

Working Paper: Research on community media in the France with a focus on community media as spaces for local dialogue and cohesion

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SUMMARY BOX

Community radios: 729 (source: CSA¹: 'Conseil Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel'/'Higher Audiovisual Council').
Community television (on the DTT network): 2 (ASTV and Télé Bocal).
Languages on air: 12 languages are represented in bilingual or even monolingual community radio stations (in this other language), 7 regional languages (Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corsican, Creole, Aranese Gascon, Occitan) and 5 foreign languages (English, Armenian, Chinese, Spanish, Flemish) but many other languages are broadcast more punctually in programmes for different communities such as Arabic dialect, Armenian, Berber, Spanish, etc.
Funding: € 30.75 million for the FSER ('Fonds de soutien à l'expression radiophonique'/'Radio Expression Support Fund', report of 2017²) plus other revenues that will be developed in the report (grants from regions, cities, listener donations, etc.).

1 Status of community media

The term community radios is little used in France, or rather concerns only a part of the associative radios. As Pascal Ricaud writes³ :

« En France—où l'État-nation s'est construit et consolidé autour d'une identité et d'une langue unitaires—notre tradition républicaine et universaliste nous interdit presque d'utiliser ce terme trop connoté et vite assimilé à un communautarisme cloisonné, exclusif. Les Français parlent plus volontiers de radios libres, associatives, locales ou de proximité alors que presque partout ailleurs dans le monde (...) l'expression de radio communautaire est employée sans nécessaire préalable. »

'In France—where the nation-state was built and consolidated around a unitary identity and language—our republican and universalist tradition almost forbids us to use this term too connoted and quickly assimilated to a compartmentalised, exclusive communitarianism. The French are more likely to talk about free, associative or local radio stations, whereas almost everywhere else in the world (...) the expression of community radio is used without any necessary precondition.'

Pascal Ricaud proposed that in France, 'community radios' are of four types: regional community radios; radios of immigrant communities; activist radios engaged, in particular, in

1 CSA website (accessed 28 May 2019): <https://www.csa.fr/Cles-de-l-audiovisuel/Connaitre/Le-paysage-audiovisuel/Composition-du-paysage-audiovisuel-francais-la-radio>. The Higher Audiovisual Council is a public body regulating the media.

2 Available on the website of the Ministry of Culture (accessed 1 May 2019): <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Audiovisuel/Fonds-de-soutien-a-l-expression-radiophonique>

3 Ricaud, P. (2008). Les radios communautaires de la FM à Internet. *MédiaMorphoses* 23, 45.

social actions; and radios in the service of vulnerable people (such as people with disabilities). It is also important to note that some French community radios are not associative radios but commercial, private radio stations (for example: Radio Orient, Beur FM, Radio Alfa, Alfa n°1).

In this report, we will talk about ‘community radios’ in the sense of ‘radios associatives’ (French local non-commercial radios), which include community radios (in the French sense) as well as other types of radios among which proximity radios are the most represented.

Community radios aim to ‘*ensure a mission of service, animation, information towards a specific audience defined by a geographical and/or cultural social criterion*’⁴. As written on the website of the Conseil Supérieur de l’Audiovisuel, ‘*community radios are not public radios, they are radios serving the public*’⁵.

Nozha Smati⁶ reports what Emmanuelle Daviet, mediator of Radio France⁷, said at the last meeting of the CNRA (‘Confédération Nationale des Radios Associatives’/‘National Confederation of Community Radios’) that took place in May 2019: ‘*this media is synonymous with freedom, proximity, mutual aid, social link, listening, diversity of different people. It is synonymous with a strong commitment, volunteering, humility, a place where people are used to dealing with difficulties. The particularities of a community radio are manifested in its capacity to be an alternative medium, to issue local information that is important for local democracy, to understand what is happening in the territories. These media have the mission to produce field reports related to the daily lives of listeners*’.

Sébastien Poulain, in his thesis on the Parisian radio station Radio Ici et Maintenant, defended in 2015⁸, lists the characteristics of French community radios:

- ‘- There are many community radios in France since they are about 600⁹, which is not very well known.
- Community radios have few employees, but the number of employees is not so far from that of local private and commercial radios.
- The community radios are animated by many volunteers, unlike commercial radios which employ employees and interns.
- Community radios invite many associations on the air and therefore value the entire associative and social field.
- Community radios are located throughout the country, including in areas where there is little media.
- Community radios are largely financed by public institutions (via public grants, subsidised employment contracts ...) so it is interesting to observe the results of public policies and the management of public finances.
- Community radios give voice to people who are not necessarily interested in other media or that are not performing well enough from the point of view of radio broadcasting.

4 Ricaud, P. (2008). Les radios communautaires de la FM à Internet. MédiaMorphoses 23, 45.

5 CSA website (accessed 28 May 2019: <https://www.csa.fr/Informer/Espace-presse/Interventions-publiques/L-avenir-des-radios-associatives/Les-radios-associatives-de-vrais-relais-au-service-du-public>

6 Smati, Nozha. (2019). Restitution des concertations des états généraux des radios associatives organisés par la CNRA, 13 et 14 juin 2019 (Restitution of the general meetings of the community radios organized by the CNRA, 13 and 14 June 2019), retrieved 1 July 2019) from: <https://radiography.hypotheses.org/3013>

7 The Mediator of Radio France receives remarks and questions from listeners and transmits them to journalists with the aim of improving the quality of the programmes.

8 Poulain, Sébastien (2015). Les radios alternatives: l’exemple de Radio Ici et Maintenant. Doctorate Thesis in Information and Communication Sciences. Bordeaux III. Université Michel de Montaigne, 20.

