

# THE UNESCO Courier

January-March 2020

**Radio:**  
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more vibrant  
than ever



United Nations  
Educational, Scientific and  
Cultural Organization

Radio Ambulante: A wealth of **Latin American** stories

Mark Tully: A radio legend in **India**

**Burkina Faso**: Addicted to radio

**China's** Himalaya FM: Radio à la carte

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E-mail: [jean.de.lannoy@dl-servi.com](mailto:jean.de.lannoy@dl-servi.com)

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**Acting Director:** Matthieu Guével

**Acting Editor-in-chief:** Agnès Bardou

**Associate Editor:** Katerina Markelova

**Section Editor:** Chen Xiaorong

**Editions**

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**Chinese:** Sun Min and China Translation & Publishing House

**English:** Shiraz Sidhva

**French:** Christine Herme, proofreader

**Russian:** Marina Yartseva

**Spanish:** William Navarrete

**Digital edition:** Mila Ibrahimova

**Photographs and illustrations:** Danica Bijeljic

**Translation and layout coordination:**

Veronika Fedorchenko

**Administrative and editorial assistance:**

Carolina Rollán Ortega

## Production and promotion:

Ian Denison, Chief, UNESCO Publishing

and Branding

Eric Frogé, Senior Production Assistant

## Digital Production:

Denis Pitzalis, Web Architect/Developer

## Media Relations:

Laetitia Kaci, Press Officer

## Translation:

Peter Coles, Cathy Nolan

**Design:** Corinne Hayworth

**Cover illustration:** © Lex Drewinski

**Printing:** UNESCO

## Interns:

Zhu Wendi, Li Yihong (China)

Lena Whipple (France)

Linda Klaassen (Sweden)

## Co-editions

**Portuguese:** Ivan Sousa Rocha

**Esperanto:** Chen Ji

**Korean:** Soon Mi Kim

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[courier@unesco.org](mailto:courier@unesco.org)

7, Place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France

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# Editorial



The Wide Angle section of this issue is published to mark the occasion of World Radio Day, celebrated each year on 13 February

Is radio out of date? Is it time to bury this medium that entered our homes nearly a century ago? Far from it. Certainly, the transistor of yesteryear has lived its life. Linear listening, ear glued to the radio receiver, has had its day. Radio has begun its digital transformation. Today, listeners are just as likely, if not more so, to tune in on their mobile phones or computers. A major factor in reinventing the medium has been the production of podcasts – programmes available on demand. Radio can sometimes even be watched, when programmes are filmed and posted online. The listener has evolved too. Once passive behind their devices, they can now take part in broadcasts, and even help shape programmes, by voicing their opinions on social media.

So it is a very different but thriving medium that we now celebrate on 13 February each year, on World Radio Day. Proclaimed in 2011, the Day reminds us of the crucial role of this medium, which reaches a wide audience, even in the most isolated areas or in emergency situations. Since UNESCO's creation, the Organization has relied on this key medium to help fulfil its mandate to foster freedom of expression and the free flow of ideas throughout the world.

The Organization provided programmes to radio stations around the world, supporting radio information campaigns – such as the 2016 information campaign on the Zika virus in Latin America and the Caribbean – something it continues to do today. UNESCO offers training in radio broadcasting and reporting, as it has done for young Syrian refugees in Lebanon since 2014. It also supports the creation of community radio stations, or those broadcasting in the aftermath of natural disasters.

The theme of World Radio Day 2020 is diversity. This remains a burning issue because the representation of women, minorities and people with disabilities on the airwaves is still unsatisfactory. We have come a long way since female reporters had to make way for men to read their reports on air, because male voices were considered more credible. But the challenge is real.

The lack of statistics in many countries makes it impossible to draw a global map of diversity in radio. But the data that does exist, speaks for itself. In France in 2018, women accounted for thirty-seven per cent (Conseil supérieur de l'audiovisuel (CSA), 2019) of radio broadcasters. They constituted twenty-three per cent of political guests, and thirty-seven per cent of experts on radio. In the United Kingdom, while fifty-one per cent of radio staff were women, only thirty-six per cent held positions of responsibility (Ofcom, 2019). Another example: in the United States, in 2017, only eleven per cent of radio newsroom staff were from minority backgrounds (The Radio and Television Digital News Association (RTDNA) and Hofstra University Newsroom Survey, 2018).

It is important that radio reflects the audiences it serves more accurately, because diversity in radio is the key to fair and independent information.

It is also a means of giving a voice to the variety of cultures and opinions that form the basis for critical thinking.

In spite of the evolution of radio in recent years, it remains that irreplaceable voice which populates our solitude and seems to speak to us alone – even though it addresses the multitude. In a world invaded by screens, “paradoxically, one advantage of radio is that it is not accompanied by the image”, noted the *UNESCO Courier* in the editorial of its February 1997 issue devoted to radio.

This message is just as relevant today. “The chief quality of the TV image – that it seems so realistic – is actually its main flaw because it inhibits our imagination and our capacity to stand back and think,” the editorial continues. “We shall always need sound without image as part of our right to interpret for ourselves, as we tune in to the morning news, the meaning of world events.”

**Agnès Bardon**



© Océane Juvin



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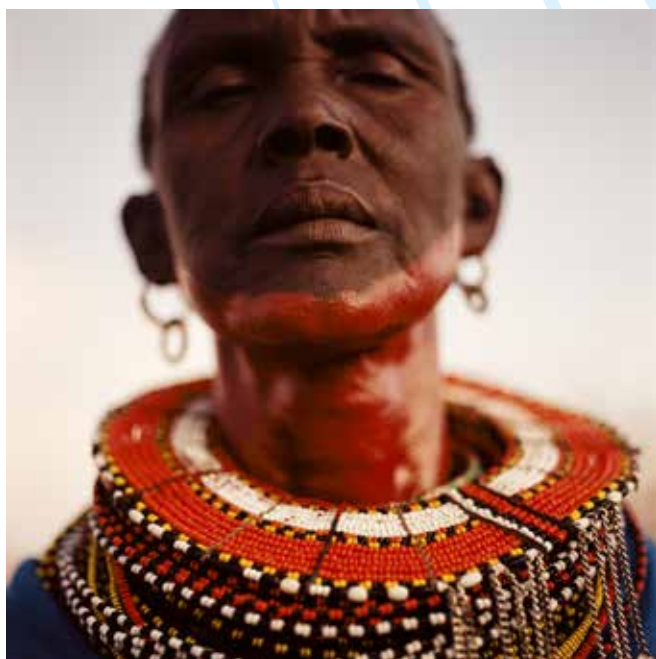
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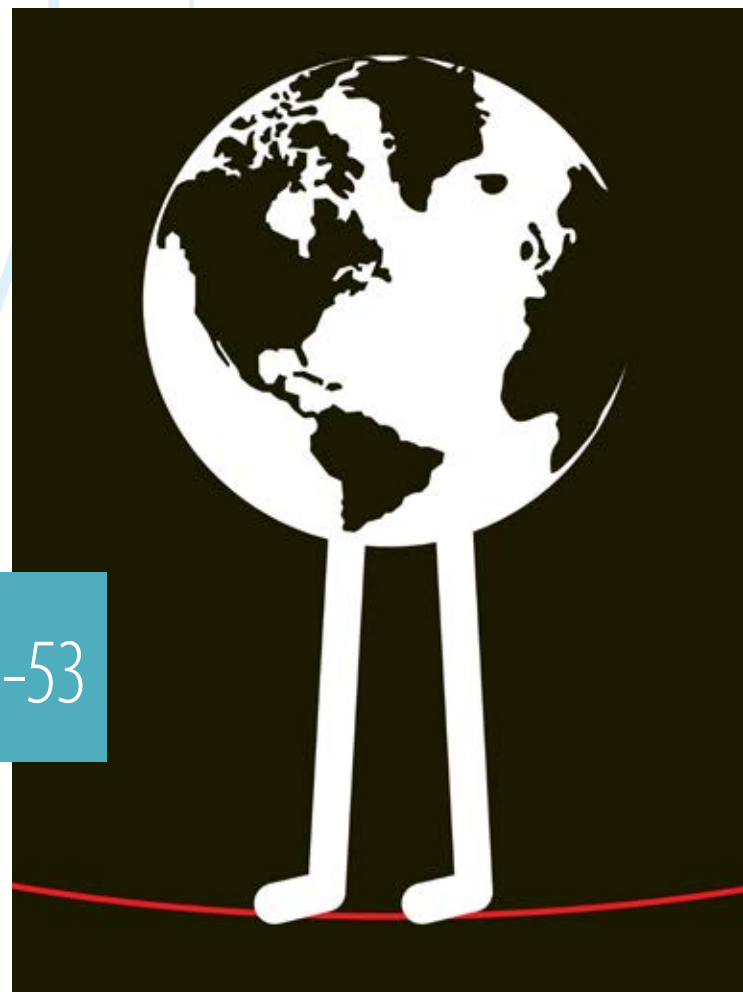


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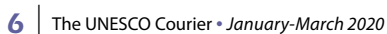
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# Wide Angle



# Podcasts: Radio reinvented



By developing new forms of sound narratives, podcasting has done more than breathe new life into radio. In just a few years, it has evolved into a global industry – reinventing the audio medium and allowing closer links to be forged with listeners.

## Siobhan McHugh

More than any other means of communication, radio has the ability to create an atmosphere of intimacy with the listener. As early as in the 1930s, United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt harnessed this capability, delivering “fireside chats”, a series of evening radio addresses to the nation over the wireless (from 1933 to 1944). But in recent years, the growth of podcasting has dialled up radio’s incredible qualities to maximum volume.

There are two reasons for this. People usually listen privately, often through headphones, which allows hosts to speak to them directly into their ears. That sets up the perfect conditions for a host-listener bond. Unlike radio, where presenters are fighting the listener’s random switch-on and ability to change stations with the flick of a dial, the podcast host can trust that the listener *wants* to listen in. This allows hosts to relax and be authentic, which increases their relatability. Some listeners say finding a new favourite podcast is like making a new friend – with over 700,000 podcasts on US media giant Apple’s iTunes, the largest podcast platform, that’s a lot of friends.

Podcasting began simply enough in 2004 as a technological innovation, mostly used by radio stations to time-shift shows. They could be posted on the internet, to be downloaded at the listener’s convenience. The name podcast reflected that. Inadvertently coined by British technology journalist and broadcaster Ben Hammersley, it was an amalgam of the words iPod (the portable device created by Apple that allows users to download audio files) and broadcast.

## A new way to use the power of the voice

Two developments – one technological, the other, cultural – helped transform the podcast market into a global industry. In 2012, Apple embedded a podcast app in its smartphones, which provided a library system that proved popular with listeners. A seismic cultural shift that introduced millions to the podcast format occurred in 2014, when an independent New York-based radio team packaged *Serial*, a podcast of online investigative journalism as gripping episodic narrative.

*Serial*’s first season offered a true story that grabbed its audience and hooked them onto the weekly podcast format. It told the story of Adnan Syed, who was convicted for the murder of his ex-girlfriend and high-school classmate, Hae Min Lee, in Baltimore, US in 1999. Syed was found guilty by a Baltimore County jury in 2000, when he was 18, and continues to serve a life sentence.

But the podcast host, Sarah Koenig, who interviewed him extensively over a prison payphone for the show, raised doubts about his conviction. Over twelve episodes, Koenig painstakingly combed through the evidence, interviewing many of those who were associated with the case.

Koenig – who received numerous awards, including the first-ever Peabody Award for a podcast – had stumbled onto a new way of leveraging the power of voice. Although grounded in regular audio journalism, *Serial*’s style was unlike anything heard on radio before. Firstly, she spoke to listeners as if they were companions in her quest for the truth, spawning lively debates on social media networks. *Serial* became an instant hit, clocking up five million downloads in the first month.



*Serial's* popularity triggered a podcasting boom as media organizations scrambled to emulate its success. Countless true crime podcasts followed. The best, such as *In The Dark*, delivered engaging crafted storytelling, and sometimes exposed miscarriages of justice.

## Pop culture, frivolity, and the news

Since then, the podcast genre has grown, taking on multiple formats. The chatcast genre, in which hosts make short, incisive comments on a theme, gained popularity. Inexpensive to make, the genre just needs a host with a good audience rapport and a distinctive theme that will attract listeners. Topics can be frivolous too. There are chatcasts for women, such as *Call Your Girlfriend*, a frank and often funny show “for long-distance besties everywhere”. The *Podfathers*, a humorous take on fatherhood, is aimed primarily at men.

One common format has journalists breaking down the news of the week, but in a deliberately casual way. Listeners are made to feel like insiders on shows such as the online magazine *Slate's Political Gabfest* in the US. In France, *Le Nouvel Esprit Public* has a similar approach, but its guests are public intellectuals moderated by veteran journalist Philippe Meyer – who started the podcast after his radio show was terminated.

Pop culture podcasts have proliferated, such as *Eyes on Gilead*, an Australian podcast about the hit television show, *A Handmaid's Tale*.

Interview shows also translate well to podcasting: a hugely popular example is *The Joe Rogan Show*, in which the American comedian interviews a raft of celebrities.

The press was quick to notice the potential of podcasting to extend its reach. In 2017, *The New York Times* launched *The Daily*, a narrative news digest billed as “How the news should sound”. Hosted by the *Times* political journalist Michael Barbaro, its formula is simple. Choosing one or two big stories of the day, it mines the expertise of the daily's 1,300 journalists to deliver an informed take on the news. The style of the podcast is casual and personalized, coupled with creative audio production.

“Unlike radio, where presenters are fighting the listener's ability to change stations with the flick of a dial, the podcast host can trust that the listener *wants* to listen in”

The results were immediate: young people subscribed to the free podcast in droves. In two years, *The Daily* was getting two million downloads per show. In September 2019, it reached a new milestone: an astonishing one billion downloads overall.

Although the US and the English-speaking world have dominated the podcasting market in the last five years, that looks set to change. In March 2019, Voxnest, an audio technology company, reported that the highest growth in podcast listeners was in Latin America, particularly in Chile, Argentina, Peru and Mexico.

This is mirrored by the success of *Radio Ambulante* (see p.10), the biggest Spanish-language narrative journalism podcast in the world. It also produces an English-language version, hosted on NPR (National Public Radio) in the US.

In India, podcasting is expanding rapidly, via networks such as IVM Podcasts. *The India Explained Podcast* promises “a refreshingly real take on all things Indian”, and is hugely popular. The Middle East has around 400 podcasts. The edgy *Eib* (shame in Arabic), a podcast from Amman, Jordan, examines the lives of ordinary people and social, cultural and religious taboos.

China tends to follow a different audio-listening model, where people pay a modest amount for educational “knowledge” programmes, or follow interactive audio platforms such as Himalaya, whose 600 million users get to sing songs and talk about family, or listen to audio books. Inspired by American programmes such as *This American Life*, Gushi FM features stories told by ordinary Chinese people of various backgrounds.







Podcasting has a powerful potential role as a tool of inclusion. To make an engaging podcast, you do need to know the nuts and bolts of audio production and to understand how audio works as a medium. Once this knowledge has been acquired, almost anyone can create a podcast. This allows marginalized voices – people from political or religious minorities, the LGBTIQI community, the disabled, the elderly and others – to be heard.

Community groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), activists, and institutions of all kinds are now devising podcasts. For example, the Cancer Council of Australia podcast provides information and support, and universities showcase their research via podcast. In an initiative described as “innovative and disruptive”, the Supreme Court of Victoria in Australia sought to make the justice system more transparent with *Gertie’s Law*, a popular podcast [for which the author was consulting producer] where judges discuss their work.

In a world plagued with disinformation and mistrust of the media, the authenticity of podcasting offers unique opportunities – from long-form investigative storytelling and the pursuit of social justice to building transparency, trust and social inclusion.

