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Political Instability in 2024 portrayed in the periodical press: *Le Monde* as a case study

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CEI-Iscte - Centre for International Studies

September, 2025



SOCIOLOGIA  
E POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS

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Department of History

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## Resumo

Esta dissertação oferece uma análise aprofundada da mídia durante um período de instabilidade política. Através do viés do jornal *Le Monde*, este trabalho avaliará como a instabilidade política na França impactou a mídia, afetando assim o conceito-chave de neutralidade entre os meios de comunicação. O ano de 2024 para a França foi marcado pela turbulência da Quinta República, devido à decisão de Emmanuel Macron de dissolver a Assembleia Nacional. Isso gerou um intenso debate sobre a legitimidade da democracia, seja em relação à mídia ou ao governo.

Com base nas orientações do Media Framing e do Paralelismo Político, esta dissertação utilizará as manchetes do *Le Monde* para revelar como as estratégias de enquadramento moldaram a compreensão pública da crise. Em seguida, este estudo se concentrará em uma pesquisa exploratória com oitenta entrevistados, com o objetivo de captar a percepção do público sobre a mídia, a neutralidade e a influência sobre a política.

Esta investigação identifica uma lacuna temporal e temática significativa na literatura acadêmica. Apesar da gravidade da instabilidade de 2024, a atenção acadêmica continua limitada. Ao combinar a investigação sobre o *Le Monde* e este assunto, onde há trabalho acadêmico insuficiente, a dissertação contribui com um dos primeiros estudos empíricos sobre a cobertura do *Le Monde* desta crise.

Palavras-chave: Instabilidade política, Mídia, Política francesa, *Le Monde*, Enquadramento da mídia

## Abstract

This dissertation offers a thorough analysis of the media during a period of Political Instability. Through the bias of the media, *Le Monde*, this work will assess how the political instability in France has impacted the media, thus impacting the key concept of neutrality among the media. The year 2024 for France has been marked by the turbulence of the Fifth Republic, due to Emmanuel Macron's decision to dissolve the National Assembly. Thus generating an intense debate over the legitimacy of democracy, whether it regards the media or the government.

Through the guidance of Media Framing and Political Parallelism, this dissertation will use the headlines of *Le Monde* to reveal how framing strategies shaped public understanding of the crisis. Then, this study will be focused on an exploratory survey of eighty respondents with the aim of capturing the audience's perception of the media, neutrality, and influence over politics.

This research identifies a significant temporal and thematic gap in academic literature. Despite the gravity of the 2024 instability, scholarly attention remains limited. By combining research on *Le Monde* and this subject, where there is insufficient academic work, the dissertation contributes to one of the earliest empirical studies of *Le Monde*'s coverage of this crisis.

Keywords: Political Instability, Media, French Politics, *Le Monde*, Media Framing

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## CHAPTER 1

# Introduction

The relationship between politics and the media is a matter that has been a long-standing topic of scholarly inquiry. In a democratic system such as the French one, it is well known that the relationship between politics and media can be seen as quite intertwined. Indeed, media freedom and sources of communications are considered as pillars for the democratic system, which directly supports the idea of Lijphart explaining that “The fifth category, civil liberties, looks at the traditional freedoms of expression, association, and religion, a free and robust press and other media of communication, equal treatment under the law, and an independent judiciary” (Lijphart, 2012, p.279).

The media and the press not only inform citizens, but they also enable the information to be shaped in order to frame issues, set agendas, and mediate between institutions and society, as explained by Entman (1993). While the different functions of the media can be seen and understood as quite controversial due to the political character of the link with politics, these functions are theoretically grounded in ideals of impartiality and objectivity. Empirical studies show that neutrality is increasingly contested, especially in polarized political contexts (Ojala, 2021).

While in France, the media system has been historically found tightly closed with politics due to its centralised and controlled by the State model that has since shifted towards a more liberal and dominated by private entities, the presence of politics within the system is still perceived with a strong intertwining with politics, whether through partisan ties or economic and institutional dependencies. Scholar De Vessin explains how the deregulation of French media platforms created new strategic alliances but also reinforced dependencies that challenged journalistic neutrality. That said, Neveu (1998) highlights that French political journalism has undergone a decline in authority, shifting toward commentary, personalization, and partisan alignment.

All of these features became visible and the perfect example while discussing the political instability of 2024, when France experienced one of its most turbulent years under the Fifth Republic. The European election, followed closely by President Macron’s decision to dissolve

the National Assembly, produced a fragmented legislature with no clear majority. This unprecedented decision from President Macron has destabilized the Fifth Republic in addition to Article 49.3 of the Constitution, which has been used repeatedly to push through contested legislation. All of these events have created a feeling of democratic crisis among the citizens, which is why it can be called the French political instability.