9 Since 2015, the number of community radios has increased (about 700 today), especially with the creation of radios that broadcast on the RNT (radio numérique terrestre/digital terrestrial radio) or DAB + (technical term for digital radios).

- Community radios provide programmes that could not have a place on other types of media because they would lose too much of their audience.
- Community radios give radio hosts the opportunity to gain experience before going to other radio stations or other media.'

1.1 History and legal status

Between the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, radio stations challenged the state's monopoly set up on March 23, 1945, and broadcasted clandestinely; they were pirate radios. These radio stations¹⁰ included Radio Campus Lille (created in 1969, it claims the title of the first French free radio), Radio Verte ('Radio Green', an environmental radio created in 1977) or Radio Lorraine Coeur d'acier ('Radio Lorraine Heart of Steel', an activist radio created by the CGT union in 1979 ['Confédération Générale du Travail'/'General Confederation of Labour']; the Lorraine is a region in the East of France).

At the time, the name of 'free radio' was not yet used, and these radios were called 'pirate radios' or 'neighbourhood radios'. Other expressions were used more rarely: 'community radios', 'independent radios', 'local radios', 'illegal radios' or 'clandestine radios'. The term 'free radio' emerged in 1977 and was partly imposed by the Press (including the daily newspaper *Libération*)¹¹.

In 1981, the election of François Mitterrand to the Presidency of the Republic resulted in the liberalisation of the FM band in several stages:

- The law of 9 November 1981, known as 'the law of tolerance', allowed free radios to obtain derogations from the monopoly.
- The law of 29 July 1982, called 'the law of regulation', abolished the monopoly. Nearly 1500 stations were thus authorised, with the new stations called RLP ('Radios Locales Privées'/'private local radios'). These radios receive an annual grant that comes from a tax on advertising resources of other audio-visual media, called 'fonds de soutien à l'expression radiophonique' ('fund to support radio broadcasting').
- The law of 1 August 1984 authorised advertising. This gave radios the choice between maintaining an associative status or becoming commercial companies¹² (chosen by 75% of radios, like the radio station NRJ, which has become a large private group)¹³.

10 Cheval, Jean-Jacques (1997). *Les radios en France, Histoire, état et enjeux*. Paris. Apogée. 73–75.

11 Lefebvre, Thierry (2016). « Qu'entend-on par radio libre ? ». In : Lefebvre, T. & Poulain, S. *Radios libres, 30 de FM, La parole libérée ?* Paris, L'Harmattan, 19–29.

12 Information about the history of these radios (in French) can be found on (accessed 14 May 2019): <http://www.schoop.fr>

13 Albert, Pierre and Tudesq André-Jean (1996). *Histoire de la radio-télévision*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 110.

1.2 Funding and sustainability

In France, radios are classified into five different categories from A to E, with a sixth category for public service radios. Associative radios are category A radios. They are local non-commercial radios; advertising must not represent more than 20% of their total turnover.

Every year, community radio stations apply for a grant from the FSER ('fonds de soutien à l'expression radiophonique'/'Radio Expression Support Fund'). For most radio stations, this funding constitutes the bulk of their resources. The fund depends on the Ministry of Culture, and the subsidies are essentially of two kinds¹⁴:

- 1) An automatic operating grant (up to 40,000 euros per year). To obtain it, you have to prove that the programming is of local interest in the geographical area of diffusion of the radio.
- 2) A selective grant related to radio projects (which can go up to about 31,000 euros). To obtain it, you have to be able to justify a '*mission of social communication of proximity*' thanks to '*cultural and educational actions and actions in favour of the integration, the fight against discrimination, the environment and local development*'. To receive this grant, radio stations must provide certificates of partnership with structures working in the field (national education, associations that help migrants, etc.).

Two other grants are less regular: an installation grant and an equipment grant. In 2017, the amount of grants from the fund were 30.75 million euros, of which approximately 6 million euros was from the selective grant.

The community radios also benefit from other funding coming from the regions (including the DRAC: 'direction régionale des affaires culturelles'/'regional direction of the cultural affairs'), departments, municipalities or communities of municipalities, and also from the Ministry of Education and Youth (funds for the development of associations), Europe (European Social Fund), UNESCO ('Education 2030'), etc.

Radios that make an appeal for donations from listeners, especially via their website, are quite rare, but this is the case in politicised radios (for example: Radio Libertaire in Paris), religious (for example: RCF, 'la radio chrétienne francophone'/'French Christian radio') or regional radio stations (for example, Radio Bro-Gwened in Brittany or Gure Irratia in the Basque Country¹⁵). Appeals for donations can also be made to support radio stations in financial difficulty. For example, Radio Grenouille ('Frog Radio!') in Marseille is present on the crowdfunding site Commeon¹⁶. Finally, radio stations organise events to raise money. For example, Frequence Paris Plurielle in Paris regularly organises support concerts.

14 FSER report 2017 (accessed 1 May 2019): <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Audiovisuel/Fonds-de-soutien-a-l-expression-radiophonique/Rapports-d-activite>

15 Ricaud, P. (2008). Les radios communautaires de la FM à Internet. MédiaMorphoses 23, 48.

16 « Soutenez radio Grenouille ! »/'Support Radio Grenouille!' (accessed 1 June 2019): <https://www.commeon.com/fr/projet/soutenez-radio-grenouille>

1.3 The role of community media in the larger (regional/national) media landscape

Compared to the top public and private channels, community radios have difficulty being visible. A study in June 2018 of 569 community radios reports the figure of 1,102,000 listeners (2% of global listening in France¹⁷).

In order to carry more weight, community radios are grouped into unions of which there are two (some radios are part of one or the other; others are part of both), the CNRA¹⁸ ('Confédération Nationale des Radios Associatives'/'National Confederation of Community Radios') and the SNRL¹⁹ ('Syndicat National des Radios Libres'/'National Union of Free Radios'). There are also regional structures such as FRADIF²⁰ ('Fédération des radios associatives d'Île-de-France'/'Federation of associative radios of Île-de-France').