A writer, oral historian and podcaster, **Siobhan McHugh** is an Associate Professor of Journalism at the University of Wollongong, Australia. She has co-produced award-winning narrative podcasts including *Phoebe’s Fall*, *Wrong Skin* and *The Last Voyage of the Pong Su*.



## Why we mark World Radio Day

United Nations Radio was established on 13 February 1946. The date was, therefore, a natural choice to celebrate this mass medium. World Radio Day was proclaimed at UNESCO’s General Conference in 2011, following an initial proposal by Spain. It was unanimously approved the following year by the United Nations General Assembly, which declared it a UN International Day.

Why create a Day for radio? Because radio is a low-cost and popular medium, which can reach the remotest areas and the most marginalized people. It continues to broadcast when other media are out of action – for emergency communications or following a natural disaster. Finally, it is a medium that has been able to fully embrace technical developments, such as broadband and digital audio broadcasting (DAB), and to adapt to mobile devices.

The objective of World Radio Day is to raise public awareness of the importance of radio and to encourage decision makers to use it to provide access to information, and to improve international co-operation among broadcasters.

And it works. It is one of the most popular UN International Days. Every year, hundreds of radio stations around the world join in the event. The official website for the Day receives an average of over 100,000 hits a year. After gender equality (2014), youth (2015) and sport (2018), the theme chosen for World Radio Day 2020 is diversity.



**n p r**  
*The Radio Ambulante logo. Podcasts are distributed exclusively by National Public Radio (NPR), the United States non-profit media organization.*

# Radio Ambulante:

## A wealth of Latin American stories

A Colombian guru who abused dozens of women while pretending to heal them; a Cuban writer remembering her childhood in Havana; an amateur astronomer who managed to photograph the birth of a supernova from the terrace of his house in Rosario, Argentina. These are some of the diverse stories told on Radio Ambulante, a podcast service in Spanish that for eight years has not spared the imagination or effort to reach more and more people. Carolina Guerrero, one of its founders, explains the mission of this new kind of broadcasting.

**Carolina Guerrero, interviewed by  
 Lucía Iglesias Kuntz, UNESCO**

### **How did you come up with the idea of Radio Ambulante?**

Eight years ago, Daniel Alarcón and I were living in San Francisco. He is a writer, and I am a journalist; he is Peruvian, and I am Colombian. We emigrated for different reasons, but we shared the same attachment to Latin America, to the culture we grew up in – the culture of our parents and the Spanish language. We often found ourselves commenting on the type of format that dominates public radio in English, here in the United States – which is long-lasting, and narrated by the characters themselves. We really liked this format and regretted that nothing similar existed in our language. The Spanish content available to us in the US was not of great quality, so we ended up consuming content and media in English. Given that Latin America has a wealth of stories and narrators, we thought that there was a need for telling stories in that format... and decided to create it ourselves.

### **Were you thinking then of a Latino audience, that is, Spanish-speaking migrants living in the US?**

When I migrated to the US over twenty years ago, I somehow stopped being Colombian and became more Latin American. I no longer had many Colombian friends, they came from everywhere – Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, Puerto Rico – and also Latinos born here. A new horizon opened up for me, because this explosion of cultures in the US makes you realize that you didn't know as much about Latin America as you thought you did. The idea was to create content not just for migrants, but the fact of living here pushed that idea. Because deep down, we consider the US to be a Latin American country – it is full of people who speak Spanish.

From the beginning, we wanted our stories to have a universal appeal, so that everyone could somehow relate to them. They are not too newsworthy or too local – yet they are entertaining enough for a listener from the Bronx in New York to be interested in a story from Chile; or for someone from Colombia to be following a story from Guatemala.

### **Why did you choose the podcast format and not broadcast radio?**

When we first started, we were radio listeners but had no idea how that industry worked. We started looking for funding for our project here in the US, and realized that there was no room for another live radio station and that nobody was going to give us the means to create one. We immediately saw that the future was digital and realized that if Radio Ambulante was going to find an audience, it would be in digital media.

### **How do you interact with your listeners?**

Nowadays, it is impossible to ignore your audience. The digital world offers a means of constant interaction, that may not be so easy to find on the air. In fact, for us, more than an audience, it is a community of listeners – who listen to us, tell their friends about us, and give us their positive or negative comments. The listeners feel empowered, and they can also be quite demanding. They ask us for things, and sometimes point out our mistakes – we have a very direct line to them.

**U** *"Let's do that radio thing", a series of illustrations by Argentinian artist María Luque to mark the creation of Radio Ambulante on its 7th birthday in 2019.*







© Andrés Asturias

**Radio Ambulante's listening clubs (Clubes de Escucha+)** are like book clubs, but for podcast episodes.

About three years ago, we hired Colombian journalist Jorge Caraballo as a growth editor, to strengthen the show's relationship with its community of listeners. In this way, we opened other channels of communication, like a group on WhatsApp, for the most enthusiastic listeners. This allowed us to strengthen our bulletin and to build even more direct communication with listeners. We also recently launched Listening Clubs, which are like book clubs, but for podcasts – where people get together to listen to one of our stories and then comment on it.

**What is your business model and how do you sustain it?**

Radio Ambulante is an expensive project. Today, there are twenty of us, who do not produce news or do a certain number of articles per day. We produce thirty episodes a year – which is not a lot, but they take time to produce because they require a lot of editorial work and rigour. We received support from a few foundations. And three years ago, we signed an exclusive distribution contract with NPR (National

Public Radio, the US non-profit news and media organization), which distributes our content as podcasts and pays us for exclusive rights. Every year, we also organize live events that are held in theatres, and offer a membership programme for those who want to support us on a regular basis.

We have recently been trying to derive new products from our existing content, to give them added value. These derivatives are not expensive to produce, and allow us to monetize our catalogue. For example, we are currently looking at two additional sources of income, based on the 150 episodes that we already have in our catalogue.

We have just launched Lupa, the first initiative. It is an application that enables people with an intermediate or advanced level of Spanish to perfect their language through our programmes. A significant segment of our audience is made up of people studying Spanish who match this profile, especially in the US and Canada. We are very enthusiastic about this project.

“We immediately saw that the future was digital and realized that if Radio Ambulante was going to find an audience, it would be in digital media”



Our second idea is much more long-term – it involves looking for intellectual property opportunities in movies or television series. We think that some of the stories in our catalogue might one day be the basis for a fictionalized story or screenplay that could generate royalties for us.

#### **How do you choose your stories?**

We look for stories with characters rather than choosing topics. It is key that they have a narrative arc, with a beginning and an end. As we are present in various parts of the world, particularly in American and Latin American cities, and even in London, we receive stories all year round.

We know, for example, that stories about drug dealers attract many clicks, but those are already being made by others, and we are not interested in giving a human face to these villains. We think that there are other stories that deserve to come to light. Listeners like stories that are well-told, with many scenes and several voices – stories that make them dream, that connect them with their childhoods, that value ambition or effort. There are stories that we all see every day in the media, but here we can recount them unhurriedly and give ourselves the pleasure of going deeper into topics – which the audience appreciates. The average production time for each story is six months.

#### **One last question, that could well have been the first: why are you called Radio Ambulante?**

We really had a tough time deciding on the name – it was hard to find! It refers to the street vendors – simply called *ambulantes* – who are everywhere in our Latin American cities. These are super-brave, resilient people, who walk, travelling around the city, moving all over the public space; they are persevering. We felt that this image reflected us particularly well. And we loved the idea of our logo, of someone carrying a radio.



© María Luque



# China's Himalaya FM: Radio à la carte

Having worked as a professional host for the radio and television station of Jilin province, one traditional Chinese broadcaster experienced an interesting transformation into a new media host. Since 2014, Shi Zhan has been practising a new form of audio storytelling – vividly recreating the history of China's ancient dynasties on Shanghai-based Himalaya FM, the country's most successful audio network.

#### **Shi Zhan, Chinese broadcaster and talk-show host**

It was by pure chance that I enrolled in a training course that Himalaya, the online audio platform, was offering to media professionals, amateur voice lovers and people from all walks of life. It was from this course that I learnt how to use cutting-edge ideas and techniques in new media broadcasting. By using creative narration and sharing knowledge based on a respect for historical facts and audience preferences, I am now one of the most popular hosts on the platform.

With my new media thinking and humorous interpretation of Chinese history, I have attracted over 800,000 fans – ten times the number of fans I had in traditional media. Audio content has gained popularity in China over recent years. Unlike in most Western countries, where public or private advertising funds radio platforms, Chinese networks are gradually convincing audiences – especially the younger generation – to pay for audio content and knowledge.

This monetizing of audio programmes – where listeners think it is worthwhile to chip in, often in very small amounts, to listen to their favourite shows – has allowed radio hosts to increase their incomes, depending on their popularity. I recently spent \$150,000 of my income from Himalaya to build my own studio.

A pioneer in live-streaming broadcasts, audiobooks and podcasts, Himalaya FM – with offices in China, Japan and the United States, and plans to expand further – has over 600 million users (as of October 2019, according to a company release). The network's unique expertise has enabled amateur and professional producers to create content for a potentially broad and burgeoning audience.

#### **“Sharing human wisdom through audio”**

Professional lawyers, doctors and other experts can share their knowledge with the general public through audio. Their efforts are supported by Himalaya, whose stated mission is to “share human wisdom through audio”. The online audio platform provides a large market for paid copyright content, and a wide distribution channel. Anyone can benefit from the company's business model. One striking example of this is of broadcast host Deshu from Shenyang, who led a group of disabled people to read and record audiobooks, earning them a good wage.

In a fast-growing and intensely competitive Chinese online audio market, the new radio practices followed by the Asian audio giant have enabled traditional radio producers to achieve a successful transformation into new media hosts. My training and years of experience with Himalaya have taught me to create original content while adhering to three fundamental new media practices – which have transformed my way of thinking and have proved game-changing.

The first new media practice involves paying more attention to the completion rate than merely looking at the click-through rate of listeners. The completion rate signifies the probability that the audience will listen to the programme till the end. Himalaya's users spent an average of 170 minutes listening to its shows (as of October 2019), but the back-end data reflected that after just a few minutes of listening, half of my listeners left. This really surprised and frustrated me.





© Zu Hongjiao

Shi Zhan, who hosts a Chinese history programme on Himalaya FM.

To solve this problem, I spent half a year cultivating the internet's "user thinking" model, forcing myself to develop "a sharp mind while covering the latest events and discovering the latest news". Doing your homework and being up-to-date is very important in this business. Before recording each programme, I study the news and current affairs for two hours and spend eight hours writing an original script – before finally distilling it to a programme of only eight minutes. This "grinding" of my own work has doubled my audience, and allowed me to rapidly increase the completion rate.

The second new media practice involves improving the user experience, which is of paramount importance. To achieve this, I developed my own method. This involved moving away from the "loud" background music of traditional radio, and using music as a tool to enhance the atmosphere – so the audience would pay more attention to the content itself.

"Selection" and "creation" are the keywords of the third new media practice. As a new media host, I dare to choose material that is not accessible to the audience anywhere else. This original content is created with my own interpretation – making it both interesting and informative for my listeners.

My current projects for Himalaya include working on an audio guide on the terracotta warriors of the Mausoleum of the First Qin Emperor. Tourists only need to scan the QR code to listen to my narration.

## UNESCO Radio: A brief history

"I am at peace with what I wanted to do." The voice is gravelly, partly muffled by the surrounding brouhaha. It is the voice of an elderly man, who speaks French with a Spanish accent – the voice of Pablo Picasso. Interviewed from Vallauris, in the south of France, the Spanish painter talks about the *The Fall of Icarus*, the monumental fresco he has just completed – and which will soon adorn UNESCO's Paris Headquarters.

The recording dates back to 1958. It was produced by UNESCO Radio. This unique service existed almost since the Organization's inception. In 1947, a recording studio was set up at its international Headquarters, which at the time, were located at the Majestic Hotel in Paris.

In the post-war context, radio emerged as a mass medium – capable of transcending borders between countries, but also of removing certain barriers that stood between individuals, whether social, economic or cultural. The role of radio was also to promote a better understanding of the Organization's objectives and to help countries develop their own infrastructure.

Originally part of the Mass Communications Projects Division, UNESCO Radio did not broadcast its own programming, but produced shows – round-tables, interviews, documentaries, reports, and music – for broadcast by radio stations around the world.

*The Masters Meet* was one of these radio series. Personalities of different nationalities presented the work of writers, artists or scholars from other countries. The *Hopes for Tomorrow* series explored the possibilities offered by science, technology and certain cultural or educational programmes to provide solutions for humanity – from the exploitation of new sources of energy to the treatment of mental illness or the development of synthetic foods.

These programmes were recorded in a number of languages that would vary over the years. In September 1949, UNESCO Radio made recordings in seventeen different languages and distributed 3,000 programmes in fifty-two countries and territories. "UNESCO's voice is heard by listeners on all five continents," the *UNESCO Courier* proudly proclaimed in its September 1949 issue.

At the time of its closure in 1997, UNESCO Radio was still producing some twenty programmes in English, French, Spanish and Russian. The thousands of sound documents that were produced over the years are being digitized, giving a second life to these recordings. Some 1,639 audio documents are now available online on the Digitizing Our Shared UNESCO History website.





# Radio audiences:

## More vocal than ever before

Social media networks now make it possible for radio audiences to comment on, and even influence, radio programming. But this citizen participation and seemingly innocuous interaction comes at a price – it allows large technology companies to collect lucrative data on our behaviours.

**Tiziano Bonini**

“The crucial failure of radio has been to perpetuate the fundamental separation between radio producers and their audiences, a separation that is at odds with its technological basis [...] audiences must be transformed into witnesses in interviews and conversations and must have the opportunity to be heard”.

Walter Benjamin, the German philosopher and literary critic wrote these words in 1930, conceiving radio as a tool to bridge the distance between the radio host and the listener. More than seventy years later, his words could perfectly describe what has happened to radio with the advent of social media.

Today, a radio station's audience must be understood as the sum of its listeners and those who follow it on social networks. While the first kind of audience still receives radio in a traditional way, members of the second set are connected to each other and to the host within a network. The intersection of radio and social media heavily modifies both the vertical relationship between the host and the audience, and the horizontal relationship between individual listeners.

The network of friends/fans of a radio programme on Facebook, for example, constitutes its specific social capital. While the FM or digital radio audience, measured through traditional audience rating systems, constitutes the economic capital of the station, the social media audience represents its true social capital – one that is very ‘tangible’ and visible.

A wide social network is of great importance for the future of radio stations. Even if the fans’ network does not generate a tangible economic value like radio audiences do, it generates a significant amount of reputational capital. The crisis in traditional mass advertising will lead to a future increase and refining of tools for the capitalization of the wealth of these networked audiences.

### Citizen reporters

While social media has helped to extend the reach of radio, it has also made it possible to give listeners a voice outside broadcast times. At major political and social events, listeners can now transform into citizen reporters – using their smartphones to make audio and video recordings, and sending them to radio stations, or sharing them via Twitter or YouTube.

In fact, listeners have become full-fledged contributors to their radio stations. In Italy, the public service station Rai Radio 3 has built a large audience of followers on Twitter, who comment actively and passionately on its programmes. During the station’s classic press review each morning, a listener volunteers to live-tweet all the news he or she hears, so that those who are not listening in have continuous access to all the news of the day.

In France, Emilie Mazoyer, who used to be a host on the youth-oriented public radio station, Mouv’ (she now works for Europe 1), co-created a music playlist, *Tweet-Liste*, together with her listeners and followers on Twitter, in 2011.

Listeners can now send audio messages recorded on WhatsApp, the free messaging service, to stations.

Radio hosts then filter, select, curate and edit these contents before including them into the flow of their programmes. One Italian public service radio show even gathered life stories from their listeners through social media and turned them into a docu-fiction series. From 2015 to 2019, Rai Radio 2 aired *Pascal*, a programme which asked listeners to contribute true stories, based on their own lives. The stories were peer-reviewed, curated, and turned into brief docu-fiction episodes.