According to Entman (1995), “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p.52). It is thus such an event that the media play a crucial role, as a matter of fact, journalists interpret the information given and frame events in order to shape public opinion through their interpretations. In France, the media landscape is extensive, with numerous outlets significantly influenced by industrial, financial, or state interests. Nevertheless, *Le Monde* stands out as one of the most influential newspapers. Widely read by policymakers, intellectuals, and an engaged citizenry, it has garnered a reputation as a centre-left, elite-oriented publication. Consequently, its editorial decisions carry substantial weight in shaping political discourse. With this in mind, the influence of a media such as *Le Monde* can raise questions about its neutrality regarding political crises and its credibility due to its left-wing leanings. Indeed, with the fall of the parliament, the media have seen themselves reporting the news for a couple of months; it is then essential to understand how this portrayal of this event has shaped the political discourse in terms of the information that has been brought by the media and how the different political parties have played an intertwined role in it.

The French political instability discussed herein intersects these dynamics: how political instability in France during 2024 was represented in *Le Monde*, and to what extent such representation influenced perceptions of legitimacy, accountability, and democracy. While several international scholars have already discussed the matter of the role of politics and media, the French case of the political instability during the year 2024 can be seen as understudied due to its proximity in terms of temporal scale. Some research and academic papers have discussed these matters, such as Neveu (2017) and his work on the decline of political journalism or Entman (1993) and his work on the role of framing in shaping narratives, but there is a striking gap regarding the specific interplay between media and instability in contemporary France. This dissertation then aims to address these matters by analyzing *Le*

*Monde*'s coverage and scrutinizing how a given audience (through the survey) might perceive its influence.

The overall scope of this research is to analyze how *Le Monde* portrayed political instability in France during 2024 and to assess the implications of this representation for media neutrality, political legitimacy, and public trust. This scope can be broken down into the general research question, by trying to identify how political instabilities in 2024 are reported in the French periodical press. But also with the second question assessing what parts political parties play in that matter, indeed, with the secondary research question focusing on how political parties address the media to influence their reporting? By addressing these questions, the dissertation will contribute to both the theoretical debate on media-politics relations and to the empirical understanding of contemporary French democracy.

While few works and research on the matter can be found, the academic relevance lies in the contribution to a body of literature that remains limited in scope and temporality. Whereas the relationship between politics and the media has been studied in the early decades through the work of different scholars such as Neveu (1998) or Hallin and Mancini (2004), only a few works focus on the different political crises that might have occurred in the last decades, and even less on the matter of political instability during the year 2024. This dissertation will thus provide an analysis of the matter, giving an insight as well as filling an academic gap with empirical data on a contemporary, under-researched event.

To address these research inquiries, this dissertation will adopt a qualitative approach, employing an in-depth qualitative discourse analysis and a survey research methodology. The theoretical framework will be grounded in framing theory and political parallelism. The discourse analysis will be conducted in accordance with *Le Monde* headlines and articles that comprehensively cover the various facets of the political crisis, highlighting the recurrent use of Article 49.3 and the dissolution of the National Assembly. This analysis will scrutinise political events from a lexical, semantic, and narrative perspective, distinguishing between procedural and institutional tones and more emotive, dramatic portrayals. The survey research will be employed to collect a representative sample of respondents for analysis, thereby exploring demographic patterns, media consumption habits, and subjective assessments of bias. Open-ended questions provided qualitative insights into the role of media in shaping political opinions. Consequently, the theoretical framework will serve as a guiding principle for the

interpretation and discussion presented in the dissertation. Regarding the data utilised, this triangulation of methodologies ensured both depth and breadth, seamlessly combining textual analysis with audience-centric data.

The next chapter will present a literature review and hypothesis formulation that will guide the research. The literature review will elucidate and describe how each paper and result has contributed to the comprehension of the character of political instability in the research. The third chapter will present the study's research design, integrating the theoretical framework and methodology to address the hypothesis. The fourth chapter will concentrate on the data collection methods employed, including qualitative discourse analysis and survey research. The fifth chapter will analyse the results obtained from the questionnaire, both comprehensively and in detail. Finally, the concluding chapter will draw conclusions, discuss the study's limitations, and propose areas for further research in this domain.

## CHAPTER 2

# Literature Review

The study of the Media being understood as intertwined with politics is a study that has been assessed throughout the years. As many scholars have been working on this topic, researching this topic offers a vast choice of probs. However, there are gaps and a lack of analysis over the French case study, and more particularly over what happened in the year 2024 in France.