Unions encourage the sharing of programmes. For example, 'L'ours et la carotte' ('The Bear and the Carrot') is an environmental programme produced by two volunteers from South-West France and broadcast by many radio stations beyond this region (Radio Omega, Radio Declic, Radio Dio, Beaub FM, Radio Gresivaudan, etc.).

The channels of community television broadcast on the DTT network (TNT: 'Télévision Numérique Terrestre'/'French digital terrestrial television') are almost non-existent in France. We have identified two:

- 1) ASTV, the local television of Grande-Synthe (North of France), created in 1982.
- 2) Télé Bocal in the Île-de-France region, a local activist television which was launched in 1995 and has been on the DTT network since 2008. This television channel inspired the film 'Télé Gaucho' by Michel Leclerc, released in 2012.

In this regard, the 'Conseil Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel' writes on its website: '*In France, local television suffers from a huge delay compared to other countries where the practise of decentralisation, which is often older, is a more familiar tradition*²¹'.

Many community TVs have stopped broadcasting in recent years, most often for lack of resources (CINAPS TV, Télé Plaisance ...). Zaléa TV in Paris can also be mentioned. This channel that disappeared in 2007 was in the same group of associations as the radio station Fréquence Paris Plurielle. Other TVs have stopped broadcasting on the DTT network but still have a website (Tv Bruits, Télé Millevaches ...).

Local television channels today are mainly on the internet (for example: www.kanaldude.tv, which is in the Basque language, <http://latelelibre.fr/> in Paris or <http://tvcitoyenne.com> in the Northern Alps). There are also private television channels: D!CI TV²² in the Southern Alps was the most watched local television in France in 2017–2018, but many other private local

17 Médiamétrie figures published in the 'lettre pro radio' (website for radio professionals, 25 June 2018), retrieved 15 June 2019 from: https://www.lalettre.pro/L-audience-des-radios-locales-en-France_a16712.html. Médiamétrie is a company specialised in the measurement of audiences and the study of the uses of the audio-visual and digital media in France.

18 CNRA website (accessed 16 May 2019): <http://www.cnra.fr/>

19 SNRL website (accessed 15 May 2019): <https://www.snrl.fr/>

20 FRADIF website (accessed 16 May 2019): <http://www.fradif.org/>

21 CSA website (accessed 30 June 2019): <https://www.csa.fr/Informer/Espace-presse/Interventions-publiques/Quel-avenir-pour-les-televisions-associatives/L-essor-de-la-TV-locale-associative-entrevue>

22 D!CI TV website (accessed 8 July 2019): <https://www.dici.fr/actu/2018/07/12/sondages-20172018-tombes-d-tv-toujours-de-loin-television-locale-plus-regardee-de-france-1156279>

TVs have had the same fate as community TVs. For example, Télé Toulouse (Nouvelle Aquitaine region) stopped broadcasting in 2015 because of financial problems. As with radios, some local televisions are part of a union (which represent associative and private projects), 'locales.tv'.

1.4. A study of the community radios in Brittany: the report of the CORLAB

There is no national data on community radios in France, but a report on community radios in Brittany provides some elements. This report 'Radios associatives de Bretagne, État des lieux prospectif 2019' ('Community radios of Brittany, a prospective statement 2019') was consulted on the site of the CORLAB²³ ('Coordination des radios locales et associatives de Bretagne'/'Coordination of the local and community radios of Brittany'). It is a synthesis that includes data for 2017. Here are some indicative points of the situation:

- In Brittany, there are 34 radios and 59 frequencies. The vast majority have been active for more than 10 years. Five radios appeared less than 6 years ago. There has also been a boom in web-radios.

- Among the 34 radio stations, 17 are general-interest radio stations (50% of the total number), 7 are religious radio stations, 4 are community radios in the Breton language, 3 radio stations are members of the 'Ferarock' (a network of radio stations that support musical diversity), 2 are student radios and 1 radio produces some programmes in Gallo (Romance language from Upper-Brittany).

- In 2017, there were 1,603 volunteers for an average of 47 volunteers per radio station. There is a big difference between urban radios (80 volunteers on average) and radios in rural areas (37 volunteers on average). The RCF radios ('la radio chrétienne francophone'/'French Christian radio') have important support from their faithful (82 volunteers on average in each radio).

- The community radios of Brittany employed 114 people in 2017 for a total average of 3.3 employees per radio. About 4 out of 10 employees worked part-time. These employees were essentially radio hosts (47%). One in three employees was a woman, which coincides with the figures for the audio-visual sector in Brittany (63% are men). 62% of employees had at least a bachelor's degree²⁴. 60% of employees surveyed for this study had previously been volunteers in a community radio station.

- 26 young volunteers on a civic service mission participated in 2017 in the activity of 17 radios.

-Public funding is allocated as follows: operating grant from the fund supporting radio broadcasting, 47%; selective grant from the fund, 11%; Region, 7%; Region-Languages of

23 See report by Xavier Milliner and Elise Sorin, retrieved on 13 June 2019 from <http://corlab.org/>. This document is a review of an action-study on employment and training carried out by the CORLAB.

24 Jean-Jacques Cheval observed the social profiles of the members of community radio in Gironde in 1985–1986 and found that, contrary to the popular belief that the free radio movement was essentially carried by the lower classes, '*the dominant socio-professional categories were employees, intermediate professions and students*'. Cheval, Jean-Jacques (2016). « Devine qui est venu parler à la radio hier soir ? ». In : Lefebvre, T. & S. Poulain. Radios libres, 30 de FM, La parole libérée? Paris, L'Harmattan, 131.