Listeners are more articulate today and “noisier” than in the past, producing more content than ever in the form of audio, video and text messages. But increased audience and citizen participation in radio production comes at a price.

### Intensified datafication

This combination of radio and social media has also led to greater audience datafication. This is essentially an intensification of the process of collecting information on radio listeners who connect via social networks. All the content that is collected is measured and analysed, and then turned into a valuable dataset for the predictive analysis of user behaviour.

While in the past, it was the attention of listeners that was commodified and sold to advertisers, today it is the user data and content that have become commodities. This data represents a valuable asset for social network owners, especially since it is acquired at no cost – listeners are not compensated for the value they produce for the tech companies that own these platforms. And radio stations have no access to this data either.

Today more and more of us listen to the radio on smartphones, streaming devices and computers – and all our interactions take place through a keyboard or touch screen. Listening to radio content is no longer just an aural or visual activity. It is increasingly haptic – we touch the screen multiple times to open an app, access schedules, and to tune in to a station to listen to our favourite radio shows, live or on demand.

Each of these tactile activities generates a new mass of data that is extremely lucrative for social media platforms. The boundaries between the benefits of the emotional involvement that radio continues to offer and the exploitation of this connection by social media, are getting increasingly blurred. While we create new bonds with other listeners of the same radio programme on social networks, we are also commodified, and our passion for radio is converted into a goldmine for others.

The affective data – comments, emotional states, emoticons, likes – that we produce on social media are all indicators of our future behaviours. It is also for this reason that today, more than ever in the past, public service radio and community stations are once again important, allowing a public involvement that is still authentic and outside the circuits of commodification.

A lecturer in Media Studies at the Department of Social, Political and Cognitive Sciences at the University of Siena, Italy, **Tiziano Bonini**'s current research interests are the intersection between radio, the internet and social media.

“While in the past, it was the attention of listeners that was commodified, today it is the user data and content that have become commodities”



© Lauren Simkin Berke





# Late-night radio: A window on intimacy

With a freer and more intimate tone than daytime broadcasts, night-time radio has long been the privileged place for confidences delivered in the anonymity of the night. At a time conducive to imagination and solitude, these broadcasts provide listeners with a reassuring voice that seems to speak only to them. But they are now giving way to less expensive programming.

Marine Beccarelli

"Radio is in a way humanity that speaks to itself, that addresses itself day and night," wrote Jean Tardieu in *Grandeur et faiblesse de la radio* (The grandeur and weakness of radio, UNESCO, Paris, p.22), in 1969. In fact, this humanity the French poet evoked only began to speak to itself at night quite recently.

In the early 1920s, when the first radio stations appeared, they were only on the air for a few hours daily. Programming schedules expanded gradually to fill most of the day, but broadcasts stopped when evening came. Until the late 1930s, only a few nights were exceptionally lively on the radio – Christmas and New Year's Eve, in particular, when festive and musical programmes extended past the usual hours.

And yet, there may be no better moment to listen to the radio than during the hours of the night – when the listener is more available, more alone, and less distracted by external demands. In the dark, the sound unfolds: "it is our hearing that we prefer to rely on", wrote the French philosopher Michaël Foessel, in *Quand la nuit s'éteint* (When the night is over), in the French magazine *Esprit*, No. 393 (March-April 2013, p.12).

Radio became an everyday consumer item in the 1950s, by when it was a permanent fixture in most homes and started to take over the evenings. In the United States, radio stations have been offering night-time programmes since the late 1940s – designed to make those who are still awake, dream. In *Lonesome Gal*, an anonymous actress whispered sweet nothings in her predominantly male listeners' ears.

## A voice for night workers

In Europe, regular night-radio broadcasts were introduced in the 1950s. The first of its kind, *Notturmo dall'Italia*, was created in Italy in 1952. It was essentially a music programme designed for people of the night – truck drivers and night watchmen, bakers and typographers, nurses and insomniacs.

In 1955, the French radio station, Paris Inter, launched the show *Route de nuit*. The very recent introduction of the car radio, coupled with the increase in motor traffic, made it possible to keep listeners company on the road, so that they did not fall asleep at the wheel. But very quickly, letters from the listeners testified to the success of these programmes. And their popularity soon spread beyond drivers and night workers. Insomniacs, night owls, students, artists and the elderly listened to these late-night shows. The transistor, which made it possible to individualize listening by taking one's own personal radio into the bedroom, also encouraged the development of more diversified programming.

The late programmes soon began to relay the noisy and festive sounds of the night – broadcasting from a bar, for instance. But they also created an intimate atmosphere of quiet discussion. Programmes based on true confessions from listeners began in the US in the 1960s, initiated by the influential radio talk show host Herb Jepko's nationwide all-night show.

In France, while Mémie Grégoire's afternoon programme on the private radio station RTL gave women the chance to discuss intimate subjects starting in 1967, confessional radio shows took on a new dimension on the late-night airwaves. It began in 1975 with *Ligne Ouverte* (Open line), hosted by Gonzague Saint-Bris on the private radio Europe 1. Then, public radio France Inter started *Allô Macha* (Hello Macha) hosted by Macha Béranger, which ran from 1977 to 2006.



☞ Radio is best listened to at night, when the listener is more available, more alone.

© Arnaud Brihay



On these shows, listeners could call the radio station switchboard at the hour when loneliness became most pressing, and anxiety needed to be eased. This type of night programming gradually spread throughout the world, to the point of representing the very essence of night radio – a place where people could communicate and be listened to. Where they still exist, it is these talk shows that have lasted the longest on the air.

## End of late-night radio monopolies

Night-time also proved to be a playground for exploring the night in all its dimensions, and for radio creativity. Inventive and pioneering programmes were launched on the after-dark airwaves, with an almost complete freedom of tone and form, in contrast to the daytime broadcasts. An example of this is *Nuits magnétiques* (Magnetic nights), launched in 1978 on the public Radio France's France Culture, which mixed the personal revelations of celebrities with those of ordinary people, in an experimental and musical, often psychedelic, sound atmosphere.

At the same time, French pirate radio stations also extensively used the night to go on the air, bypassing the state radio monopoly that had been established in 1945 – in the same way as the British or Italian pirate stations, such as Radio Alice in Bologna, had.


But the glorious hours of night-time radio seem to be long gone. The emergence of twenty-four hour television in the late 1980s contributed to the reduction of the importance and excitement of night-radio programmes – which, until then, had a monopoly on nocturnal talk shows. Moreover, with the advent of the internet and the development of podcasts in the mid-2000s, it became possible to listen to radio on demand, disconnected from live real time.

Because of budget cuts, radio stations have chosen to replace their live broadcasts after midnight with automated music or repeats from the previous day. Yet, at night, radio voices offered listeners a presence, keeping them company in a way that has not been replaced by the communication possibilities offered by the internet and social networks.

The overabundance of images on television or online also contrasts with radio's lack of images – which appeals to the imagination of listeners, triggering particularly strong sensations at night, and giving people the impression that the radio voices are speaking only to them.

Some radio stations still provide live late-night broadcasts. Spain's public radio network RNE's Radio 3 invites listeners to explore night-related themes in *Todos somos sospechosos*. BBC Radio 5 Live offers *Up all night*, in which Rhod Sharp and other hosts present news, interviews and stories from around the world between one a.m. and five in the morning. A few web radios – and even an app, *Call in the Night*, an experimental radio show and telephone network which has listeners talking about their dreams – still occupy the night-time slot. After all, who says the night is just for sleeping?

An expert on the history of radio, **Marine Beccarelli** is the author of a thesis on night radio in France and a contributor to the public radio station, France Culture.

 Night radio show host Macha Béranger in a studio at the Maison de la Radio, Paris, 1999.

© Mat Jacob/Tendance Floue



# A voice you can't see

Deprived of a physical image, listeners rely on the evocative power of the voice on the radio, to immerse themselves in the story – creating mental images that facilitate concentration on what is being said.

## Emma Rodero

Listening to the voice of a radio presenter is an experience that triggers a cascade of emotions, feelings and mental images – which makes listeners unconsciously sketch a physical person and a story in their minds. The more numerous and vivid these mental images – or representations – created in the listener's mind are, the richer their cognitive processing will be. The radio voice generates a defined hearing imprint on the mind – composed of both a physical and psychological representation of the speaker, and the content of the message.

When listening to the radio, people have the feeling that they are not alone. The listener has the perception of being connected with the speaker, and immersed in the content. This connection and immersion occurs on the psychological level. The listener feels a pleasant sensation of well-being by establishing a strong connection with the radio presenter and getting involved with the story.

In doing so, listeners tend to infer various traits to the presenter. Studies have shown that listeners have the unique ability to recognize certain characteristics – such as age, gender, height and weight; although the latter two are tougher to detect.

## Forging a mental image

When we listen to a voice, we draw a specific physical portrait of its owner in our minds, based on its vocal features. In a study conducted in 2013 by Olatz Larrea and myself, a group of participants listened to several radio voices reading a piece of news. Another group listened to the same voices after seeing photographs of the presenters. Seventy-three per cent of the participants reported that they had been influenced by the images they had seen. They said they were less able to use their imagination, because they were conditioned by these images.

In both groups, the listeners imagined the presenter, but differently. Of the group that heard only the voice, thirty-nine per cent imagined what the speaker looked like, while 18.5 per cent in the second group conjured up the presenter. The group that had no image of the presenter to go by, paid more attention and were more focused when they listened only to the voice. More importantly, they were able to recall more information about what they had heard.

Listeners rely on characteristics of the voice to conjure up a mental image. This process is strongly influenced by the stereotypical associations conveyed by the media – film, in particular. For example, the villain of the film always has a rough, low-pitched voice. Through these conventions, listeners form a mental image derived from the sound of a speaker's voice. They do so, coinciding with other listeners' judgements, beyond what we might consider chance.

This means that when we hear the voice of a presenter on radio, we all imagine the same physical traits. If the voice is weak and high-pitched, we imagine a person who is small; if we hear a sensual, low-pitched voice, we tend to imagine it belongs to an attractive person – even if this association does not always coincide

with reality. This explains why many listeners are surprised when they see a radio presenter – because the person is often quite different from the image they had conjured up in their minds.

The characteristics that we infer from the sound of a voice depend mainly on a particular vocal feature – the tone or pitch of voice are the most important in terms of perception. A high pitch is usually associated with positive moods such as euphoria, excitement, or joy; but also with alertness, conveying fear or nervousness.

## Deep voices are more credible

Our study concluded that listeners tend to perceive that high-pitched voices on the radio were tense, distant, cold and weak. A deep voice is often associated with a strong, tall physical presence, and dark hair. But the essential factor in the listeners' preference was that low-pitched voices conveyed sensations of credibility, maturity and dominance. In a study we applied to radio news, low-pitched voices were rated as more pleasant, but also as "more convincing, calm and credible".

When listeners hear a presenter's voice, they can infer his or her personality and their affective or emotional state with a sixty-five per cent accuracy, according to a study by psychologist Klaus R. Scherer, published in the *Journal of Voice* (September 1995). Our voices provide information about our personalities. For example, people who speak very quickly are usually perceived as nervous or extroverted, while those who express themselves with a low intensity are perceived as shy.

➡ Deprived of a physical image, listeners rely on the evocative power of the voice on the radio.

© Serge Picard/Agence VU

“Listeners rely on characteristics of the voice to conjure up a mental image,”

The way radio presenters use their voices also conveys their emotions and intentions. This is called prosody, or the melody of speech – formed by intonation, accent, speech rate, and pauses. The first rule for a radio presenter, in this respect, is to avoid extremes: monotony (very few low inflections) and uptalk (many high inflections).

A monotonous tone directly causes the listener to lose attention. At the opposite end of the spectrum is uptalk, a manner of speaking with rising intonation at the end, repeated at regular intervals. This over-emphatic style is widespread in radio news broadcasts and advertising. Often this style, which sounds like a repetitive sing-song, does not work either. It produces a negative perception, especially if it does not relate to the content, or hinders comprehension.

Instead of these two extremes, the best strategy for a radio presenter would be to use variations – starting a sentence with a high pitch to attract the listener's attention, and ending with a low pitch, to reinforce the essential information.

With proper vocal training, radio presenters can evoke detailed images, impressions, intentions and emotions that they want to elicit in the minds of their listeners. All we have to do is relax, allow ourselves to be accompanied by the warm voice of a host, compose suggestive mental images in our brains, feel intense emotions – and immerse ourselves entirely in their stories.

A communications professor at the Pompeu Fabra University (UPF) in Barcelona, Spain, **Emma Rodero** heads the Media Psychology Lab there. She also teaches communication skills at UPF's Barcelona School of Management.





# Women *and* radio:

## On the same wavelength

**Kristin Skoog**

In September 2019, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reported the story of Sediqa Sherzai on its website. Based in the city of Kunduz in northern Afghanistan, Sherzai set up Radio Roshani in 2008. Run by women and promoting women's rights, the station continues broadcasting today, in spite of death threats and other war-related challenges. Its phone-in programmes provide an important space and public platform for women's voices and concerns. Radio Roshani is a powerful example of the strong relationship between women and radio today.

Since the 1920s, when radio was introduced into people's homes, the medium has provided a space for women to be heard – literally and figuratively – in a largely male-dominated public soundscape. Radio bridged, connected, and blurred the boundaries between the private and public spheres and by doing so, spoke to women as housewives, workers, consumers and citizens. In many countries, the emergence of radio in the home also coincided with women gaining the vote.

In a sound environment that has long been dominated by men, women have been slow to carve out a place for themselves. Yet, having been assiduous listeners from the start, they have played a central role in shaping the history and content of radio.

### Forgotten history

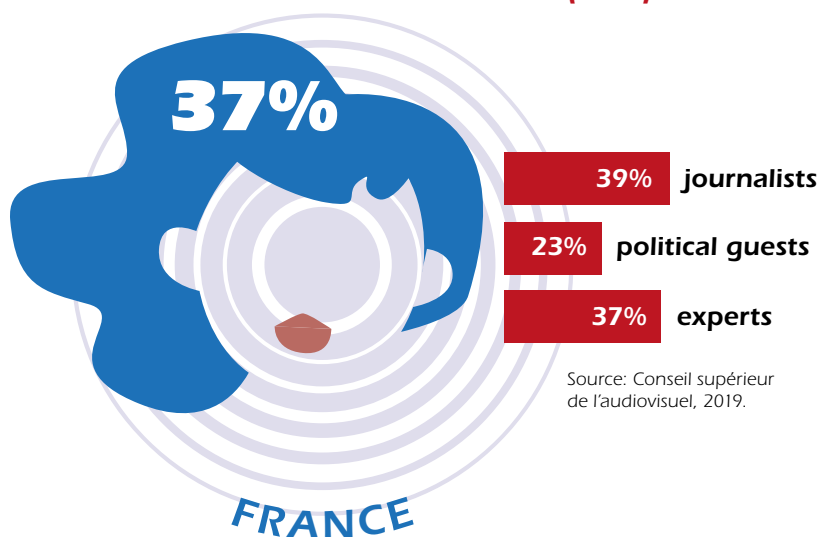
Today, there is a growing body of historical research exploring this subject. Studies examining specific national contexts – from Argentina, Australia, Germany, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States, for instance – have written women and gender back into broadcasting history. They have uncovered marginalized and often “hidden” histories of women in broadcasting, whose lives and work have been forgotten or ignored. They have recorded key developments in women's programming, including changing definitions of the contested term, “women's interest”, and highlighted debates on women's voices – both on and off the air. Together, these histories point to the role of radio in the lives of women and how this relationship has contributed to processes of democratization and modernization.

Women have played a key role – both as broadcasters and listeners – in shaping radio's general development and broadcasting practices. Programme formats and genres we now take for granted, such as serials and talk shows, were conceived for a female audience. In the US, in the 1930s, for example, where commercial radio dominated, women played an important role as consumers and became a target group for advertisers and sponsors.