De Vesins, when studying the evolving strategy of the group media, shows how the media were once controlled by the state. The results of this progress, used to change the relation intertwined between media and politics, with a lack of regulation, which reflects on the fact that once “opened to the private sector through a near-total deregulation of media platforms, their operation had until now been limited only by the scope of technical possibilities” (De Vesins, 1997, p. 109). This notion underscored the lack of neutrality over the media’s influence based on the system's evolution: “These configurations aim to build a new strategic autonomy at the cost of dependency relationships generated by a multiplicity of alliances” (De Vesins, 1997, 109-110).

With this in mind, the notion of neutrality based in the media’s system can be analysed. While dividing the scholars, the views of neutrality are questioned by Ojala. It is known that the media's system has been used by different entities such as lobbies or politics in order to bias their neutrality and to improve the views and opinions of the public sphere: “journalism appears to be heading towards increasing partisanship, and the ideals of journalism’s impartiality and detachment from politics seem to be in a permanent state of decline” (Ojala, 2021, p2042). While this dissertation does not focus mainly on France, it is easy to use it to demonstrate the lack of neutrality in French media. Trusting the media in a time of political instability can then be quite complex, explaining the need for the evolving media in society.

According to Neveu, the media, whether they are focused on periodical newspapers or in a broader generality, are evolving due to a lack of representation and transparency around the concept and ideology of politics. Whilst writing “This changing status reflects the growing importance of the interaction between the media and political life” (Neveu, 1998, p. 439), Neveu argues that the new digital media are becoming bigger in the information sphere,

overshadowing the periodical newspaper. The remaining question of the role of the periodical newspaper can then be questioned. In a very similar perspective, Neveu (1998) cites Blumler & Gurevitch (1995) when he states that information can be found in English, reducing the scope of visibility in French media: “Most research published in English develops such reflections exclusively from material based on the coverage of electoral campaigns” (Neveu, 1998, p. 440).

In a very similar perspective, Neveu also discusses the evolving media and the decline of periodical newspapers. The transformation of French political journalism has been seen through the decline in journalism authority, and the decline of the authority and influence of political journalism is argued by Neveu (2017), when he states that “the devaluation of political journalism is also due to the reduced power its practitioners have within journalism” (Neveu, 2017, p. 138). This way is expressed and solved through the changes in public engagement, trying to increase the numbers of readers and the engagement by the inclusion of ordinary citizens in debates “Inviting 'ordinary' people to speak on talk shows (even if they are selected for their fluency or appearance) and on political programs during election periods definitely alters the nature of the questions asked and debated” (Neveu, 2017, p144).

### **2.1. French Political Instability in 2024**

While the media have a huge impact on public opinion and then on politics, the French political context of 2024 has suffered from the instability and the divergence of opinion due to a reshaping of the National Assembly. The gaps, in terms of general policy in the French government, have led to this restructuring, known as instability in this dissertation.

With this in mind the notion of instability debated and assessed in this dissertation can be analysed as the French political agenda during 2024 as shown “No clear majority or opposition exists. A tripartition of the French political landscape has instead emerged, indicating a significant shift in the balance of power within a deeply polarized nation” (De Hoop Scheffer, 2024, p2). Indeed, while De Hoop Scheffer illustrates in her paper how Macron’s decision has led to this instability due to the 2024 French parliamentary elections. France's issues, in this debate, are being seen by the misrepresentation of a majority in time of election, referred to as “It is difficult to see how a divided legislature could produce a stable majority for a government to rule” (De Hoop Scheffer, 2024, p.3).

This way, the restructuring of the French parliament has led to some doubts in terms of management and stability of the government, with the evolving dynamics of the Fifth Republic being seen as shattered. This fragmented government has been seen taking irrational decisions, creating an untrustworthy image for public opinion. Indeed, the constitutional tools used by the president and his ministers, like Article 49.3, an “This Article 49.3 has been used for disputed bills and every finance-related bill” (Lecomte & Bloquet, 2025, p.109). Through these constitutional tools and the constant steadfastness of the deputy, the dissolution of the assembly was proclaimed by President Macron. A decision quite controversial as it has questioned the pillars of the Fifth Republic, as discussed by Lecomte and Bloquet “the situation of minority government so far has added significant tension to the relationship between the executive and the legislative branches, as it clashes with both party culture and electoral incentive” (Lecomte & Bloquet, 2025, p.109).

Chabal and Behrent (2024) agree with this last statement when they mention that “Instead, France was turned upside down by Macron’s televised address” (Chabal & Behrent, 2024, p.329). With a more thorough approach, Chabal and Behrent take the notion of a fragmented parliament further and mention, in their study, a potential risk of crisis among the French government. The institutional crisis that is mentioned by Chabal and Behrent is then visible among the Fifth Republic as referred to through “the current situation, in which both a parliamentary majority is lacking and a kind of cohabitation may be necessary, is unprecedented. [...] It would not be entirely surprising if 2024 went down as the year the Fifth Republic truly began to fall apart” (Chabal & Behrent, 2024, p.336).