Brittany, 12%; Departments, 3%; Departments–Languages of Brittany, 7%; Communities of municipalities, 1%; municipalities, 8%; and other grants, 4%.

-Religious radio stations (including those of the RCF network) account for 92% of all donations (private individuals, companies, etc.) for community radio stations in Brittany.

- About one-third of radio stations broadcast advertising. Community radios often prefer a particular form of advertising called MIC-MIG (‘messages d’intérêt général et collectif’/ ‘general and public interest messages’), with 40% of radios broadcasting this type of message.

- In 2017, about 60% of community radio stations in Brittany organised workshops on radio expression (in schools, specialised institutions, universities, ‘maisons de quartier²⁵’, retirement homes). This activity has progressed compared to 2014.

2 The different types of community radios

2.1. Local proximity radio stations

According to Nozha Smati²⁶, local radio stations have specific properties:

« Ces médias sont diffusés dans une zone limitée et ne concernent, par les contenus qu’ils diffusent, que les récepteurs qui habitent dans un territoire bien défini. Il existe donc une proximité géographique de facto entre le public, le média et le monde raconté, traité dans ses programmes. Ceci contribue à un ancrage fort au territoire. »

‘These media are broadcast in a limited area and concern, by the content they broadcast, only the receivers that live in a well-defined territory. There is therefore a geographical proximity between the public, the media and the world told in its programmes. This contributes to a strong anchorage to the territory.’

Local radio stations have a variety of broadcasts with some listed on programme schedules, such as those dealing with local news, school radio or ecology. Otherwise, the topics depend on the proposals of the radio hosts, most often volunteers: animals, botany, cooking, travel, well-being, etc. Some programmes are specific to the region. An example is Agora 86 (in Montmorillon in the Nouvelle Aquitaine region), a programme devoted to fishing in the territory (‘Destination Pêche’/‘Fishing destination’)²⁷. Programmes can also be devoted to listener participation, which can be considered as a heritage of the free radio of the 1980s. An example is the program ‘Le cabanon du soir²⁸’ (‘the evening shed’) on Variance FM (Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes region).

2.2. Activist radio stations

25 ‘Neighbourhood houses’: reception and leisure space in the neighbourhoods of large cities, offering residents social actions, local services and socio-cultural activities.

26 Smati, Nozha (2009). Médiations de faits culturels par la presse et les radios régionales en Tunisie. Doctorate Thesis in Information and Communication Sciences. Toulouse 2 University, 99.

27 Facebook page of Radio Agora (accessed July 3, 2019): <https://www.facebook.com/radioagoramontmorillon/posts/1108824685969958>

28 Variance FM website (accessed June 30, 2019): <https://variancefm.com/programmes/emissions-en-semaine/le-cabanon-du-soir/>

Another type of community radio is very different from the others, and comes directly from the free radio movement of the 1980s. They are called ‘fight radios’ or ‘activist radios’, and are mostly radios of the extreme left or anarchists²⁹. The devise of Radio Libertaire (‘Libertarian Radio’), written on its website, is: ‘*The radio without god, without master and without advertising*’. On these radios, there are programmes relaying political ideas (for example, ‘L’actualité des luttes’/‘The news of militant fights’ on Fréquence Paris Plurielle), the question of migration (for example, ‘Odyssées immigrées’/‘Immigrant Odyssey’ on Radio Aligre) or life in prison (for example, ‘Radio Baumettes’ on Radio Galère; ‘Les Baumettes’ is a big prison in Marseille, Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur region).

For Sébastien Poulain, who wrote a thesis on the Parisian community radio Radio Ici et Maintenant, these radios can also be described as ‘alternative radios’ because they present points of view that change the ordinary dominant thought and propose other ways of thinking; they help to understand the contemporary mutations of activism³⁰.

These radios often face financial problems. As Sébastien Poulain wrote³¹ :

« *Ces radios rencontrent souvent des problèmes financiers. En effet, comme l’écrit Sébastien Poulain : « plus les radios défendent un point de vue alternatif et plus elles souhaitent garder une autonomie vis-à-vis des institutions publiques et des annonceurs commerciaux, plus elles doivent être actives, innovantes, efficaces pour trouver d’autres formes de financement. »*

‘The more radios defend an alternative point of view and the more they wish to maintain autonomy vis-à-vis public institutions and commercial advertisers, the more they must be active, innovative and effective in order to find other forms of financing’.

2.3. Community radios in rural and peripheral areas

As explained by Jocelyn Abbey³² of Radio Prévert (Pays-de-la-Loire region): ‘*access to culture in rural areas is not the same as in the cities. Our radio was created (in 1984) for the purpose of social communication of proximity*’. Today, rural local radios operate in the same way as urban radios (local broadcasts, school radios, etc.). Jérôme Roisin³³ of Radio Déclic (Grand-Est region) explains that partnerships are created with rural households and MJC’s (‘Maisons des jeunes et de la culture’/‘Youth and Culture houses’) of small towns in the sector. However, a difficulty in rural areas is that of broadcasting: for Radio Déclic, the frequency is in Villers-le-Sec (about 500 inhabitants). There are three other broadcasters in rural areas.

In the peripheral areas, namely the social housing areas of the big cities, there are also many radio projects. For example, the association ‘L’oeil à l’écoute’³⁴ (‘The attentive listening eye’) was created in 2005 in Seine-Saint-Denis (suburbs of Paris, poorest department of France, with a large number of social housing areas) and produces radio content (6,650 participants since 2005). As it is written on their website, ‘*L’oeil à l’écoute has a popular education approach,*

29 Except Radio Courtoisie (on the far right).

30 Poulain, Sébastien (2015). *Les radios alternatives : l’exemple de Radio Ici et Maintenant*. Doctorate Thesis in Information and Communication Sciences. Bordeaux III. Université Michel de Montaigne, 20–21.