Daytime broadcasts came to be characterized as “feminine” and soon, radio soaps dominated the airwaves because they were so lucrative. Michele Hilmes, Professor of Media and Cultural Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and an expert on US broadcasting, has suggested that the gendered nature of daytime radio serials soon meant they offered a space for women. In her 1997 book, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922-1952*, Hilmes writes that “under cover of daytime”, radio serials addressed and confronted issues and concerns facing American women in the 1930s and 1940s.

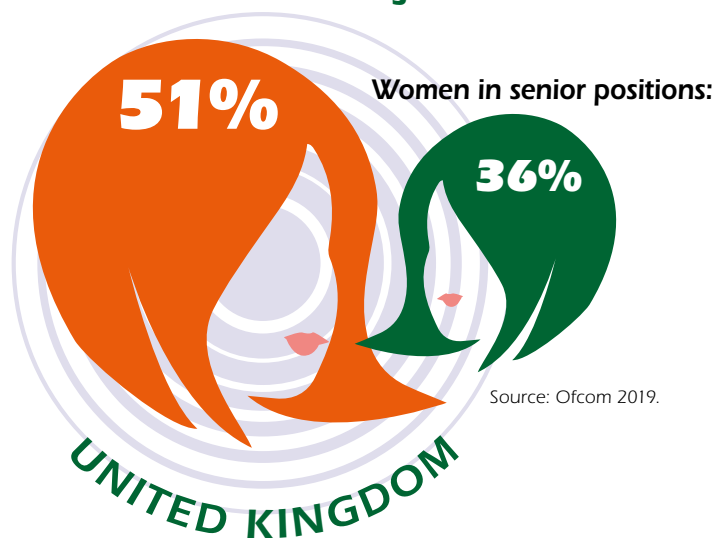
A similar trend can be observed in the magazine-style format. *Woman's Hour*, introduced on BBC Radio in 1946, was the first dedicated radio programme for women in the UK. Topics such as “keeping house” and “childcare” were soon replaced by difficult issues facing women, such as politics and women's citizenship. And quite early on, sensitive topics and taboos such as menopause and intimate relationships in marriage, were addressed.

### Presence of women on radio (2018):





## Number of women working in radio:



“ Since the 1920s, radio has provided a space for women to be heard – literally and figuratively ”

## Reporters and pioneers

Women have also contributed to the development of new formats, such as the social documentary. The British radio producer and broadcaster Olive Shapley (1910-1999), is an example of this. Her career began at the BBC in 1934, where she produced the *Children's Hour* programme for the BBC's North region, based in Manchester.

The depression in the 1930s had plunged many areas of Britain into poverty – this was particularly visible in and around Manchester. Shapley made good use of mobile recording vans that enabled her to travel across the region to interview people in their homes, on the street, or at work. Her documentaries were pioneering, both in technique and subject matter. Her aim, she said later, was to get “real people talking”.

Not long before the outbreak of the Second World War, Shapley produced a programme called *Miners' Wives*, that explored the way of life in two mining villages – one in County Durham in the north-east of England, and another near Béthune, France. The programme was later translated and rebroadcast on the BBC's French service during the war.

It was also during the Second World War that the first women war correspondents emerged. American radio journalist Betty Wason (1912-2001) first travelled to Europe for the Transradio Press Service, a wire service that provided the news to radio stations. She was in Prague in 1938 when the Nazis took over the government, and reported on events there.

Wason was then hired by the Columbia Broadcasting System (now CBS) and was soon reporting on the Nazi invasion in Norway. She was later based in Greece. However, the pioneering reporter was told to get a man to read her reports on air. At the time, it was thought that women's voices were not suitable for serious reporting. “They said women weren't authoritative enough or sufficiently knowledgeable to handle serious subjects,” she later recalled.

Another radio pioneer was Audrey Russell (1906-1989). The BBC's first woman war correspondent, she contributed war reports and interviews between 1941 and 1945. Russell focused on the experiences of civilians during the war, such as the impact of German long-range shelling over Dover and Folkestone, and the destruction of a V-2 rocket. However, being a woman prevented her from reporting from the battlefield – that was reserved for her male counterparts. In spite of the obstacles they faced, Wason and Russell were both significant voices that challenged a space dominated by males.

During the Second World War, women's radio programming played an important role in mobilizing morale on the home front, but was also used as a vehicle for propaganda abroad. For instance, US radio propaganda programmes were devised to target listeners in Latin America – whose resources, such as rubber and petroleum, were crucial to the US war effort – to maintain good relations with the people and combat Nazi propaganda there. Research shows that Latin American women listeners were particularly targeted because they were perceived as being central to family values.

The idea that radio could bring women together across national boundaries gained currency after the war. Women were the driving force behind the creation of the International Association of Women in Radio in 1951 (a T for Television was added in 1957). The IAWRT, which still exists, was founded to promote peace by bringing women broadcasters together to share ideas and information. It was initiated by the Dutch feminist, economic historian and radio broadcaster Willemijn (Lilian) Hendrika Posthumus-van der Goot (1897-1989). Today the organization is a global network with members from fifty-four countries – focusing on gender equality, and working to enhance the role of women in media and communications.

## Feminism and radio

The evolution of women's radio programming has often been closely associated with the feminist movement. In the late 1940s and 1950s, for example, *Woman's Hour* was connected with several women's groups in Britain. In its early days, the IAWRT was also strongly linked to the international women's movement through the International Council of Women (ICW).

These early examples may not have identified themselves as “feminist”, although in many ways they clearly were. World Radio Day in 2014 celebrated women in radio and women's empowerment, but also noted that gender equality remained a challenge in the media industry.



“Women have played a key role – both as broadcasters and listeners – in shaping radio’s general development and broadcasting practices”

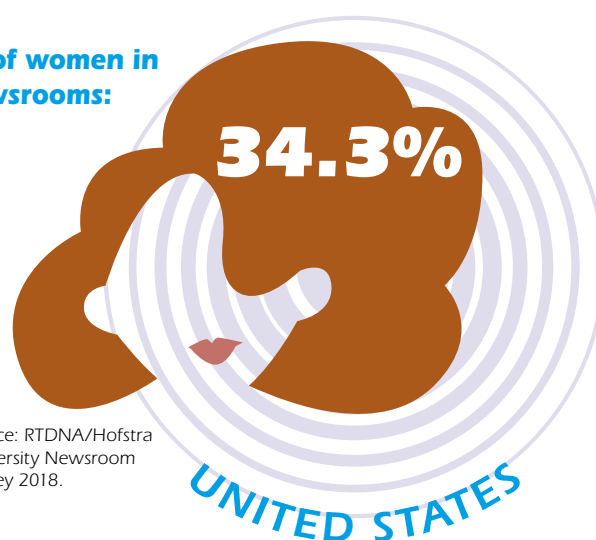
There are several examples, though, of women’s activism on radio, with a clear feminist agenda. Norway’s radiOrakel, which claims it is the first feminist radio station in the world, was set up in October 1982 in Oslo – it is available today via FM and internet streaming. Its mission is to train women in areas including radio journalism and sound engineering. The station actively supports women as both interviewers and interviewees. It also stipulates that at least half the music aired must be composed or performed by women.

Community radio stations also provide an important space for the empowerment of women. Often described as a “third” model of radio, since it offers an alternative to public and commercial broadcasting, community radio is generally not for profit. It is operated by volunteers and serves specific local communities that are often neglected by the mainstream media. As Caroline Mitchell, Associate Professor, Radio and Participation, at the University of Sunderland in the UK and co-founder of Fem FM, the UK’s first radio station for women, established in 1992, has observed, community radio offers “a space for women’s representation, participation and resistance.”

This reinterpretation of the role played by women broadcasters and listeners sheds new light on the history of radio. Leaving aside the obvious differences between Radio Roshani in Afghanistan in 2019, series broadcasts in the US in the 1930s, or radiOrakel in Norway today, these examples are a clear indication that the medium has, from early on, been a powerful platform for women’s voices.

Senior Lecturer in Media History at Bournemouth University in the United Kingdom, **Kristin Skoog** is a co-founder of the Women’s Radio in Europe Network (WREN). Her research is centred on radio and media history, and the history of women’s radio and women broadcasters.

Number of women in radio newsrooms:



Source: RTDNA/Hofstra University Newsroom Survey 2018.

## Radio and UNESCO: A long history

The role of radio was already being discussed at UNESCO as early as in 1946, at its first General Conference. Julian Huxley, the first Director-General, described radio as “an agency which may jump across national barriers in a way impossible to any material medium.” This makes it an ideal vehicle for promoting peace and mutual understanding among people.

Lightweight, mobile and able to operate without electricity, radio also plays a key role in the aftermath of armed conflicts and natural disasters. Indeed, for over seventy years, UNESCO has been promoting this local medium par excellence – with its capacity to create links, speak to the greatest number, reach vulnerable populations and cover remote areas, while promoting freedom of expression and information.

The Organization has a long history of supporting community radio stations, and endeavours to strengthen local radio through the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs). With funding from Sweden, UNESCO supported fifty-nine local radio stations in ten African countries (Burundi, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Lesotho, Namibia, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia) between 2012 and 2018. The objectives of this long-term project included improving the quality of programming, strengthening the skills of journalists and technicians, providing training in the use of ITCs, and helping to improve geographical coverage through a network of local correspondents.

In Afghanistan, UNESCO helped to renovate the equipment of the Educational Radio and Television (ERTV) network, and to produce programmes, starting in 2007. More recently, UNESCO’s Beirut Office provided training in editing and broadcasting to young Syrian refugees in Lebanon, as part of its “Promoting an Enabling Environment for Freedom of Expression: Global Action with Special Focus on the Arab Region” programme, funded by Finland and Sweden.

# Mark Tully

## A radio legend in India

For over a quarter of a century, one of the most recognized and trusted radio voices in India was that of Mark Tully. This British correspondent for the BBC has covered all the momentous events that marked the country's recent history, until the mid-1990s. He is a living witness of the time when radio was the main medium to reach the masses, telephone communications were unreliable, and radio recordings were made on magnetic tapes that had to be physically sent to the editorial offices.

### Sébastien Farcis, French journalist based in New Delhi

December 1992: The sixteenth-century Babri Masjid (mosque) in Ayodhya, had just been demolished by Hindu extremists, who claimed it was built on the site of an ancient Hindu temple. Thousands of militants charged through the streets of this village in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, attacking journalists who were there to cover this dramatic moment in the country's history. As they destroyed the media's photo and television cameras, one foreign journalist was particularly targeted. The mob shouted out his name: Mark Tully! The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) bureau chief for India and South Asia narrowly escaped being attacked. He stayed locked up in a small temple, till he was finally released by three Indian colleagues and brought to safety after the intervention of a local official.



© Parthiv Shah

 Mark Tully at a political rally in New Delhi, 1991.



“Even today, Indians across the country still remember that they first heard about Indira Gandhi's assassination on the BBC”



For more than thirty years, the radio – and occasionally, television – correspondent bore the weighty responsibility of having one of the most listened-to voices in a country of over a billion inhabitants. He was threatened, beaten, and even expelled from India – but he always returned. He eventually never left, making New Delhi his home.

The country, it must be said, was, in some ways, his own. Tully was born in Calcutta in 1935 into a wealthy family of British settlers. His father was the director of a railroad and a partner in a holding company that owned a bank, an insurance firm, and tea plantations. After the Second World War, his parents sent him to boarding school in the United Kingdom. He later took theology courses at Cambridge University and then entered a seminary.

“I thought I might have a calling to be a priest. But I lasted there for only two terms,” reminisces Tully, now 84, in an interview to the *UNESCO Courier* in his apartment in New Delhi's historic Nizamuddin district. “I was always rather rebellious and I didn't like the discipline of the seminary. Also, I was a good beer drinker,” he admits with a pinched smile.

## Return to India

Tully's career as a journalist brought him back to the land of his birth. In 1965, he was hired as an administrator by the BBC's New Delhi office. But he quickly ended up behind the microphone. “My first broadcast was a report on a vintage car rally. I remember they stopped and had a picnic. And I recorded a maharaja saying, ‘why don't you stop and have a glass of champagne?’”

Tully returned to London in 1969, to head the Hindi service and then the West Asia service – for which he covered the Bangladesh War of Independence in 1971.

“I was among the first journalists to be let into Bangladesh. This was the most important thing that happened to me in my career and that made my name and my reputation,” he said.

Although he travelled with the army, which intimidated some of the people he met, the ace reporter could still observe the extent of the humanitarian crisis brought about by the war. Most of his dispatches were reported to the bureau by telephone. “There was no way to send the tapes to the office quickly enough, I had to carry them back to London,” Tully explains. “I was recording mainly straightforward voice reports on tape, using a Uher tape recorder. At the time, we could afford to work with studio managers and sound engineers, who were real wizards.”

Hanging above a chest of drawers in his apartment, a large black-and-white photo taken a few months after the war, shows a young Tully with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the first president of the newly-formed Bangladesh.

From that moment on, his career took off. In 1971, Tully was appointed BBC correspondent in New Delhi, and named bureau chief a few years later, responsible for covering the South Asia region – which included India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. It was a post he held for twenty years, until his retirement in 1994. His distinctive voice, the voice of the BBC, was recognized and revered by generations of Indians.

During this time, the intrepid journalist covered insurgencies, elections, and reported on a diverse range of subjects including political corruption, bonded labour, and Sufi mysticism. In the early 1990s, Tully reported extensively on India's modernization and the social changes this inevitably brought about. This reporting is also reflected in *India in Slow Motion*, a book published in 2002, co-authored with his partner, British author Gillian Wright.

In the 1970s and 1980s, there were many technical challenges that international radio correspondents faced in India. For the recording of each sound report, the Delhi office had to book an international telephone call, or use the public radio station, All India Radio (AIR), which had better dedicated lines. Outside the capital, the task became even more challenging.

At the Simla summit of 1972, held in this mountain town in north India where a peace accord was signed by India and Pakistan to end the 1971 war, “the telephone was so hopeless that we had to send telegrams to London and they were read on the air,” recalls Tully. The tapes of the reports were always physically sent via aeroplane.

## The “voice of truth”

At a time when AIR, the country's main radio service, was controlled by the government, the BBC represented the “voice of truth”, according to Madhu Jain, editor-in-chief of the literary and cultural magazine, *The Indian Quarterly*. The British radio channel had more broadcasting relays that reached the smallest Indian villages. Tully soon became a celebrity whose voice was recognized and trusted throughout the subcontinent. “He was very respected by his listeners because he was objective and measured,” says Jain, who knows him well. She remembers his unique delivery. “He has this kind of voice of the upper-class elite with a good education. A bit dated now, because today, young people speak faster,” she adds.



Working alongside Tully, Satish Jacob, who was the BBC's deputy bureau chief between 1978 and 2003, also made a major contribution to the foreign broadcaster's credibility. Though the London office sometimes commented on his Indian accent, Jacob gave the BBC one of its most impressive scoops: the announcement of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's assassination on 31 October 1984.

That morning, informed that someone had left the prime minister's residence in an ambulance, Jacob went to the hospital and was able to get a doctor to tell him what had happened. "When I asked him whether her condition was serious, he told me that Indira Gandhi's whole body was riddled with bullets," recalls Jacob, who is now 80. "I ran out of the hospital like a world-class sprinter and drove straight to the office and asked them to book a call to London.

I didn't have the time to write anything. 'There has been an attempt on Mrs Gandhi's life, and she has been admitted to an elite hospital in Delhi,' was all I could say."