In a very similar perspective, Andréani (2024) identifies three key “follies” (Andréani, 2024, p.662) to underpin this decision and its aftermath. The Folly of Macron's Judgment, of the Political System and of French Political Culture are described by the author and assess throughout the idea that Macron’s decision has been amplified by the historical character of France and the idea of radicalisation, Andréani denounced it by saying “These toxic passions [...] have deep roots in the country’s culture and memory [...] they exacerbate left-right polarization [...] recalling the contempt for the ‘marsh’ and ‘moderatism’ during the worst moments of the Revolution” (Andréani, 2024, p665). Overall, Andréani (2024) uses his paper in order to denounce the decision of Macron to dissolve the French Assembly as the trigger to the radicalisation of the French citizens and then to the instability that followed.

Gougou (2024) agrees with this last statement when he mentions that “Macron used the dissolution to try to discipline his party and dictate his timing... acknowledging the climate of political crisis” (Gougou, 2024, p.724). This ongoing political crisis is assessed throughout the paper, with Gougou assessing the lack and the difficulty of forming a stable government. Indeed, while the elections were happening, France showed a rise of fragmentation among its voters, resulting in fragmentation as mentioned by Gougou, “the legislative elections of 2024 were the second in a row not to result in a majority cabinet... testifying to the difficulties of forming a stable cabinet” (Gougou, 2024, p.735).

## **2.2. The Media’s Intervention in Politics**

While it is clear now that France lacks neutrality and discernment among their media, the Political crisis that happened in 2024, being a starting point to the instability that will follow, can be monitored throughout the different headings of the media at this time. In fact, the Media’s intervention in politics is intertwined and can be relevant to study.

Fernández-Viso and Fernández-Alonso (2024) revisit Hallin & Mancini's (2004) comparative analysis of Western media systems, focusing on the Mediterranean model. While the authors use the work of other scholars, the focus is made on the state intervention through public service media (PSM) “public service media (PSM) have traditionally been one of the most visible forms of state intervention in media systems. Their role, remit, and governance are key indicators of the degree and nature of state intervention” (Fernández-Viso & Fernández-Alonso, 2024, p.2). Whilst France has a well-established independent regulator which is ARCOM, the authors aim to an understanding of the balance between state intervention and checks and balances, it refers to “France has a long tradition of state intervention in the media sector, which has evolved from direct control to a more regulatory approach seeking to maintain pluralism and independence” (Fernández-Viso & Fernández-Alonso, 2024, p5).

With this in mind, the notion of balance can be addressed. Van Dalen & Van Aelst (2013) defined and assessed it perfectly throughout their paper from a power balanced perspective with results indicating “that the power balance between the media and political actors to a large extent reflects the institutional structure of the political system, but that media characteristics such as the autonomous position of television should also be taken into account” (Van Dalen

& Van Aelst, 2014, p16). This approach allows the authors to do a more complex analysis of the topic, assessing that the complexity of the media's agenda-setting power is strongly influenced by the institutional structure of the political system.

Furthermore, the media's influence on the political context that truly matters should be evaluated. Leruth et al. (2017) discuss the relationship between newspaper readership, political preferences, and attitudes toward the European Union (EU) in their paper. For instance, individuals who tend to read newspapers leaning more toward the left wing may experience ideological influence. As Leruth et al. (2017, p.16) note, "Readers who are more negative towards the EU are more likely to read Eurosceptic newspapers (*The Sun, The Telegraph*), while people who have the most positive opinion of the EU... are more likely to read Euro-ambivalent and Euro-positive sources (*The Guardian*)" (Leruth et al., 2017, p.16).

On a similar note, Brüggemann et al. (2016) elucidate the concept of crisis in their paper. This concept intervenes when a coalition of influential actors strategically employs crisis rhetoric to attain specific objectives. As noted by Brüggemann et al. Publishers and journalists also believe that it is the lack of adequate media policy and the clientelistic allocation of press subsidies that has paralyzed news-industry innovation... The state is thus held responsible for the crisis." (Brüggemann et al., 2015, p.542).

With this in mind, the study led us to the new digital media, with politicians using social media as a tool. Falkenberg et al. (2024) explain it through "High toxicity interactions receive lower engagement than low toxicity interactions. [...] engagement (log-likes) received by the most toxic posts in each country, less the mean engagement received by lower toxicity posts. (Falkenberg et al., 2024, p.6). Whereas, Buyens and al. (2025) explain this idea through another lense noted as "the ideological closeness between a politician and a news outlet's audience positively and significantly predicts the number of times a given dyad occurs [...] this connection is stronger for radical party politicians and in media systems that are characterized by higher levels of political parallelism (Buyens et al., 2025, p.39-40).