31 Ibid, 764.

32 Face-to-face interview, 13 June 2019.

33 Ibid.

34 ‘L’oeil à l’écoute’ website (accessed July 10, 2019): <http://www.loeilalecoute.org/>

for everyone, whatever the gender, age and socio-professional situation'. The radio programme 'L'œil à l'écoute'³⁵ is broadcast one hour per week on Radio Campus Paris.

2.4. Community radios in regional languages

As Jean-Jacques Cheval wrote³⁶ :

« Le local, les régions, les identités et cultures attenantes, les notions de pays, de terroirs, l'emploi des langues régionales [...] sont des éléments qui reviennent souvent et forment une partie importante du socle idéologique sur lequel s'appuient les militants des premières radios libres. »

'The local, the regions, the identities and cultures attached to it, the notions of countries, terroirs, the use of regional languages [...] are elements that often come back and form an important part of the ideological base for the activists of the first free radios.'

It is, therefore, not surprising that many regional radio stations are still present today in France. The three most widely spoken languages are Basque (Gurre irratia Hendaye, Gurre Irratia, Irulegiko irratia, Lapurdi Irratia and Xiberoko botza), Breton (Arvorig FM, Bro Gwened, Kerne and Kreiz Breizh) and Occitan (Albiges, Lengua d'Oc Montpellier, Oc Narbona Lengua, Occitania Radio, Radio Pais and Radio Pais Auch) but there are also radios that broadcast in Catalan, Corsican and Gascon Aranese³⁷. These radios have the obligation to broadcast at least three hours a day in the regional language, but it is often more, sometimes all of the programming.

For Pascal Ricaud³⁸, the presence of these radios in regional languages is essential :

« Si les radios basques, catalanes ou bretonnes réactivent des représentations symboliques et des repères identitaires communs à des populations régionales ou transfrontalières, elles reflètent et créent aussi des actions ou des événements collectifs (commémoratifs, revendicatifs...), de la solidarité. »

'If Basque, Catalan or Breton radios reactivate symbolic representations and identity references common to regional or cross-border populations, they also reflect and create actions or collective events (commemorations, claims ...), solidarity.'

3 Exchange and dialogue across generations

Although university radio is at the heart of the history of community radio with Radio Campus Lille, it is not very well developed in France, although there are web-radios like 'Treizièm'onde'³⁹, the Internet radio of the students of the University Paris 13. Jean-Jacques

35 Radio campus Paris website (accessed June 30, 2019): <https://www.radiocampusparis.org/loeilalecoute/>

36 Cheval, Jean-Jacques (1997). Les radios en France, Histoire, état et enjeux. Paris, Apogée, 70.

37 There are also Creole languages in the radio stations of overseas departments. See on this subject: Antiope, Nathalie (2008). Radio infranationale et discursivité identitaire en milieu insulaire : Des représentations sociales aux ethnodiscours médiatiques. Le cas des Départements français d'Amérique. Doctorate Thesis in Information and Communication Sciences. Paris III. Sorbonne nouvelle University.

38 Ricaud, P. (2008). Les radios communautaires de la FM à Internet. MédiaMorphoses 23, 47.

39 'Treizièm'onde' website (accessed 7 July 2019): <http://webradio.univ-paris13.fr/>

Cheval⁴⁰ developed 5 years ago a university education project (in Bordeaux Montaigne University, in partnership with Radio Campus Bordeaux and the CLEMI Bordeaux) and is facing budgetary constraints (little money for the project). In Spain, for example, university radios are more often used as pedagogical tools (to learn to synthesise a speech, to organise it, to write it ...). On the other hand, in France, school radio activities (from preschool to high school) are highly developed, and national education employees as well as community radio members (employees or volunteers) are part of these projects.

3.1 School radio

In France, there is a public body that depends on the Ministry of National Education, the CLEMI ('Centre de liaison de l'enseignement et des medias d'information'/'Focal point for Education and Information Media'). Created in 1983, it coordinates actions for young people and the media. On 19 October 2018, the GRER ('Groupe de Recherches et d'Études sur la Radio'/'French Radio Research and Studies Group') organised a seminar entitled 'La radio et les jeunes: Le désamour?' ('Radio and Young People: The end of the love story?'). Éric Schweitzer, head of web and audio-visual division at CLEMI, was one of the guests.

During the seminar, Schweitzer explained that the history of school radios was directly linked to that of free radios. In 1982, some thirty school radios were born; the first was called 'Radio Récré Montauban'. Progressively, either alone or in partnership with local radio stations, radio workshops were created in many institutions. The ANAREMS ('Association des radios en milieu scolaire'/'Association of Radios in Schools') was born in 1985. At that time, the creation and coordination of a school radio took a lot of time and energy (the technique and the administrative procedures were complex). Since these radio stations take place in schools, it is sometimes difficult to fill the entire programming schedule, so the teachers concerned are enthusiasts, 'activists', supporters of 'project pedagogy' (in the following pedagogies like that of Célestin Freinet). Indeed, school radio is a real communication tool, an educational object that motivates students. It can help to transmit not only fundamental knowledge (language, passage from oral to written text, reading ...) but also disciplinary knowledge (scientific programmes, history and geography, foreign languages ...).