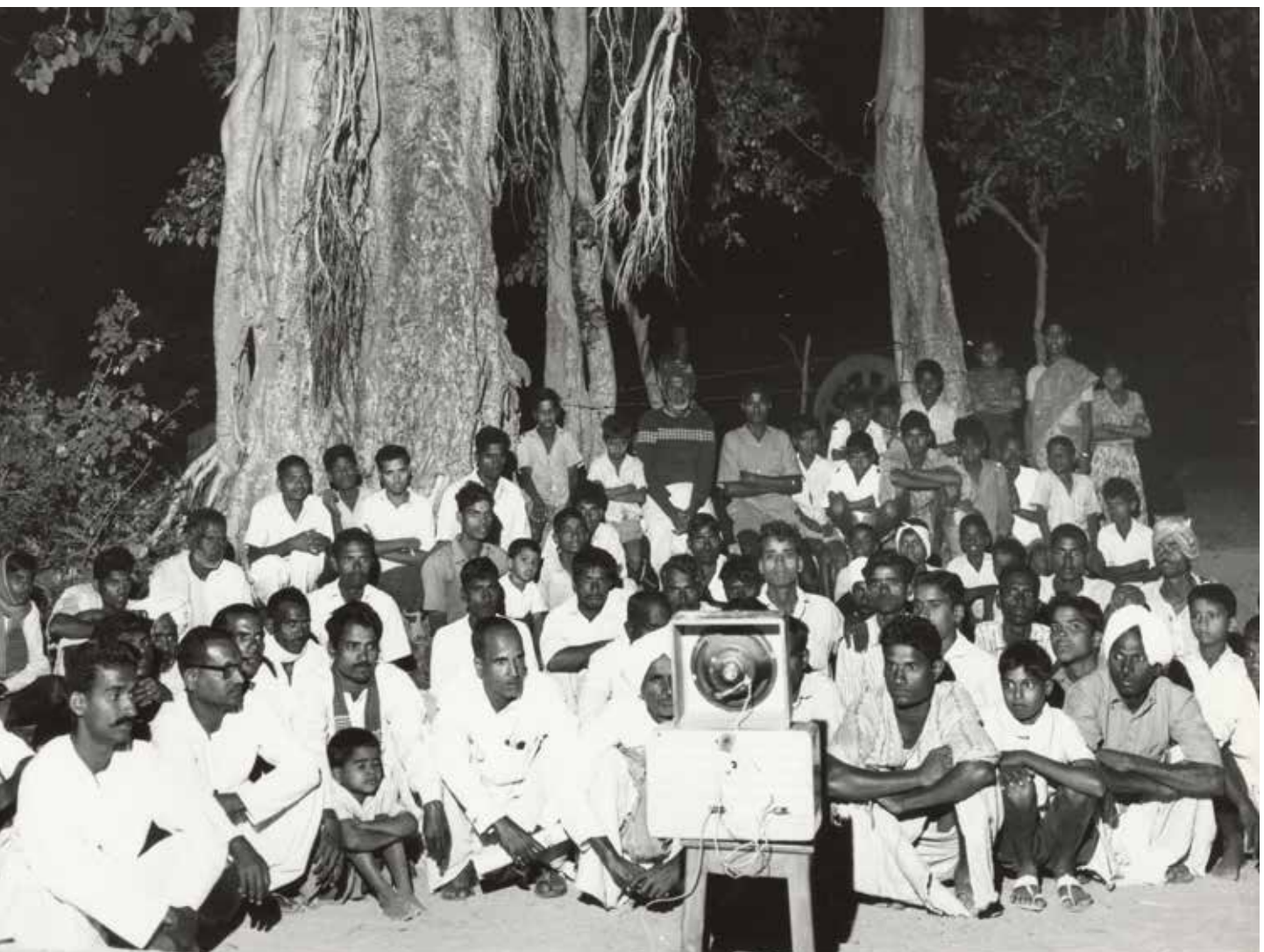
The Indian prime minister died at 10.50 a.m., but the country's public radio did not announce her death until several hours later, at 6 p.m., when Rajiv Gandhi, her son, officially confirmed the information. Even today, Indians across the country still remember that they first heard about Indira Gandhi's assassination on the BBC.

Tully finally resigned from his job as a radio correspondent in 1994, but remained in India. He continued to host *Something Understood*, a programme about spirituality, on BBC's Radio 4, till it was discontinued in April 2019, after twenty-four years. "I have a lot of affection for India, that is a country worth fighting for as a journalist," he said.

"And it would have been a poor reflection of what I have done (all these years) if I had to leave just because I have lost the support of the mighty organization!"

His adopted country returned this affection by awarding him two of India's highest civilian honours – the Padma Shri (for distinguished service) and the Padma Bhushan (for distinguished service of higher order). At home, the British queen knighted him for his contribution to journalism in 2002. Tully, who retains his strong English accent, insists these distinctions are "embarrassing, but it would be more arrogant to refuse them." They do not seem to have changed this humble man, who remains deeply attached to radio, the "extraordinary medium that allows us to speak directly to people."

 Villagers gather around a community radio set to listen to a rural broadcast in India, 1967.



© UNESCO/M. Serrallier



# Burkina Faso:

## Addicted to radio

When it comes to listening to the radio, Burkina Faso is one of the champions of sub-Saharan Africa. The proliferation of stations and the popularity of programmes that give listeners a voice, reflect the enthusiasm of the Burkinabe people for this medium.

**Yaya Boudani,**  
**journalist in Burkina Faso**

Radio Pulsar, in Sanyiri, a populous district east of Ouagadougou, broadcasts its programmes – news, sports, music, entertainment – over an area with a radius of forty-five kilometres. This independent radio station has modest premises on the first floor of a three-storey building – just two rooms for production and broadcasting.

From Monday to Friday, at 7.15 a.m., journalist Hermann Naze goes on air. He is the host of *Faut qu'on en parle!* (We have to talk about this), a live programme which invites guests to the studio to discuss a wide range of subjects. Elections, terrorism, current affairs, the alcohol consumption of youth – no topic is out of bounds. "Every morning, we give the public a chance to have their say," he explains. Listeners are encouraged to phone in and react on air to what they hear.

Offering listeners a live forum is also the mission of *Affairage*, an early-morning programme broadcast by Ouaga FM, another private radio station in the capital. "It's a form of reality radio," explains Paul Miki-Rouamaba, Ouaga FM's editor. "We're interested in all the topics that are currently being debated."

➡ The people of Burkina Faso are the most committed radio listeners among sub-Saharan African countries, according to an *Africascope* study, 2019.

© UNESCO/Dominique Roger, 1971



## Number of radio stations in Burkina Faso:



\*Catholic, Protestant, Islamic.

Listeners can call in on the air to discuss real-life experiences, or to report problems. But they can also question their leaders, and get immediate answers. “Depending on the issues raised on air, we contact people who can answer listeners’ questions,” the editor adds.

## 154 active radio stations

Sayouba Sanfo, a shopkeeper and launderer in Ouagadougou, listens to six or seven radio stations every day. Like many other residents in the capital, he sometimes participates in interactive programmes “to change things.”

“One day,” he explains, “I criticized the way in which a health centre was being run. I had noticed that the nurses were taking supplies home, and that the place was very dirty. When I mentioned that on the radio, something was done about it.”

The widespread use of mobile phones over the past decade has brought radio and listeners even closer. Twenty years ago, only those with a land-line could take part in interactive live broadcasts. Now everyone can react on air, by calling or texting.

The success of these participatory programmes shows the vitality of the radio scene in Burkina Faso. The country has at least 154 active radio stations – forty-seven of which are community stations, thirty-nine religious, thirty-eight commercial, and seven, state-owned. According to an AfricaScope survey published by Kantar, an international market research company, in September 2019, Burkinabe listeners are the most committed out of the eight sub-Saharan African countries included in the survey (Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gabon, Mali and Senegal).

About sixty-two per cent of residents of these countries, aged 15 and over, listened to the radio every day in 2019 – for an average of one hour and twenty minutes daily. With an average listening time of three hours and eight minutes, Burkina Faso is well ahead of its neighbours.

The Burkinabe people’s enthusiasm for this medium is not new. It has its roots in experiments with rural radio in the 1970s. In a country where only forty-one per cent of 15-year-olds can read and write (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2018), radio has made it possible to reach populations – often with low levels of literacy – living in remote areas, far from towns and cities.

## The rural radio boom

“Rural radio was introduced in 1969. We needed a medium that we could use to teach farmers about new agricultural methods,” explains Seydou Drame, a specialist in information and communication law who teaches at the Aube Nouvelle University and the Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l’Information et de la Communication (ISTIC), both in Ouagadougou.

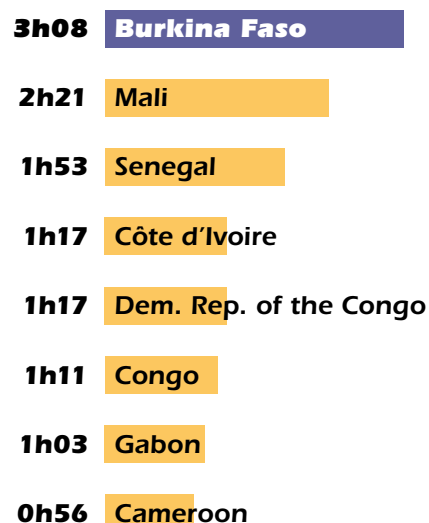
This is how the country’s “radio clubs” – groups of radio listeners – were born. People living in rural areas would gather around a radio set to listen to the broadcasts. When the programmes ended, there was always a discussion. “Rural people immediately recognized themselves in this new means of communication – which spoke about their problems, in languages that they could understand,” explains Mathieu Bonkougou, who has worked at Burkina Faso’s national radio station for several years.

While French remains the official language, in reality it is only understood by about twenty per cent of the population. Radio is therefore a way to build bridges between the different languages spoken in the country, and also between different media. News and current events reported in the print media are broadcast on radio – reaching those with little interest or access to the written word, in languages that they understand.

The flagship programme of Savane FM, one of the country’s most listened-to radio stations, is the *Sonré* press round-up. It is presented by Aboubacar Zida (known as Sidnaba) in Mooré, one of the national languages. Journalists divide up the newspapers and decide which articles to summarize and read on air. “Even those with a good level of education listen to the press round-up on the radio,” says Soumaïlla Rabo, the editor-in-chief. “It also helps them to improve their knowledge of the Mooré language.”

The success of radio in Burkina Faso might explain why the Burkinabe are less interested in television. While people in countries in the AfricaScope survey spend nearly four hours a day on average in front of the TV, Burkinabe people only spend three hours a day watching it.

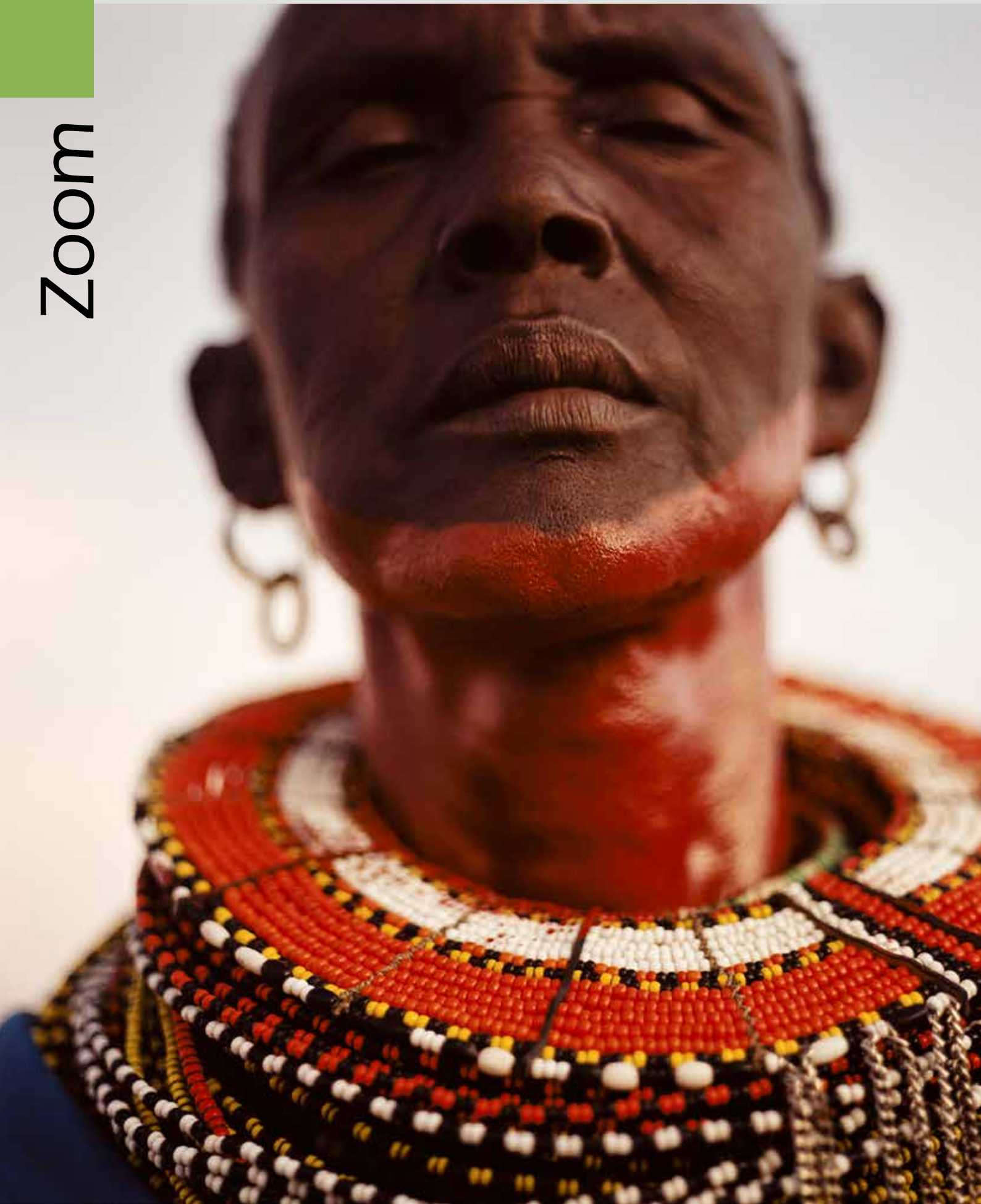
## Daily listening time in sub-Saharan Africa:



Source: Africascope 2019.



# Zoom



# Powerful women

Photos: Nadia Ferroukhi ■ Text: Katerina Markelova

This photo reportage marks the celebration of International Women's Day on 8 March.

*Naliapou, the doyenne of Tumai, a Kenyan village forbidden to men, prepares for a chanting ceremony to the spirits, by coating her face with red earth mixed with animal fat.*

In 2009, photographer Nadia Ferroukhi was on an assignment in Kenya. As she stepped out of the bus, which had stopped in the middle of the bush, she recognized Mohammed, who had served as a guide in a television documentary about Umoja, a village forbidden to men.

Established in 1991 by women of the Samburu ethnic group, this village – near Mount Kenya, some 300 kilometres from Nairobi – provides a home to women who are divorced, rejected or beaten by their husbands. This subject aroused her curiosity to such an extent that she decided to track down these women, who lived in exile from their own environments.

Born in Paris and raised alongside a feminist sister, the Czech-Algerian photographer has long been interested in strong women who occupy prominent places in their communities. "As a woman, it's natural to be interested in the plight of women," she explains. "As a photographer, you can express some of what they are going through."

After this chance meeting, Mohammed became Ferroukhi's guide. He accompanied her in her work with the women of Umoja. But not for long. The village had become a tourist attraction because of the media exposure. So Rebecca, the village chief, allowed Ferroukhi only three days to complete her assignment, at specified times and for a fee. "As a photographer, it's important to be present as much as possible, so that you are forgotten and can capture the moment, the light. You can't follow office hours," she noted, adding that she refused to comply with the conditions imposed.

Her guide then took her to Tumai, another women-only village. It was founded by Chili, who had originally lived in Umoja. "There, I was welcomed like a princess, with dances. I was the first person to report on this village," Ferroukhi said.