### 2.3. Party-Media Strategies and Communication Tactics

While it is now quite evident that politics and media are intertwined, politicians and their strategies do not stop at the traditional newspaper; the new digital communication tactics used by politicians redefined the norms of information in such events. It is then essential to understand how parties themselves craft, influence, and respond to media narratives.

Carral et al. (2023), when studying the *Rassemblement National* (RN) and its media's strategies, show the RN's national-level digital communication strategy. The authors have conducted a comprehensive analysis of the *Rassemblement National's* Twitter strategy during the 2014 and 2019 European elections. The analysis showed that the party's digital presence increased due to its smart use of multimedia posts and heartfelt messages. This social media strategy not only got their supporters excited, but it also helped shape RN's public image as a modern and forward-thinking political party, which is different from how they used to be seen as a far-right group; as explained by Carral and al. "the only possibility of victory was based on a whitening of his image that would allow RN to reach a cross-section of the public with the same kind of ambiguous and nativist message" (Carral et al., 2023, p11). Indeed, this study is a perfect example on how the *Rassemblement National* adapt his media tactics, the aim is to gain legitimacy in their opinion while avoiding the character extremist often associated to their party "the objective of this article was to demonstrate how the RN has attempted to carry out an image whitening in order to increase the potential electorate" (Carral et al., 2023, 10).

Besides, Bellè and Faury (2024) offer a nuanced analysis of RN's communication practices at the local level through their ethnographic study of two French cities governed by the party. While this case study elucidates the broader impact of the RN's aim, it primarily focuses on how they strive to "mainstream" its identity through strategic governance and controlled media interactions, To complete this study, the authors concentrate on the research provided by the scholar Paxton and Peace (2021) by elucidating "This recent and unprecedented access to local power has been under intense scrutiny: a centralized control strategy employed a 'window-dressing' approach (Paxton and Peace 2021)" (Bellè & Faury, 2024, p129). As a matter of fact, they prove in their ethnographic research how the party orchestrated its interaction with local media to keep the strings of their image depicted in the dissertation "the case of Middletown was characterized by a significant level of distrust and a controlling stance towards the

researcher. This aspect, as we will see shortly, significantly influenced the research outcomes” (Bellè & Faury, 2024, p.129).

In contrast, Baloge and Hubé (2022) offered a case study on *La France Insoumise*'s (LFI) use of digital platforms. Indeed, the study shows how LFI uses different platforms that tend to be closer to the public, with the use of different studies, Baloge and Hubé do an assertive research of the LFI's representation in the media “Social networks are seen as a perfect tool to address the people directly and to bypass certain intermediaries (Gerbaudo, 2018; Kriesi, 2015)” (Baloge & Hubé, 2022, p68). This tool, employed by the left-wing political party, seeks to project an image of its perceived affinity with the populace and reinforces an anti-establishment narrative, as suggested by the authors. “Jean-Luc Mélenchon seems more consistent between the two periods. He used at least one populist strategy in approximately two-thirds of his posts (25 out of 45) during the campaign and slightly less (26 out of 45) during the routine period. In other words, populist rhetoric is not as common as all that for these parties” (Baloge & Hubé, 2022, p.71).

Collectively, these case studies demonstrate that the party-media dynamics in France are profoundly strategic and ideologically motivated, particularly during periods of political instability. These insights directly address the media, urging them to influence their reporting and significantly contribute to comprehending the mechanisms underlying media politicization in contemporary France.

#### **2.4. Research Gaps**

When doing this research study, the focus has been on the event that occurred during the year 2024. It is then primordial to analyse the gaps in academic literature based on the fact that this dissertation was made a year after the political matter; therefore, the lack of literature on this topic makes it a relevant matter to analyse, as it is quite limited in resources.

Given that the literature on the media coverage of this political event shows a significant imbalance in geographic and temporal focus based on the sample of collected articles, an analysis has been conducted in order to source and prove this research. With a focus on archive storage, JSTOR and Google Scholar reveal that a majority of the scholarly work addresses the United States' political development. Depicting this matter gives a foundation on the topic and

on the possible lack of resources in the database consulted. Among the few academic publications that refer to a French political matter, most limit their scope to isolated issues rather than offering a comprehensive analysis of the 2024 crisis, including the European elections and the dissolution of the National Assembly.

With the timing of this research, the observation becomes then primordial to identify the lack of literature in terms of gaps, as the 2024 political instability remains a matter that is not outdated. Despite the proximity of the event, academic research has not yet caught up with its importance. Only one scholarly article from the database directly addresses the 2024 political instability in France, in contrast to the extensive literature available on other national contexts. This discrepancy highlights a significant gap in academic attention to contemporary French political crises.

