
Correspondance with Anne Karpf

Holland

Interview with "Vrouwenradio" in Amsterdam Over Feminisme en Vrouwenbeweging, in:
Vrouwengeweging Tussen Macht en Emancipatie, Amersfoort, de Hostink 1982

Italy

Interview with Gloria Negro, Rome, August 1981 by Birgit Skovgaard Petersen and Birgitte Jallov
Vi er mange, vi er flest, by Si Felicetti and Kjerstin Noren, Copenhagen 1980
Radio Lilith, by Tone Ørvad in: Kjerringråd 1980
Paper presented at an English Community Radio Conference in 1982 by Jane from Radio Populare, Milan, Italy
Uprofessionelle billeder
Närradio
Kvinder er den halve verden, ed. Ellen Buch Hansen, Copenhagen 1976

Norway

Written material from radiOrakel (flyers) Næradio. Norges Offentlige Utredninger, 1982:33, Oslo
Moderne massemedier - makt og muligheter i et lite samfunn, by Halfdan Hegtun in: Onkring NRK 4/1982
Næradio

Sweden
Correspondance with Eva-Britt Carlsson, Radio Amanda
Written material about Radio Ellen
Radio Klaras Feminister, by Mireille Bergenström in: Kjerringråd 1980
Næradio
Nordisk kvindekalender 1978. Copenhagen
Uprofessionelle billeder

Switzerland
Correspondance with mediaresearcher in Geneva
Materials from ISIS, Switzerland

Other Countries
Næradio
Correspondance with mediaresearcher in Austria
Correspondance with mediaresearcher in Finland
Women of Europe, Oct.16, 1980
Women discuss how to use radio for a change at the women's panels of the international conference of community oriented broadcasters in Montreal, Canada August 7-12, 1983.

For information contact: AMARC - Clotilde Pelletier CP 250 Succursale Delordier Montreal, Quebec H2H 2N6
e-mail: AMARC4 E-mail: AMARC4