The inhabitants of Tumai are completely self-sufficient. These "lionesses of the bush", as they are known locally – with a touch of irony and a lot of respect – rear their own goats and perform sacred rituals and other tasks usually undertaken by men, such as building huts and hunting. The practice of excision is prohibited here. All important decisions are taken by a majority vote.

Only women who are divorced are allowed to live here. Boys are permitted, but only until they are 16, after which they must leave.

Other women-only villages have been created along the lines of Umoja and Tumai. "Living conditions are difficult, but for these women, it is the price of freedom," says Ferroukhi. The photographer has visited nine other countries where women play a central role in societies – economically, socially, and sometimes, politically.

Through her reading, travels, and above all, her meeting with the French ethnologist, anthropologist and feminist Françoise Héritier (1933-2017), Ferroukhi became interested in the much-discussed notion of matriarchy. Her series *In the Name of Mother* came from this research.

What indigenous matriarchal societies have in common is that they are true gender-egalitarian societies – as described by the German matriarchy scholar Heide Goettner-Abendroth in her book, *Matriarchal Societies: Studies on Indigenous Cultures Across the Globe*. Some of these societies are secular, horizontal, non-hierarchical, and essentially agrarian. The children are related primarily to their mother. They bear her name and live mainly in her clan house, even when they have become adults. The inheritance of property and goods is from mother to daughter.

Ferroukhi has lived among the Tuareg of Algeria, the Mosuo in China, the Navajo in the United States, and the Minangkabau of Indonesia. She has also lived with the inhabitants of the island of Grande Comore in Comoros, the island of Canhabaque in Guinea-Bissau, and the town of Juchitán in Mexico. The photos here are accompanied by texts written by the photographer, in which she details the particularities of each community.

Portraying matriarchy is a challenge. "People often expect a spectacular result. But in fact, I photograph everyday life," Ferroukhi insists. The daily life of societies which, far from clichés, base their social organization, as Goettner-Abendroth puts it, "on the equal value of each member."



## France, 2012

*The island of Ushant (Ouessant in French) is located at the extreme tip of Brittany, in France. It harbours a social curiosity – since the seventeenth century, the island's male population has left massively to join the navy, particularly the merchant navy. Until recently, the men left Ushant for months, even years, at a time, leaving the material and social organization of the island to the women.*



*Married to a long-distance sailor, Jeanne ran the family farm on the French island of Ushant – known as the island at the end of the world – all by herself.*

*These Native American Navajo women work in a coal mine, ensuring their complete financial independence.*





*The Dabu, the matriarch who heads the Mosuo family. This key role is held by the oldest woman in her lineage. A proud guardian of tradition, she passes on the name and property, manages the money and organizes religious ceremonies.*



## ◀ United States of America, 2011

*The social life of the Navajo nation is organized around women, according to a matrilineal system in which titles, names and property are transmitted through female lineage. When a Navajo girl reaches puberty, she must go through the Kinaaldá, a four-day ceremony which marks her passage from childhood to womanhood. This ceremony is linked to the Navajo myth of Changing Woman, the first woman on earth who was able to bear children. On the reservation, women are generally more active than men. It is not uncommon for them to resume their education late in life, even after having children.*

## China, 2009

*In the foothills of the Himalayas, between the provinces of Yunnan and Sichuan in southwest China, the Mosuo community is organized on matrilineal lines. It is the woman who bears the family name and holds the reins of the household. Heritage is passed down from mother to daughter. Love relationships are lived without a marriage contract or moral constraints – at the sole rhythm of the feelings and the will of the women. The rules require the man leave his lover's room before dawn – this is the custom of the zouhun, or “walking marriages”. The man does not assume the status of father. But he can play the role of uncle and help his sister raise her children.*





*A young bride on the island of Grande Comore. After the wedding, the husband moves into her house built by her family, where he is considered a guest of the matriline.*

## Comoros, 2017

*Comorian society is steeped in Bantu African matriarchal traditions and the Islamic religion. Every individual is born and lives at their mother's, aunt's or grandmother's home, following the maternal line. It is the woman who inherits and owns the mania houli heritage – particularly the house, built by her father or maternal uncle on the family land. The traditional anda or Grand Marriage, which is more widespread on Grande Comore than on the other three islands – Anjouan, Mohéli and Mayotte – is a prerequisite for anyone who wishes to rise in the Comorian social hierarchy.*



*The women in Juchitán, a city in southern Mexico, play a major social and economic role, enjoying a rare independence in this patriarchal society.*

## Mexico, 2011

*Juchitán, a town of 78,000 inhabitants in the Mexican state of Oaxaca is the birthplace of painter Frida Kahlo's mother. Over the centuries, men and women here have developed clearly identified forms of autonomy. Women manage commerce, the organization of festivals, the house, and the street. Agriculture, fishing and politics are the responsibility of men. This is one of the few places in Mexico where the Zapotec language is still spoken. Used in exchanges between female neighbours and passers-by, this language has enabled the development of a remarkable solidarity between women. The name, the house and the heritage are passed down through the women. The birth of a daughter is therefore a great source of joy.*







*Two young girls defunto. This is the name given to young girls who must go through all the stages of female initiation, on the island of Canhabaque, Guinea-Bissau.*

## Guinea-Bissau, 2011

*The way of life in the archipelago, particularly on the island of Canhabaque (population 3,500), has barely been influenced by modern civilization, if at all. Here, houses are owned by the women, and it is the men who move in with their wives. Although the father passes on his family name to his children, it is the mother who chooses the first name – and it is to her clan that they are related. The island is ruled by a queen. There is also a king (who is not the queen's husband), but his role is limited – he is simply a spokesman. Each village is governed by a council of women, elected for a lifelong term.*





*Celebrated folk singer Virve Köster (born 1928) is the guardian of the centuries-old cultural traditions of Kihnu, which are expressed in song, dance and craftsmanship. These traditions were inscribed on UNESCO's Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2008.*

## Estonia, 2019

*Today, Kihnu, a tiny Estonian island in the Baltic sea, has some 500 inhabitants, compared to 7,000 during the Soviet era. Traditionally, when the men went to sea, the women took on their tasks, such as working in the fields. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the women of Kihnu have taken over, managing the affairs of the community. Although men make up roughly half the population of the island today, it is still their mothers, wives and daughters who are responsible for education, culture, community life and craft traditions. Kihnu is often referred to as the Isle of Women in tourist guides. This simplistic image is not to the liking of those concerned, though. The women acknowledge that they play a leading role in decision-making, but in a society where men's incomes remain the basis of household finances.*



*The women of Kihnu choose their skirts according to tradition and their moods – the darkest skirts are worn on sad days, the brightest on happy days.*



## Algeria, 2019

*The Tuareg woman does not wear a veil – the man does. She has complete freedom to choose her husband. She knows the tifinagh alphabet, the tales and legends, and teaches them to her children. The tent and its contents belong to her. She manages and supervises the camp when the man is away, and participates in all decision-making, even when he is present. She is involved in all social, cultural and economic matters. It is through the maternal lineage that all aristocratic powers are transmitted. But the policies of sedentarization in the 1970s and 1980s, repeated droughts, and the attractions of modernity for young people have undermined this way of life.*







*Among the Minangkabau of Indonesia, it is the mamak – the eldest of the maternal uncles – not the father, who is the head of the matrilineal lineage.*

## Indonesia, 2011

*The world's largest matrilineal society, the Minangkabau, inhabit the highlands of the west coast of Sumatra in Indonesia. According to their social system, all hereditary property is passed on from mother to daughter. The biological father is not the child's guardian; it is the mamak, the uncle, who plays that role. During the marriage ceremony, the wife goes to pick up her husband at his home, accompanied by the women of her family. The adat, or customary law, determines a set of unwritten, traditional rules on matrimonial and property matters. Under these rules, in the event of a divorce, the husband must leave the home, and the woman retains custody of the children and the house.*



*In the event of a break-up or death, the Targuia – a Tuareg woman – leaves the nomadic camp with her children, her dowry, the tent, and even the camels left to her by her father.*



📍 Cueva de las Manos, *Cave of the Hands*, in Río Pinturas – with the stencilled outlines of human hands – is considered to be one of the most important habitat sites for early hunter-gatherer groups in South America. In Santa Cruz province, Argentina.

CC-BY-SA-3.0 photo: Marianocecowski





# The origins of violence

Our image of the wild and warlike prehistoric human, which persists even today, is actually a myth, devised in the second half of the nineteenth century. Archaeological research shows that, in fact, collective violence emerged with the sedentarization of communities and the transition from a predation economy to a production economy.

**Prehistorian Marylène Patou-Mathis is a research director at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), and currently joint director of the UMR 7194 Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme Préhistorique (HNHP, Natural history of prehistoric man) project, at the National Museum of Natural History in Paris.**

Even if today, prehistoric humans are still perceived in the popular imagination as violent beings in perpetual conflict, were these societies really as violent as ours? Only archaeological remains can provide answers to these questions. To characterize a violent act, archaeologists study the impacts of projectiles and injuries on human bones, assess the state of preservation of the skeletons, and analyse the environment in which they were discovered.

Currently, the most ancient traces of violence that have been found are those resulting from the practice of cannibalism. Marks of disarticulation, emaciation (the stripping of flesh), fracturing and calcination have been observed on Palaeolithic human bones. This relatively rare practice – which appeared 780,000 years ago and has been documented in the Sierra de Atapuerca mountains in Spain – persisted in other nomadic hunter-gatherer societies of the Palaeolithic age, and among Neolithic agro-pastoralists. But this evidence of one human's action on another human's body raises questions: were the victims killed before they were eaten?

Indeed, dietary cannibalism can be practised on individuals who are already dead – as in funerary endocannibalism, which consists of eating a member of one's own family after their death.

Only the presence of traces on human bones of beheading, or injuries due to the impact of projectiles or blunt instruments causing death, can support the hypothesis that the consumed victims were violently killed. In the Palaeolithic era, these marks were observed in fewer than thirty cases. The question remains: did the "eaters" and the "eaten" belong to the same community? Although today the practice of cannibalism – both dietary and ritual – is documented at several Palaeolithic sites, it is often difficult to know whether it was an endocannibalism or an exocannibalism.

## Absence of collective violence

Excluding this particular context, just under a dozen cases of violence – projectile impacts, blows to the head – have been identified on several hundred human bones dating back more than 12,000 years. But are these injuries the result of an accident, or of an act of violence during an interpersonal, intragroup or intergroup conflict?

*A cave painting depicting a battle in the Mesolithic age, discovered in Castellón province, Spain.*

*(Public domain)*

For these early periods, the distinction is difficult to make. However, in many cases, injuries, such as those caused by a shock or a blow to the head, had healed. These persons were therefore not killed, which would tend to prove that their wounds were the result of an accident, or a quarrel between two people.

In other cases, the question of the identity of the aggressor arises again – was the individual a member of the victim's community or an outsider? This remains unanswered. In addition, the use of human bones in the manufacture of domestic objects or ornaments also raises the question of the conditions of death of the individuals whose bones they are. In most of these cases, it is difficult to conclude that the death was violent, because they can just as easily attest to a particular funeral procedure.

Archaeological data shows that a form of violence already existed in the Palaeolithic era, notably ceremonies involving cannibalism. But no evidence has been found so far of collective violence. In the majority of the cases retained and studied (outside the context of cannibalism), only one individual was a victim of violence – which may reflect the existence of interpersonal conflicts (which were rarely fatal) or sacrificial rites.



“When faced with crises, a community is more resilient if it is based on co-operation and mutual support, rather than on individualism and competition”

It is therefore reasonable to assume that there was no war in the Palaeolithic period, strictly speaking. There are several reasons that could explain this absence – a small population, a sufficiently rich and diversified subsistence territory, a lack of resources, and a social structure that was egalitarian and less hierarchical.

Among these small groups of nomadic hunter-gatherers, collaboration and mutual support among all members of the clan were necessary for their survival. In addition, a good understanding between them was essential to ensure reproduction, and therefore progeny. The so-called “savagery” of prehistoric humans is thus only a myth – devised in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, to reinforce the discourse on the progress accomplished since the birth of humanity and the concept of “civilization”. This image of “violent and warlike” prehistoric humans is the result of a scholarly construction popularized by artists and writers.

## The development of conflicts

Collective violence seems to have appeared with the sedentarization of communities at the end of the Palaeolithic era, around 13,000 BC in the Near East; but, again, only one or a few individuals were killed. This may reflect the existence of conflicts within the group, but also the appearance of human sacrifices.

Two sites are exceptions to this: Site 117 of Jebel Sahaba, on the right bank of the Nile on the northern border of Sudan in Egypt; and Nataruk, west of Lake Turkana in Kenya.

In the Jebel Sahaba necropolis, dated between 14,340 and 13,140 years before the present, half of the fifty-nine skeletons (discovered in 1964) of men, women and children of all ages –

excavated from several pits covered with stone slabs – had died violent deaths.

The deaths were either a result of blows to the head in particular, or after their bodies were pierced by spearheads or stone projectile tips, some of which were found still embedded in their remains. Three of the men were probably lying on the ground when they were put to death. Even if the question whether all fifty-nine bodies were buried at the same time remains unanswered, this site represents the first proven case of collective violence. Was it intragroup or intergroup aggression? The debate remains open.

About 10,000 years ago in Nataruk, twenty-seven individuals, including men, women and children, were probably thrown into a swamp. Ten of the twelve bodies that were perfectly preserved, bear lesions caused by acts of violence and two of these, including a pregnant woman, had their hands tied. First discovered in 2012, far from a habitat, this small group of hunter-gatherers may have been exterminated by another group during a sojourn away from their homes.

## From predation to production

Traces of acts of violence are more frequent in the Neolithic period. This period was marked by many changes of a different nature. They were environmental (global warming); economic (domestication of plants and animals, search for new territories, surplus and storage of food); social and societal (sedentarization, local population explosion, the emergence of an elite and castes) and, at the end of this period, religious (goddesses gave way to male divinities).

In several necropolises, dated between about 8,000 and 6,500 years ago, the type of weapons used (few arrow impacts) and the fragments of pottery associated with the bodies, attest to internal or inter-village conflicts. The remains of these victims testify to tragic events linked to a crisis (demographic, of governance, epidemiological) or to the practice of rites – funerary, propitiatory, expiatory or foundational – with human sacrifices sometimes followed by cannibal meals.

However, the existence of conflict between two groups or communities cannot be ruled out, as shown by certain paintings on the walls of rock shelters in Spain. Dated between 10,000 and 6,500 before the current era (BCE), they represent scenes of armed encounters between groups of archers – scenes that are absent in Palaeolithic parietal art.

The change in the economy (from predation to production), which led to a radical change in social structures very early on, seems to have played a major role in the development of conflicts.

🔗 *From the nineteenth century, representations of prehistoric man have evolved over time. According to Marylène Patou-Mathis, the Neanderthal was neither superior nor inferior to modern man – he was just different.*



© Museo di Antropologia criminale Cesare Lombroso, Université de Turin (Italie)/Roberto Goffi

Unlike the exploitation of resources in the wild, food production allowed the option of a food surplus, that gave rise to the concept of ownership – and, consequently, the emergence of inequalities.

Very quickly, the stored commodities aroused envy and provoked internal struggles, but were also potential spoils in conflicts between communities. As evidenced by the emergence in Europe during the Neolithic period, of figures of the chief and warrior (visible in rock art and burials), this change in economy also led to a hierarchical structure within agro-pastoral societies. The emergence of an elite and castes included the warriors and as a consequence, the slaves needed to do the agricultural work, in particular.

In addition, the emergence of an elite with its own interests and rivalries provoked internal power struggles and intercommunity conflicts. It was only from 5,500 BC, marked by the arrival of new migrants, that traces of conflicts between villages became much more frequent.

These would proliferate in the Bronze Age, which began before 3,000 BC. It was during this period, when genuine war weapons made out of metal appeared, that war became institutionalized.