Based on a targeted review of academic articles, using the archive storage JSTOR and Google Scholar, only a few studies were found on the media coverage of political events in France. As Table 2 shows, while some articles do discuss and analyse French political matters in terms of the communication of the media, only one has been found in this review discussing the political instability of 2024. This underscored the temporal gap debated in the existing literature over JSTOR and Google Scholar.

*Table 1: Overview of Academic coverage of French Political Media*

<b>Year</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Focus</b>
1998	Erik Neveu	Media and politics in French political science	Theory of media-politics in France
2000 -2010	No articles directly addressing this topic were found in the database (Temporal gap)		
2014	Karolina koc-Michalska, Rachel Gibson and Thierry Vedel	Online Campaigning in France, 2007–2012: Political Actors and Citizens in the Aftermath of the Web.2.0 Evolution	Political actors, Web 2.0 evolution
2017	Emilio Ferrara	Disinformation and Social Bot Operations in the Run Up to the 2017 French Presidential Election	Disinformation in the 2017 French election

<b>Year</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Focus</b>
2017	Erik Neveu	How Has French Political Journalism Changed? (1980–2017)	Evolution of political journalism in France
2024	Matej Martinc, Adeline Laruncet, Clara Bordier, Marceau Hernandez, Senja Pollak and Gaël Lejeune	The Evolution of Bias in French News Media	Political orientation & semantic framing
2024	Myrna Laksman-Huntley	Right-Wing Media Coverage of the 2024 French Right-Wing Political Party Campaigns	Right-wing bias in 2024 French election

While this table highlights the different academic sources that could be found, the potential temporal gap, which occurred for a decade, can be identified, with limited academic engagement between approximately 1998 and 2010. This temporal gap focuses on the media coverage of French political events in general, with Erik Neveu's work serving as a foundational reference point, yet much of the scholarly momentum surrounding media and political discourse in France appears to decrease until its partial renewal in 2010. This discontinuity suggests an underexplored field that lacks sustained scholarly attention over time.

## CHAPTER 3

# Research Design

### 3.1. Theoretical Framework

The study investigates the media's portrayal of the Political Instability in France during 2024, focusing on *Le Monde* as the case study. This dissertation is guided by two theoretical frameworks, both of which provide essential tools for understanding how the press reported this matter in their lines. The use of theories in this dissertation will be considered primordial to the understanding of the topic and to explain the theoretical basis of the analysis of media reporting on French political instability. While the Media Framing theory will explain how framing is relevant in political crisis reporting, the Political Parallelism will provide an input on how *Le Monde* might reflect political affiliations or be influenced by political actors.

#### 3.1.1. Media Framing Theory

Media Framing theory, which was initially developed by Erving Goffman (1974) and later on refined by Robert Entman (1993), serves in this research as a primary theory. The Media Framing Theory refers to the process used by media to select a certain aspect of reality perceived in order to use them in a particular way to change the narrative or to control it, according to Entman the Media Framing theory would be "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p52).

When a period of political crisis arises, such as the matter studied all over this research, the role of the Media becomes particularly significant. With scholars who have recognized that the media play a pivotal role in shaping public opinion during such events, in different ways, such as the headlines that are chosen or the sources used. As they have a particularly strong role in such events, the role of the media is then a selection of headlines, quotes, and sources, and in a few cases, the placement of stories in order to convey a message that is required based on different factors. Indeed, by applying the framing theory, Goffman and, later on, Entman refined the ideas that the media can influence whether an event is seen as a crisis, a reform, a

betrayal, or a necessary political manoeuvre. Then applying this theory to the French Political Instability during the year 2024 on the case study of *Le Monde*, this explores how the dissolution of the parliament or the use of article 49.3 were constructed as narratives for public consumption. By employing the framing theory to our matter, the opinionated based medias and the influence of the parties over information, it then helps uncover ideological bias or narrative patterns in the reporting that is too often forgotten, showing how different framings of the same situation led to dramatically different choices by respondents implemented by “As this example vividly illustrates, the frame determines whether most people notice and how they understand and remember a problem, as well as how they evaluate and choose to act upon it” (Entman, 1993, p54).

### **3.2.2 Political Parallelism**

While framing theory reveals how media shape public perception by emphasizing certain aspects over others, these framing choices are rarely made in a vacuum. They often reflect deeper connections between media institutions and political actors.

Therefore, the concept of Political Parallelism, initially introduced by Hallin and Mancini (2004) in their comparative study “Comparing Media Systems”, explains the degree to which media outlets reflect political divisions or ideologies within a society. With this in mind, France is part of the Mediterranean (Polarized Pluralist) media system in their models and is characterized by strong political affiliations in the press with high levels of state intervention, and low journalistic autonomy has mention by the authors “France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain form this group that is characterized by a low reach of the daily press, high political parallelism, weak professionalization, and strong state intervention” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p62).