With the advent of the Internet, we witnessed the explosion of radio practises, also in schools. Creative tools became much simpler and cheaper. For example, there was free software for audio editing as well as unlimited broadcast space. The radio enthusiasts could record a radio broadcast whenever they wanted and then put the production on their site. These practises were generalised by the podcast (for example, <http://podcast.ac-rouen.fr/> or <https://blogpeda.ac-bordeaux.fr/clemibordeaux>). Today, it is difficult to identify all initiatives because they are of very different types (regular programmes vs. one-time projects with podcasts). Some school radios have adapted their broadcast medium. In its early days (from 2000) Radio C.ly.pe in Paris broadcast a weekly programme on a local radio station (Fréquence Paris Plurielle, then Radio Campus Paris), but is now (from 2005) a web-radio: <https://radioclype.scola.ac-paris.fr/>

Éric Schweitzer pointed out that the situation has changed considerably since the January 2015 attack in Paris in Charlie Hebdo newspaper's offices. Since then, the issue of media education has become a priority. There has been an awareness from journalists and politicians. Since then,

40 Intervention of Jean-Jacques Cheval on 19 October 2018 at the GRER seminar: 'Radio and Young people: The end of the love story?'

the creation of media is recommended (radios or web-radios but also school newspapers or blogs), the work on freedom of expression is promoted and workshops on fake news are organised to develop critical judgement and to teach young people to decode and exercise caution. In addition to community radios and web-radios, public service radios are also involved as in the case of radio Mouv, which organises radio workshops in high schools. CLEMI provides training to teachers. Beyond the classic goals of school radio seen above, the goal is to develop digital education, citizenship education (what we have the right to publish and how to publish) and media education (how to make information, how to write it, the journalistic rules).

For the community radios that broadcast and most often organise a large number of school radio projects, media education has also become a priority since the 2015 attacks⁴¹. For Jocelyn Abbey of Radio Prévert⁴², radio allows young people to not only take insurance but also to achieve things that would not have been possible otherwise. For example, personalities sometimes come to the radio studios and are interviewed by pupils (such as a minister who came and then invited the pupils to visit his ministry in Paris).

3.2 Other projects with young people

Radio projects with young people are not all related to the school system. For example, community radios may have partnerships with 'la mission locale' ('the local mission'; a public place where young people are helped to find training or employment). At Jet FM⁴³, the creation of a radio programme is used as a pretext to encourage young people to interview business leaders or employees. This is a good way to improve their manner of expression. Whether they are native Francophones or allophones (young migrants, for example), it provides a richer way to approach the topic and brings competences for team work. At Radio Prévert⁴⁴, the approach is somewhat different since young people are sent by the 'mission locale' to discover the radio for two weeks.

On Radio Active in Amboise (central region of France), a programme is animated by young migrants. The programme is 'L'émission des jeunes d'AMMI⁴⁵', ('the AMMI youth programme'), AMMI meaning 'Accueil des Mineurs Migrants Isolés' ('Home for Isolated Migrant Minors'). Finally, in Radio Libertaire in Paris, 'Radio Tisto'⁴⁶ is a show hosted by teenagers and young adults with mental disorders.

Eric Schweitzer of CLEMI regrets that there is not enough concern in school radio projects about the potential listeners of the programmes that are produced. However, this dimension is clearly assumed by Loïc Chusseau of Jet FM⁴⁷, for whom the main topic is more social than

41 Telephone interview with Loïc Chusseau of Jet FM, 12 June 2019.

42 Face-to-face interview with Jocelyn Abbey, 13 June 2019. We would like to warmly thank Jean-Michel Sauvage who, during the general meeting of the community radios organized by CNRA on 13-14 June 2019, introduced us to Jocelyn Abbey and Jérôme Roisin.

43 Telephone interview with Loïc Chusseau of Jet FM, 12 June 2019.

44 Face-to-face interview with Jocelyn Abbey, 13 June 2019.

45 Radio Active website (accessed May 31, 2019): <https://www.radioactivefm.fr/emissions/article/l-emission-des-jeunes-d-ammi-val-d-amboise/>

46 Radio Libertaire website (accessed 31 May 2019): <https://www.radio-libertaire.net/pr%C3%A9sentation-des-%C3%A9missions/mercredi/>

47 Telephone interview with Loïc Chusseau of Jet FM, 12 June 2019.

radiophonic and the quality of the radio programmes is not the first objective. In addition, the radio activity here is not a hobby. Jet FM is always working with partners (professionals from social centres, for example), who have previously identified a difficulty.

Many members of community radios have highlighted the radio's role in training young people and the fact that their participation sometimes generate vocations. Jérôme Roisin of Radio Décllic⁴⁸ explained that a few children who participated in school radio about 15 years ago are now volunteers on the radio. Jocelyn Abbey of Radio Prévert⁴⁹ knows a young girl who started radio when she was 13; in 2014, she had a chronicle every 2 weeks. Two years ago, in 2017, she did an internship at a well-known school of journalism (ESJ, 'École Supérieure de Journalisme'/'Graduate School of Journalism') and even received an award from the Varenne Foundation, which values the professions of journalism.

3.3 Elderly people in community radios

Let's first mention a fact, pointed out as a joke by Jérôme Roisin of Radio Décllic⁵⁰ during our interview: the radio does not only include young people, there are also young people of the 1980s who have aged! Indeed, the founders who were 20 or 30 in 1982 are about 60–70 years old today and are often still present since they are radio enthusiasts.

For seniors, the emblematic programme of local radio (and also of local television) is the one that broadcasts accordion. There are many examples: 'Accordéon en ballade' ('Accordion ballad') on o2 radio, 'Allô l'accordéon' ('Allo accordion') and 'Accordéon tout azimuth' ('accordion all azimuth') on Alpa, 'Plein feu sur l'accordéon' ('Focus on the accordion') on Alto, 'L'accordéon club' ('Accordion club') on Beaub FM, etc. These programmes are often hosted by people of a certain age.