## The historical and social causes of violence

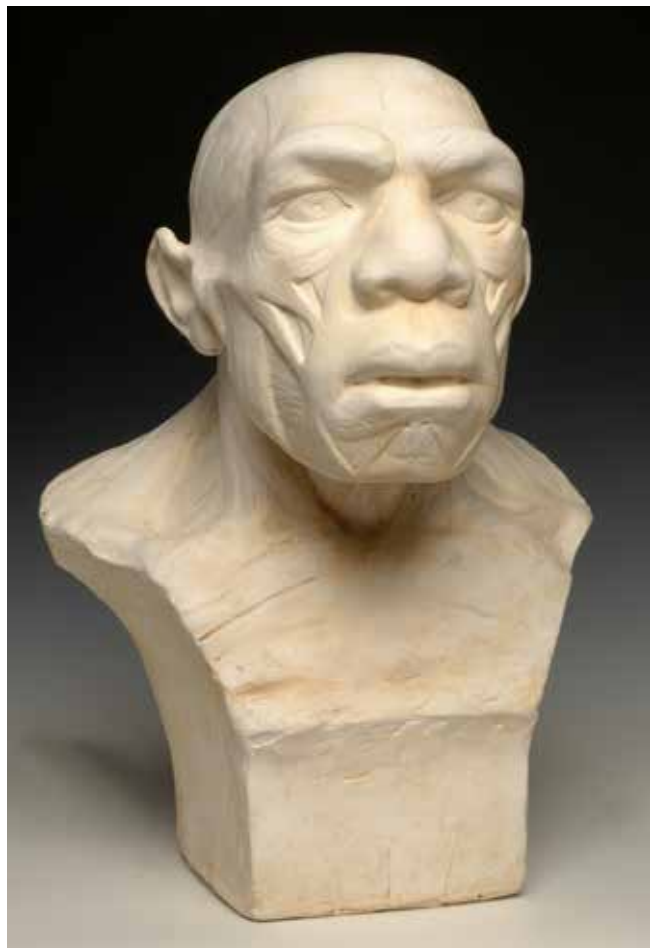
While it is difficult today to assess the true extent of acts of violence in prehistoric times – as the evaluation of the importance of this phenomenon is probably qualified by the state of findings and studies – it is possible to put forward some ideas. It appears, on the one hand, that the number of prehistoric sites in which acts of violence have been observed is low, in relation to the geographical extent and duration of the period under consideration (several 100,000 years).

On the other hand, we could conclude that while violent behaviour towards others is old, war has not always existed. Its origins appear to be correlated with the development of the production economy, which led very early on to a radical change in social structures.

Violence is not inscribed in our genes. Its appearance has historical and social causes – the concept of “primordial (original) violence” is a myth. War is therefore not inseparable from the human condition, but is the product of societies, and the cultures it generates. As the studies of early human societies show, when faced with crises, a community is more resilient if it is based on co-operation and mutual support, rather than on individualism and competition.

As for the reality of our ancestors’ lives, it probably lies somewhere between the two visions – both of them mythical – of the Hobbesian *Aubes cruelles* (Cruel dawns, a book of poems on prehistoric times, by the scientist and writer, Henri-Jacques Proumen, 1879-1962), and the golden age of human flourishing imagined by the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

🔗 *The reconstruction of the muscles of the head and neck of the Homo Neanderthalensis of La Chapelle-aux-Saints, in the Corrèze, France. Sculpture by Joanny Durand, 1921.*



© MNHN/Daniel Ponsard

🔗 *El Neandertal Emplumado, the scientific reconstruction of the face of a Neanderthal who lived some 50,000 years ago. Sculpture by Italian scientist Fabio Fogliazza.*



© Fabio Fogliazza/photo Giorgio Bardelli/Museo de la Evolución Humana, Burgos (Espagne)





# AYKA

A FILM BY SERGEY DVORTSEVOY

↑ A poster of the film, Ayka, released in 2018.  
© Kinodvor/Pallas Film/Otter Films



# Samal Yeslyamova and Sergey Dvortsevov:

## Reality on the big screen

Interview by  
Katerina Markelova, UNESCO

Familiar yet invisible people, around 2.5 million migrants have left their homes in Central Asia to try their luck in Moscow. Most of them eke out a living doing precarious jobs. In *Ayka* – a feature film which won the Best Actress award at the Cannes Film Festival in 2018 – Russian-Kazakh writer-director Sergey Dvortsevov and Kazakh actress Samal Yeslyamova explore the fate of those who are willing to sacrifice everything in the hope of a better life.



© Romuald Riffraud/Association française du cinéma kazakhstanais

Our Guests were interviewed during the first Festival of Kazakhstan Film in France, held in Paris from 26-29 September 2019. Samal Yeslyamova was the guest of honour.

**Samal Yeslyamova, in the film you play a Kyrgyz migrant who is forced to abandon her newborn child to return to work. How did you prepare for this role?**

**Yeslyamova:** My character lives in extremely difficult conditions. I knew Sergey as a director, and realized how complicated it would be to play this role under his direction. When he becomes interested in a subject, his approach is more that of a documentary filmmaker than of a director of fiction.

I prepared myself for the role for a long time. I first interviewed my family, my acquaintances, my friends.

**Sergey Dvortsevov and Samal Yeslyamova after the screening of *Ayka*, the opening film of the first Kazakhstan Film Festival in France.**

But no one around me had ever faced a situation like this before. Thus, it was difficult to find the right expression. When the shooting started, I had just finished my studies at the Russian Institute of Theatre Arts. I had a spring in my step. Now, I was going to be playing a woman paralysed by pain.

Before I started shooting, I had to run and dance until I was literally exhausted. This state of exhaustion was enough for a few takes, but I quickly regained my energy and had to start running and dancing again. Even more so because, as the story progressed, my character's level of fatigue increased.


**Sergey Dvortsevov, how did you come up with the idea for this film?**

**Dvortsevov:** I was appalled to learn that a large number of women from Kyrgyzstan were abandoning their children in Moscow's maternity hospitals. Although I have lived in Moscow for over twenty years, I am originally from Shymkent, Kazakhstan. I am therefore familiar with the culture and mentality of Central Asia. I wanted to understand what could be pushing these women to do something so drastic.

I started to do some research, to meet women who have been through such an ordeal. Some of them, like the character played by Samal, commit this desperate act after being raped. Others do it because the child was conceived outside marriage, and it is impossible for them to return to their country because they would be rejected. I was very touched by this situation and decided to make a film about it.



© Kinodvor/Pallas Film/Otter Films

 *Ayka, seen in the foreground, with migrant women workers at a clandestine sweat-shop in Moscow. A still from the film.*

**Ayka is your second feature film, before which you made documentaries. Why did you feel the need to switch to fiction?**

**Dvortsevov:** In fact, I had already started to feel restricted by the documentary format. I couldn't have made a documentary about a story like Ayka's because I would never have been able to get close enough to this woman's most intimate life. Besides, there is a contradiction in documentary filmmaking – the more difficult the character's situation, the more dramatic the film is, and the better the result for the director. This ethical problem has been very painful for me. Although it is not easy to make a feature film, it is still fiction.

**The main character literally takes up the entire space in the film, from beginning to end. Why is that?**

**Dvortsevov:** On the screen, we see Ayka's life in the present. We have to understand who she is through her eyes, her body and her behaviour. It is through these, more than through her few lines, that we must also glimpse her past and predict her future. Samal has very expressive eyes, which the camera hardly leaves for a moment.

**Samal, you express your character's feelings with so little dialogue. How did you manage that?**

**Yeslyamova:** There were a lot of takes. Sergey edited them right away, and the next day we would watch the results. If we felt that something didn't work, we would shoot it again. It was a permanent work in progress. The film was constructed as we went along.

And then we talked a lot with migrants from Central Asia. Some of them told us that eight of them lived in a single room. Sometimes one person would stay in a room during the day, and another would use the same room at night. They also told us how much they missed their children. To avoid the painful moment of separation, some of them preferred to leave early in the morning, when the children were still asleep. When they returned home, their children would not leave their side, afraid that they would be left alone again. These painful stories, and the shooting itself, were so hard and psychologically charged that I can say that this film was like a third school for me.

**How do you explain that this film, which shows a few days in the life of a Kyrgyz migrant in Moscow, was able to find such resonance with audiences abroad?**

**Dvortsevov:** At each screening, the film generates strong reactions from the audience. I wasn't expecting that at all. When I started working on the film in 2012, the issue of migrants was not so acute a phenomenon in Moscow. At that time, the Western European countries were not facing such an influx of migrants either. Today, these population movements are affecting almost all countries.

The other thing is that, in all my films, I try to avoid anything that seems fake in the acting. When this authenticity is achieved, the audience can identify with the character. I knew that by watching this film, the audience would stop seeing these migrants in terms of what they do, but would begin to see them as people. Cinema cannot change the way things are, but it can reach people's hearts. If a work succeeds in touching the soul, it is an immense satisfaction for the creator.

**Some migrant workers participated in the film alongside professional actors. Why did you make this choice?**

**Dvortsevov:** For the same reason – that is, for the sake of truth. Non-professional actors have a big advantage over professional actors. Their sincerity shows on their faces and in their words.



They bring to the film the roughness of life, the authenticity and the scent of real life. That's why I wanted non-professional actors to join the cast. But that requires a lot of training. Many people who have seen the film said that they could not distinguish between the professional and non-professional actors – I take that as a great compliment.

**Some of these migrants were on Russian territory illegally, which couldn't have made shooting any easier.**

**Dvortsevov:** That did indeed happen many times. We would choose someone, check their papers, start working, train them in acting, and they would disappear overnight. They would then phone us from Kyrgyzstan to say they had been deported. In Moscow, it is extremely difficult to obtain a residence permit legally, so the majority of migrants use false documents – sometimes even without knowing it. People arrested in possession of forged documents are tried and deported after a few days. We would then have to search for another person and start all over again.

**Were these unusual shooting conditions the reason the film took six years to make?**

**Dvortsevov:** That is one of the reasons, but not the only one. To highlight the heroine's difficult conditions, we shot the film in winter, in the middle of a snowstorm. But as it turned out, it hardly snowed in Moscow for two years in a row. We tried to continue shooting using artificial snow, but this film did not support such artifice. So we had to wait until the weather was favourable, and there were snowstorms. Waiting is a very complicated state.

**Samal, how did you feel when you heard your name announced for the Best Actress award at the Cannes Festival?**

**Yeslyamova:** When the film was chosen to be in competition in the official selection, it was still being edited. The month before the festival, we worked hard to ensure that it was completed on time – the director slept for only two hours a night, and the rest of the crew, four hours. Each of us performed about three different functions. At the beginning of the festival, I was so tired that even though I was aware of the importance of the moment, I only felt the emotional impact a little later.

When I heard my name, I felt both joy and disappointment. In fact, I was hoping that the film would win the Palme d'Or. What would my role have been without such a talented director and dedicated team? So this prize is not only mine, it goes to the whole film.

**What does Samal's award mean for you, Sergey?**

**Dvortsevov:** It is totally justified. I am happy that an actress who has thrown all her strength into the film has been rewarded. It is proof that thorough work and a sincere rapport with what is being done can elevate you to the top. But this level of commitment is not given to all actors.

In addition, this recognition is important for Kazakhstan. It is the first time that the Best Actress award at Cannes has been given to a country in the post-Soviet area. This award has also made it possible to understand that *Ayka* is a film that touches people beyond our borders. Its reach will continue to grow long after its release. For a creator, this is essential.

“Cinema cannot change the way things are, but it can reach people's hearts. If a work succeeds in touching the soul, it is an immense satisfaction for the creator”

Winner of the Best Actress award at the 71st edition of the Cannes Film Festival in 2018, Kazakh actress **Samal Yeslyamova**, born in 1984, started her career in film by chance. After considering becoming a journalist, she studied drama at the Petropavlovsk College of Arts in Kazakhstan. Before she graduated, she got a role in Sergey Dvortsevov's film, *Tulpan*, which won the Un Certain Regard award at the Cannes Film Festival in 2008. She graduated from the Russian Institute of Theatre Arts (GITIS), Moscow, in 2011.

Russian-Kazakh director **Sergey Dvortsevov** was born in 1962 in Shymkent, Kazakhstan. He worked as an aeronautical engineer before enrolling in the documentary section of an advanced course for screenwriters and film directors at a Moscow film school, at the age of 29. After making four highly regarded documentaries, he turned to feature films. His second full-length feature, *Ayka* (2018), has won awards in several international competitions. In 2019, he became a member of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, which awards the Oscars.

➡ **Sergey Dvortsevov at the first Kazakhstan Film Festival in France:**  
“It is important that there are festivals to show complex films like *Ayka*.”

© Romuald Riffaud/Association française du cinéma kazakhstanais



# Current Affairs



📌 *A poster from the poster  
for tomorrow project  
launched by 4tomorrow,  
a non-profit based in Paris.*

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posterfortomorrow 2016

WORLD TODAY



# The League of Nations:

## A universal dream that has stood the test of time

**Jens Boel**

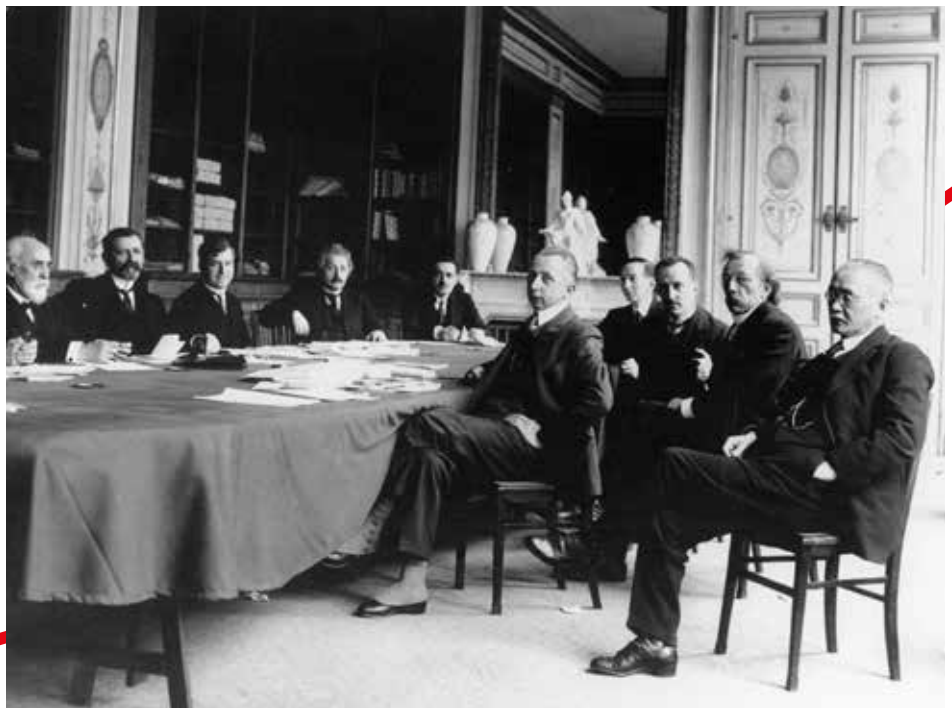
National interests and multilateralism are not necessarily antagonistic. They can even be complementary. It was from this idea that the League of Nations was born. Far from being idealistic dreamers, its founders were convinced that the “spirit of internationality” and state realism were inextricably linked.

The League of Nations was established as part of the Treaty of Versailles, which marked the end of the First World War. The creation of this new intergovernmental organization was inspired by United States President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points declaration – outlining his proposals for a post-war peace settlement – which he presented to the US Congress in January 1918. The idea of a “society of nations”, however, is much older. It dates back to international conferences in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was during the Hague Peace Conferences in 1899 and 1907 that the decisive move from the idea of the Concert of Nations – orchestrated by the major European powers – to true, inclusive multilateralism, was made.