While Media Framing theory gave a good angle to analyse the media presented to the public, Political parallelism allows a better understanding to analyse the newspaper *Le Monde*, famously known for its reputation based on a centre-left alignment. Based on the threads of Political Parallelism, which considers the factors of editorial positioning or ownership that reflect the political landscape that surrounds the media and their alignments in their papers. Hence, through the comparative lens of political parallelism alongside framing theory, this study interrogates whether *Le Monde* maintained objectivity in its portrayal of the 2024

political crisis or whether its coverage favoured certain parties or political ideologies. The aim of this framework is then to allow a better understanding of how media ownership and political communication strategies intersect in shaping public discourse during crises.

Therefore, while it has been discussed in this research the utility to maintain and use these two theories as part of our theoretical framework, combining both of them allows us to provide a comprehensive and comparative research for analysing how the French Political Instability in 2024 was portrayed and reported in the media, and in particular in the newspaper (*Le Monde*). Besides, the research shows the limits of *Le Monde* with a sort of pattern in terms of research and the frame, identifying recurring themes, dominant narratives, and patterns in *Le Monde*'s reporting. The study's analysis of the French press's portrayal of political instability in 2024. Both Media Framing Theory and Political Parallelism offer conceptual clarity and methodological direction in the research that is purposely questioned. A lack of information creates a gap in the literature and studies that are offered in academic work, enabling a better understanding of the role of the media in this matter. Hence, how media narratives are constructed, how political entities interact with the press, and how these dynamics ultimately shape public discourse in a time of democratic uncertainty.

### **3.2. Methodological Approach**

As mentioned before through the research questions, this dissertation aims to analyse and understand how media coverage influenced public perception of the French political instability in 2024. In addition to these research questions, the research objectives of this dissertation surrounded the theme of how political instability is represented in the periodical press, with a specific focus on *Le Monde*, one of France's most influential newspapers.

To facilitate these research questions and align the objectives with the desired outcomes, this research study will employ two distinct methodologies, resulting in a combination of qualitative research approaches. Through the interpretation of a survey in order to open up to a broader audience, in addition to a discourse analysis to analyse the intricate links of the matter within these limitations.

In addition to my research, I carried out an analysis focusing on discourse analysis. The purpose of the discourse analysis is to show the potential gap in the literature on this matter. Indeed, while research on the impact of media can be clearly found, the French Political Instability, which occurred during the year 2024, shows a lack of representation in the scholarly literature, with only a few papers discussing this matter, and only a few studies talking about the media and their impact on politics. The study will aim to identify these gaps to understand the relevance of this research.

While this intertwined relationship between the media and newspapers of any kind is quite obvious, only one analysis would reveal a lack of academic research on the matter, with a majority of politicians turning toward the new digital media in opposition to the more traditional newspaper, and also a lack of cross-referencing between the communication strategies of political parties and their reception by the media.

With an intensive study of these gaps, the aim is to clearly identify the missing parts and gaps in the literature on a matter not so well discussed. While Politics and media are two matters that can find academic sources and literature on their own, the coalition of these two only finds a few literature; therefore, the political instability in France during 2024 is a topic not fully analysed and described, and the gaps are visible and should be part of this research. Over this matter, a temporal scope should be used to understand the possible lack of literature.

To complement the qualitative findings and enhance our understanding of public perceptions, a survey was meticulously designed and distributed. The survey's primary objective was to gather data on the manner in which the French public perceived media coverage of the 2024 political unrest. Additionally, it aimed to ascertain the extent to which media outlets, such as *Le Monde*, exerted influence on political opinions during that period. The survey was structured into four primary sections: demographic data, media consumption patterns, perceptions of media bias and influence, and optional open-ended responses to gather qualitative insights. It was disseminated online through the Qualtrics software, ensuring accessibility and anonymity. The target population comprised French residents alongside foreigners aged 18 and above, with a specific objective of capturing a diverse spectrum of political and media perspectives. By integrating closed-ended and open-ended questions, the survey provided both analysis and insights to facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of media influence.

The survey, created for this study, has been applied over a period of a month, being published from the twenty-fifth of June to the twenty-fifth of July. Over a month, a total of eighty responses were collected out of an estimated one hundred responses, which were analysed to gather insights into the role of the media during the 2024 political crisis. The responses were collected from a diverse group of respondents, with the following breakdown of their characteristics, allowing for analysis based on age, gender, and education level: in terms of gender distribution 63.9% of the respondents were women with an age sample fairly balanced with forty three percent aged between eighteen to thirty four years old, thirty two percent aged between thirty five to fifty four years old and approximately twenty four percent aged fifty five and more. Followed by 24.1% of men responding to this survey, and a small amount of 8.4% of non-respondents in terms of the gender question. This large scope of answers with different ages, women, and men, and different levels of studies, gives the perfect mix of respondents for the survey, with a large scope of results expected.