For very old people, programmes are often organised in partnership with retirement homes (called EHPAD, 'Établissement d'hébergement pour les personnes âgées dépendantes'/'Establishment of accommodation for dependent old persons'). For example, at Jet FM⁵¹, social organisers pick up seniors and take them to public places for interviews. On the CORLAB website⁵², a project of radio workshops is mentioned; its aim is to collect the oral memory of residents of EHPADs.

4 Use of social / digital media platforms

In recent years, community radio has had to adapt to the digital evolution. For Loïc Chusseau⁵³, it is necessary to develop new tools such as podcasts because this is to what young people listen. This evolution has to be done gradually because it costs money. For Jérôme Roisin⁵⁴ of Radio Décllic, the development of new technologies requires more and more skills in-house:

48 Face-to-face interview, 13 June 2019.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Telephone interview with Loïc Chusseau of Jet FM, 12 June 2019.

52 CORLAB website (accessed 3 July 2019): <http://corlab.org/seniors-on-air/>

53 Telephone interview with Loïc Chusseau of Jet FM, 12 June 2019.

54 Face-to-face interview, 13 June 2019.

adding visual and editorial content on the site to support streaming, animating the Facebook page, writing a newsletter, etc. Some volunteers have skills, but you should always consider that they can leave the radio at any time, so it is important to train the employees.

The development of websites has enabled local radio stations to become better known. Streaming facilitates listening, even outside the territory concerned. As Pascal Ricaud⁵⁵ wrote about regional radios, the internet can promote the development of networks, mutual aid, cooperation and, for some radios, a policy of exchanges, sharing or creation of sound archives for collective use.

Social networks, especially Facebook pages, are most often used to announce programmes, events, or search new participants. For example, on Banquise FM, radio workshops take place in EHPADS and the organisers also want to propose these workshops to the elderly who live at home. To announce an information meeting, the photo of a gentleman wearing a radio headset was posted on Facebook with the following text: ‘Jean, 94, who did not want to go out of [his EHPAD] for over a year to preserve his health, wanted to come and record the next radio programme ‘de mon temps’ (‘In my time’) in our studios of Banquise FM⁵⁶’.

Even radio stations such as Radio Galère or Radio Libertaire, although they are anti-capitalist, have their Facebook page. Only Frequency Paris Plurielle has a Facebook page that states, ‘you will not find Frequency Paris Plurielle here’; the reasons are explained on their website⁵⁷.

For community radios, the challenge of recent years has been the development of terrestrial digital radio, whose technical name is DAB +. Gradually, the CSA (‘Conseil Supérieur de l’Audiovisuel’/‘Superior Council of Audiovisual’) examines the application files and gives frequencies. The aim is to cover by the end of 2020 thirty agglomerations of more than 200,000 inhabitants and main highways (from the metropolitan territory). For the moment, there are more requests than frequency offers, which causes concern. In large cities, DAB + is growing. For example, Radio CAPSAO⁵⁸, a Latin radio, has two FM frequencies in Vienne and Oyonnax (Lyon area) and DAB + frequencies for wider broadcasting, especially in large cities: Lyon, Paris, Strasbourg (autumn 2019) and the North of France. In Paris, Radio Mandarin d’Europe⁵⁹, a Chinese community radio, only broadcasts on DAB +.

5. State of play of community radios in 2019 and perspectives

From the point of view of the general functioning of the community radios, the 25th general states of the community radios, organised by the CNRA on Friday, 14 June 2019, was the

55 Ricaud Pascal (2016). « Les radios associatives et communautaires, Histoire et enjeux d’une parole libérée ». In : Lefebvre, T. & Poulain, S. Radios libres, 30 de FM, La parole libérée ? Paris, L’Harmattan, 148.

56 Facebook page of the youth centre of Issebergues, city of Radio Banquise (accessed 1 June 2019): <https://www.facebook.com/MJEPIsbergues/photos/a.2553204101570756/3200181323539694/?type=3&theater>

57 Fréquence Paris plurielle web site (accessed 10 June 2019): <http://www.rfpp.net/spip.php?article543>

58 Radio CAPSAO website (accessed 30 June 2019): <https://www.capsao.com/page/les-frequences-radio-capsao-5>

59 Radio Mandarin d’Europe website (accessed 30 June 2019): <https://wfr.radiomandarin.fr/>

occasion to identify the various points of tension. Nozha Smati⁶⁰ and Sébastien Poulain⁶¹ of the GRER made a synthesis of the dialogues and debates. Here is a brief summary:

- Community radios deplore the lack of financial means that prevent them from working in depth. In France, the recent redrawing of the regions has resulted in lower subsidies in certain regions for associations, including radio stations. The number of assisted jobs (radios receive public support to employ people looking for work, especially young people) has been reduced. Despite the growing number of radios, the money from the 'fonds de soutien' is not increasing or not enough.

- Some participants in the debate have mentioned that local radios are under pressure because of public tenders with imposed subjects, which is perceived by these independent radios as a real infringement of freedom of expression.

- There is often no recognition from the mainstream media; that is, they forget to talk about community radios. Moreover, there is sometimes a difficult cohabitation between local community radio stations and local public radio stations (the 'France Bleu' network from Radio France).

- The lack of women volunteers on the radio is linked, according to many testimonies, to the perception of the availability of women to engage (which would not be the same for a man as a woman) as well as a cultural legitimacy. Feminist programming is almost non-existent today, whereas there were some programmes in the 1980s.

- For the deployment of digital terrestrial radio (DAB +), there are currently territorial inequalities because the cities have priority. The employees of radio stations in rural, mountainous areas are worried. Switching to DAB + is expensive. For the moment, very few people are equipped to receive the DAB + so the radios continue to broadcast on the FM (double broadcasting is also expensive). The transition is gradual, and the FM may disappear in 10–20 years (when everyone will receive the DAB +). It is also possible that the FM will never disappear and that the two technologies will continue to exist in parallel.