At the 1907 conference, European states had become a minority at an intergovernmental meeting for the first time – due in particular to the presence of eighteen Latin American states, out of the total of forty-four states. The creation of the League represented a historical breakthrough and precedent. This was in spite of important limitations, which reflected the historical context of the time – in particular, colonialism, and the refusal of governments to accept the principle of gender equality.

A hundred years ago, on 10 January 1920, the League of Nations was born out of the rubble of the First World War. The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC), UNESCO’s predecessor, was created in its wake. The aim was to overcome the national egoisms that had led to the disaster, by focusing on multilateralism. This dream would not survive the inter-war period. But in an era facing challenges such as war, terrorism, economic crises and climate change, the credo of the founding fathers of the League for a more united world has not lost any of its relevance.

© United Nations Archives in Geneva, League of Nations Pictures



 A plenary session of the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation, attended by well-known figures in culture and science, among them Albert Einstein. Geneva, in the 1920s.

### Never again

Like the United Nations twenty-five years later, the League emerged from a world war – with the firm determination that never again should such a tragedy be allowed to happen. But the lack of will on the part of the major powers incapacitated the League from effectively

preventing or sanctioning the territorial aggressions of Japan, Italy and Germany in the 1930s. The outbreak of a second devastating world war saw the dream completely shattered – until the birth of the UN on 24 October 1945 brought it back to life, against all odds.

“The League emerged from a world war, with the firm determination that never again should such a tragedy be allowed to happen”



Soon after its creation, the League's members accepted the idea – of the French statesman and scholar Léon Bourgeois (1851-1925) and winner of the 1920 Nobel Peace prize – that international intellectual co-operation was an essential precondition for peace. Thus, in 1922, the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation was created. The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC), the executive branch of the commission, was established in 1925. These organizations were the predecessors of UNESCO, or, “the Forgotten UNESCO”, as French historian Jean-Jacques Renoliet called it.

In concrete terms, the IIIC established international norms and standards, organized conferences and published books on themes such as *The Future of Culture*; *The Future of the European Spirit*; *Towards a New Humanism and Europe* –

*Latin America* (about cultural relations). Probably its most famous publication was *Why War?*, an exchange of letters between Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud, published by the institute in 1933, which discussed the causes of war, and how to prevent it.

Among the many intellectuals who worked with the IIIC were French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859-1941); the physicist and chemist Marie Curie (1867-1934); philosopher and statesman Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888-1975), who later went on to become India's President from 1962-1967; the Chilean poet and diplomat Gabriela Mistral (1889-1957) who, in 1945, became the first Latin American writer to be awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature; and German author Thomas Mann (1875-1955), winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature, 1929.

## Lessons learnt

The IIIC quickly faced the challenges related to the inter-war context, and was forced to reflect on the difficulties of its time. For example, in 1933, there was a proposal that the organization reprint the books that were burned by the Nazis in Germany. Its leadership refrained from doing so out of fear of offending Germany, and provoking the country's departure from the institute. Eventually, Germany left the League, but for different reasons.

When UNESCO was created, its founders learned from the experience of IIIC, both from its successes and failures. Part of the institute's weakness was the over-emphasis on co-operation among intellectuals (“a society of minds”), and the relatively secondary role of politics.





🕒 *The Human Rights and Alliance of Civilizations Room, one of the largest conference rooms at the United Nations Office in Geneva.*

There were many shortcomings, but it was a beginning, a first attempt.

The work of the IIIC, its successes and failures, its political strengths and weaknesses – all this is reflected in the archives. In 2017, their universal value was acknowledged and highlighted by their inclusion in UNESCO's Memory of the World Register. In the same year, a project was launched to digitize these records (and completed in 2019), making them universally accessible online.

The creation of the League of Nations and its associated bodies for the promotion of intellectual co-operation, represented the concrete emergence of a dream of universality and global solidarity of humanity. This seems more relevant than ever today, when it is under fierce attack in many parts of the world. The dream is still with us.



A Danish historian, **Jens Boel** was Chief Archivist of the UNESCO archives from 1995 to 2017. He initiated the UNESCO History Project in 2004 and organized international conferences on UNESCO's history to encourage the use of its archives. Boel's next book is on the history of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC), created in 1960.

This is why a greater role was reserved for States within UNESCO's structure. In addition, education, that had not played a particularly prominent role in the IIIC, became UNESCO's main programme sector – emphasizing its fundamental significance for the Organization's peacebuilding mission.

In several areas, the IIIC achieved a number of successes, which laid the foundations that UNESCO could build on. These include work on languages and translations; the organization of international conferences that encourage debates on key philosophical subjects; and standard-setting work – in the fields of libraries and museums, for example.

The preservation of cultural heritage was already one of the concerns of the IIIC, as was cultural diversity – called “the particularity of cultures” at the time.

Work on textbooks – particularly on history and geography – with a view to fighting prejudices and stereotypes, was started by the IIIC and continued by UNESCO. The role of the mass media – radio in particular – for the promotion of peace was another priority area for the IIIC, which was taken up by UNESCO.

## A realistic dream

The IIIC was what the American historian, Jay Winter, called “a small utopia”. Its archives – now a part of UNESCO's archives – bear witness to dreams and hopes that were momentarily defeated, but which were reborn after the Second World War. The founding of the institute represents the first time in the history of humanity that there was an attempt to create a truly universal organization for intellectual co-operation.



# “Helen Pankhurst: Feminism is in my blood”

Two years after the #MeToo movement erupted in the United States and twenty-five years after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, Helen Pankhurst assesses the different waves of feminism over the last 100 years. The activist and author also writes about the roles of her great-grandmother Emmeline Pankhurst and grandmother Sylvia, leaders of the suffragette movement, who helped win British women the right to vote in the early twentieth century.

## Helen Pankhurst

Far from seeming like something in history, the resistance of the suffragettes a hundred years ago, with their demand for equal political representation, seems as relevant today as it was then. There seems to be something in the air, globally, that is a reminder of those early struggles, which my great-grandmother spear-headed. This includes millions of feminists marching in the streets again, challenging heads of states and governments who are openly adopting policies that are socially regressive.

In spite of the fact that huge progress has been made, women the world over are still fighting for equality. Why, at the present rate, will we have to wait till 2069 in the United Kingdom for the gender pay gap to disappear? Why, in 2015, did eleven per cent of women lose their jobs due to pregnancy? Why, globally, has one in three women experienced physical or sexual violence?

The journey of every country in the fight for women's rights is specific to that country. And yet, so much is common in the experiences of women across space and time. Gender inequality and discrimination remain integral to our political and economic systems, to people's identities, to cultures and religions – to power.

➡ *The See Red Women's Workshop was founded in 1974 by three British former art students. It focused on creating feminist posters to combat sexist images of women.*



© See Red Women's Workshop





📌 *Emmeline Pankhurst being arrested on 21 May 1914, while trying to present a petition to the king at Buckingham Palace, London.*

© Museum of London

May 21. 1914.

## A new wave

Today, as was the case a century ago, it is the unity around one particular issue that has captured the moment. The issue at this time, which has become definitional of the fourth wave of feminism, is workplace violence. This wave is mainly defined by the #MeToo Movement, which started in the US in October 2017, and has reverberated around the world – known differently, for example, as #*WatashiMo* in Japan and #*BalanceTonPorc* in France.

Importantly, the voices of individuals speaking out and challenging discriminatory social norms are now being taken up in the form of structural change, nationally and globally. After years of campaigning, the landmark International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention on Violence and Harassment at Work was adopted in June 2019. Effort is now focused on ensuring its ratification.

Overall, the waves are first and foremost a description of the momentum created by individuals coming together to challenge the status quo – with increasing numbers becoming part of the force for change, and together changing the structures and policies of society. The result not only changes what people think and how they behave, but also spear-heads policy change.

The metaphor of waves to describe feminism was introduced retrospectively, and it has stuck, as a simple way of explaining how energy and priorities have shifted over time.

Social media, a tool of both oppression and liberation, has been a defining characteristic of the fourth wave. This current wave is acutely aware of – in fact, is defined by – an understanding not so much of the different political positions women might hold, but of the different layers of privilege and vulnerability that women experience.

The term intersectionality, coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, puts this centre stage and demands an understanding of differences beyond gender – such as those of age, reproductive status, class, colour, sexuality and ability.

Women leaders have also brought their feminism to other causes – for example, in the current wave, Black Lives Matter, the global activist movement started by African Americans in the US, and the environmental movement by Sweden's young Greta Thunberg.

There are also two calendar moments that are umbilically linked to the global women's movement. The International Day of the Girl Child on 11 October is an annual reminder of the specific constraints facing girls, and the reality that their voices are the least likely to be heard in any policies or decisions – including those that most affect their own lives.



🕒 *The Prisoners' Pageant – made up of more than 600 suffragettes who had served prison sentences – participating in a procession in support of a bill that would allow women to vote, in 1910. In the centre, Sylvia Pankhurst, holding a model of the prison gates.*

The other key dates on the global feminism calendar fall between 25 November and 10 December, known as the 16 days of Activism against Gender-based Violence. This period highlights both the problems remaining, and the ongoing activism against gender-based violence in the form of sexual abuse of all kinds. One way or another, feminist activism always circles back to gender-based violence – the flip side of women's lack of political, social and economic power.

## The vote, key to all change

Starting in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the first wave of feminism built on the demands of women centuries earlier – for a greater voice. It also built on campaigns in which women were pivotal, such as the anti-slavery movement. Many concerns were addressed, including rights to education and employment; double standards around sexuality; trafficking and violence against women; temperance (anti-alcohol campaigning); and women-led anti-colonial and anti-war protests. This foundational wave is, however, best known for campaigns around citizenship, the right to vote and to be voted into parliament. The vote was seen at the time as the key to all other changes.

That first fight was particularly bitter in the UK. Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928), the leader of the suffragette movement and my great-grandmother, was at the forefront of that fight – which started in Manchester in 1903. She was, and has remained, an iconic global representation of women's resistance, as a consequence.

The movement resulted in hundreds of thousands of people, mainly women, marching, but also to the destruction of property, to thousands being imprisoned, to being force-fed, to dying for the cause. As the leader of the movement, Emmeline's courage, her determination, her vision of gender equality has continued to inspire. She was, and remains, a controversial character, even among supporters of her objectives.

Emmeline's three daughters were all involved in the movement – her second daughter, Sylvia (1882-1960), was my grandmother. Sylvia increasingly disagreed with her mother's leadership of the movement – opposing her authoritarian decision-making, with the focus on wealthier women, and with the militancy.

➡ *The Italian feminist movement Non Una Di Meno (Not one less), born in 2016 in the wake of the Argentinian movement of the same name, Ni Una Menos, to denounce gender violence and feminicide.*





She also believed that campaigning for the vote needed to be done together with strategies through which working women could address their daily struggles.

Furthermore, Sylvia argued for the importance of universal suffrage – at a time when many working-class men didn't have the vote either – and was an outspoken pacifist when it came

to the Second World War. Following the invasion of Ethiopia by Mussolini, this became another cause that she took on. She moved to Ethiopia, where she was buried with a state funeral.

The splits in our family are a reflection of how very personal the political can be, and of the schisms throughout the history of women's rights.

Feminism's second wave, from the 1960s, spotlighted economic rights such as equal pay and the challenge to gendered hierarchies of work, which had resulted in women being driven into poorly-paid jobs.



Image for the Greater Manchester for Women 2028 coalition. Convened by Helen Pankhurst, the coalition aims to achieve gender equality in Greater Manchester, United Kingdom – where the suffragette movement was born – by 2028.

Sexual freedom and individual choice characterized the third wave, from the 1990s – thirty years later. The period also saw greater government and intra-governmental commitments to address gender issues. The United Nations World Conferences on Women took place in this time frame.

## Personal influences

The Pankhursts were extraordinary women in their day, but how have they influenced me, a woman in the twenty-first century? Without a doubt, I am moulded by having had to think about the differences of opinion within my family, and also by the fact that I was brought up in Ethiopia. In 1992, I wrote a book on women in Ethiopia, based on my thesis, called *Gender, Development and Identity*.

Last year, I turned to women's experiences in the UK with the book *Deeds Not Words: The Story of Women's Rights, Then and Now*. It considers how far we have come over the last hundred years, and has facilitated innumerable discussions with audiences here and abroad.

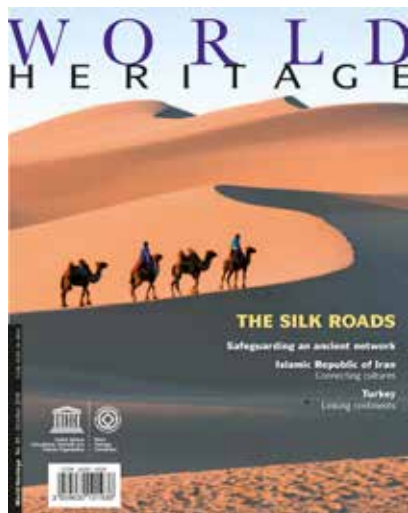
If feminism is in my blood, so too is an understanding of the power of solidarity and purpose created by marches. The celebration of global feminism around International Women's Day and the March4Women events – in London, in particular – have long been highlights of my year.

On 8 March this year (2020), I will be marching as so many have done, and will continue to do so right around the world – banners held up high. We still have a long way to go.

A human rights activist and author, **Helen Pankhurst** is an advisor for CARE International, a professor at the University of Manchester, and a chancellor at Suffolk University. She divides her time between Ethiopia and the United Kingdom.



# New publications



## World Heritage No.93 The Silk Roads

ISSN 1020-4202 - EAN 3059630101936  
76 pp., 220 x 280 mm, paperback, €7.50  
UNESCO Publishing/Publishing for  
Development Ltd.

The Silk Roads encompass some of the most complex and fascinating systems in the history of world civilizations.

This shifting network of roads and trade routes that evolved over centuries enabled the exchange of cargo such as silk, spices, gems and furs. It also allowed for the sharing and dissemination of art, religion and technology.

Today, these heritage corridors have enormous potential to offer economic benefits to local communities, and cross-cultural exchanges through tourism.



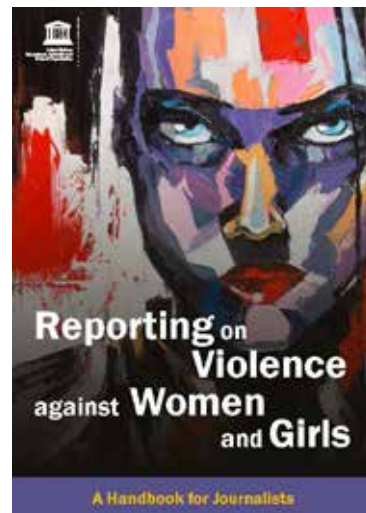
## Supporting Safety of Journalists in Afghanistan

An assessment based on UNESCO's  
Journalists' Safety Indicators

ISBN 978-92-3-100361-5  
130 pp., 150 x 210 mm, paperback  
UNESCO Publishing  
Available on <http://unesdoc.unesco.org>

To be meaningful, press freedom requires that journalists do not fear attacks for doing their work. Threats to the safety of journalists amount to censorship by intimidation and force. UNESCO's Journalists' Safety Indicators provide a baseline against which changes in safety can be measured over time.

This report maps threats against journalists in Afghanistan through the year 2017. It provides an overview of the safety of journalists, followed by a discussion of the roles and responses of different actors in the country.



## Reporting on Violence against Women and Girls

A Handbook for Journalists

ISBN 978-92-3-100349-3  
160 pp., 148 x 210 mm, paperback  
UNESCO Publishing  
Available on <http://unesdoc.unesco.org>

Ethical journalism is always fact-based, and aims to promote gender equality in and through the media. This handbook is designed to support media professionals in their coverage of various types of violence against women and girls.

The handbook provides guidance, benchmarks and resources to help journalists and reporters ensure quality media coverage that is accurate, regular, engaged and respectful of the fundamental principles of the profession.



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