As for the issue of the presence of young people in community radio, we have seen that the projects are numerous and sometimes date from the 1980s. These approaches are most often related to popular education approaches and, for school environments, to project pedagogies. Radio has a role to promote learning, but it also creates social links for fragile people, people with social and professional difficulties. Regarding the elderly, the projects are newer, but are increasing due to the ageing of the population.

This report has also revealed the almost non-existence of local community television in France and the lack of development of university radio stations. The place of women will also have to be considered in the coming years.

60 First part of the synthesis, by Nozha Smati , (accessed 1 July 2019):
<https://radiography.hypotheses.org/3013>

61 Second part of the synthesis, by Sébastien Poulain (accessed 1 July 2019):
<https://fr.slideshare.net/SebastienPoulain/etats-gnraux-des-radios-associatives-cnra-2019-restitution-des-concertations>

With the evolution of the technology society (and especially podcasts), radio is now turning to sound creation, the approach is becoming more general and it is both cultural and artistic. To help these projects, Loïc Chusseau, supported by other actors of community radios and sound creation, proposed the creation of a fund to support radio creation⁶².

Appendice

1. Jet FM and the Sonolab⁶³

Jet FM radio⁶⁴ is located in Bellevue, a large social housing area of the city of Nantes (Pays de la Loire region). It was born in 1986 with radio workshops during the holidays, led by educators. Gradually, school radio projects and a sound festival were set up.

In 2013, the Sonolab⁶⁵ was created, consisting of workshops for radio practise and creation. Today, there are about 50 projects a year, and an employee position has been created to animate it. Most of the projects take place in school time (from the first class to high school). The teachers are trained (about 50 teachers per year) as are the animators of the PJJ ('Protection Judiciaire de la Jeunesse'/ 'Judicial Protection of the Youth'). Courses are also given at the University for the future teachers (Master of Education).

Other publics are concerned, too: people in psychic difficulties (partnerships with hospitals or medical-educational institutes, for example), prisoners and elderly people in the EHPADs. Some interventions are also organised during the holidays for young people from priority neighbourhoods (with social objectives, not for leisure). These projects concern women and men from 18 to 65 years old. The creation of programmes has a playful side but also helps develop skills and a way of being. The issue of prevention is also a topic for the radio programmes (in partnership with the ARS ('Agence Régionale de Santé'/ 'Regional Health Agency'): road safety, risks of STDs (sexually transmitted diseases), etc.

2. Radio Déclic⁶⁶

Radio Déclic⁶⁷ is a rural radio station located in Lorraine (Grand-East region). It began broadcasting programmes in 1986 and is linked to the MRJC ('Mouvement Rural de Jeunesse Chrétienne'/ 'rural youth Christian movement'). It was created by young farmers and by teachers who joined the project shortly thereafter. Many teachers who participated in the creation of the radio were supporters of the pedagogy of Célestin Freinet.

The emblematic programme of the radio is called 'Cache-cache micro' ('hide-and-seek microphone'), which is a school radio programme animated by 50 classes of different schools and broadcast live every school day at 13:35. Every year, all the classes that participated in 'Cache-Cache Micro' had a party in a village with 1,500-2,000 children present all day long. It started in 1986 but was stopped 2 or 3 years ago for financial reasons.

62 <http://www.scam.fr/Portals/0/Contenus/Radio/FdsCreationRadiophonique.pdf?ver=2019-02-01-110449-423> (accessed June 10, 2019).

63 Telephone interview with Loïc Chusseau of Jet FM, 12 June 2019.

64 <http://jetfm.fr/site/> (accessed 8 May 2019).

65 <http://jetfm.fr/site/-SONOLAB-.html> (accessed 8 May 2019).

66 Face-to-face interview with Jérôme Roisin, 13 June 2019.

67 <http://radiodeclic.fr/> (accessed 15 June 2019).

Programmes are also created for seniors, some of them with young people. For example, some programmes are conducted in EHPADs, in partnership with high schools. Seniors tell their memories and young people stream music.

3. Radio Prévert⁶⁸

Radio Prévert is a rural radio station located near the city of Le Mans (Pays-de-la-Loire region). It was created by teachers in 1984, with the first radio studio in a classroom.

Today, Radio Prévert is a proximity local radio, but school radio is still very present. There is a ‘radio club⁶⁹’ that makes two broadcasts. The first one is ‘dans la cour des grands’ (‘in the big league’; there’s a word game with ‘cour’, which also means ‘playground’) with young pupils (‘6ème’ and ‘5ème’/‘year 6’ and ‘year 7’) who talk about news of the week (international, national or regional). The second one is ‘Popcorn’ with older pupils (‘4ème’/‘year 8’), which is a programme for teenagers (pop-culture, mangas, relations with parents ...). These school radio workshops are also an opportunity for young people to meet employees of companies that come for an interview, which sometimes gives opportunities to find internships (in France, pupils have to do a week-long internship in a company when they are about 15 years old (‘3ème’/‘year 9’).

Since this year, a programme is made by seniors (who live in their own home), ‘Radio Abord’ Âge⁷⁰ (‘abordage’: ‘boarding’; there is a word game since ‘aborde âge’ means ‘to reach an age’). The organiser is a social animator who has worked in a retirement home. The last programme (30 May 2019) talked about the school of the past. The oldest participant is 96!

68 Face-to-face interview with Jocelyn Abbey, 13 June 2019.

69 ‘Le club radio’ on Radio Prévert website (accessed June 15, 2019):
<https://www.radioprevert.fr/actualite/club-radio>

70 ‘Radio Abord’ Âge’ on Radio Prévert website (accessed June 15, 2019):
<https://www.radioprevert.fr/actualite/societe/radio-abordage-ondes-radio-prevert.php>.