*Table 2: Respondents' Education Level and Frequency of Reading Political News*

<b>Education</b>		<b>Undergraduate degree</b>	<b>High school or less</b>	
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Graduate degree</b>	<b>degree</b>		<b>Others</b>
<b>Daily</b>	11	5	7	1
<b>2-3 times a week</b>	10	7	5	3
<b>Once a week</b>	3	3	0	0
<b>Rarely</b>	5	4	5	2
<b>Never</b>	0	1	0	0
<b>No response</b>	2	0	0	0

Indeed, through the different ranks of education level, it is clearly visible that education has an impact on how often you might consume political news. With this survey, the aim was to frame the impact of the media and the relationship between politics and respondents. In terms of education distribution, this survey shows that thirty-eight per cent of the respondents have at least a graduate degree, followed closely by twenty-five per cent who have a graduate degree, and twenty-one per cent with a level approximating high school or less. These numbers have an impact on the result given through their impact. While a high number of graduate

respondents read daily political news, these numbers tend to increase for the undergraduate respondents, with a majority reading 2-3 times a week. This perfect mix of respondents offers a scope to be studied based on their implications within the political debate scope. Distributed through the bias of social media such as LinkedIn or Facebook, to ensure a sort of diversity regarding age, gender, and background.

## CHAPTER 4

# Data Collection Analysis

This chapter presents the data collected for the study, which aims to analyse the relationship between political instability in France during 2024 and its media coverage. For this dissertation, two main sources of data were used, starting with the headlines from *Le Monde*; forty-six headlines were selected through *Le Monde*'s website; all of these headlines of articles were selected based on the criteria of their relevance for the study and their publication. Indeed, while the dissertation focused on the year 2024, it was important to only select headlines from articles written during the year 2024 and mentioning the 49.3 and dissolution of the National Assembly, two matters part of the political instability. In addition, responses from a survey designed for this research have been used; this chapter provides an overview of the survey respondents, including the number of participants and key features of their responses. By outlining these elements, it establishes the empirical foundation of the research and sets the stage for the subsequent analytical discussion.

### 4.1. Qualitative Discourse Analysis

When doing the discourse analysis, it is important to start with an analysis of the temporal scope. While the political instability surges from two main events that happened over two months in France, politics and government shift, leaving space for a more chaotic and insatiable thought around politics in France. Starting with the catalyst: the European Election, followed by the dissolution of the National Assembly, which led to the Legislative election. These events that occurred on short notice gave place to a journalism takeover. Indeed, with every media outlet starting to have articles about this matter, the neutrality is forgotten to create a craze around it.

While it is important to stress how the media used their platform to talk about these matters, the research highlights two key elements for the study, starting with an analysis of *Le Monde*'s catchy headline that can be a subject of study, followed by a discussion about the gaps. Indeed, while newspapers such as *Le Monde* do talk about these events, it is often forgotten in terms of academic research; therefore, the lack of empirical studies about the media coverage of the 2024 French political instability is a key element of this research.

As this collection of data gathered information relevant to the research and the matter study in this dissertation, the relations of the media with politics and putting on a pedestal the newspaper *Le Monde* brings the questions of neutrality and how headlines can be understood and analysed as catchy. Based on a collection of headlines that are available on the newspaper's website, it is possible to highlight different factors over a period of one year for the infamous 49.3 used by different prime ministers over the years, and over a month to analyse the answer to the matter of the dissolution of the National Assembly. A total of forty-six headlines have been extracted; these headlines are addressed from *Le Monde*, all of which relate to both major political instabilities that have occurred in the year 2024. The 49.3, who refer to Article 49, paragraph 3 of the French Constitution, grants the government the ability to adopt a bill without submitting it to a parliamentary vote. This mechanism has been implemented to strengthen executive authority in the face of parliamentary fragmentation. Under President Macron, Article 49.3 has been repeatedly used, intensifying the political tensions and sparking widespread protests. And above all, with the dissolution of the National Assembly.

Starting with the 49.3 corpus, eleven headlines referring to the 49.3 have been found on the database of *Le Monde*, referring to different matters in the government, such as the use of 49.3 over the budget, including statements by political figures, explanations of the legal mechanism, and opposition reactions. The dissolution corpus features over thirty-nine headlines over a month. As both of the corpora have been chosen based on their critical character over the matter, it is important to highlight that the dissolution of the assembly, in addition to the excessive use of the 49.3, defines two main events responsible for the political instability during the year 2024.

Whereas, another important aspect to discuss while analysing the headlines would be the different uses of lexical and semantic. Indeed, as the headlines can be seen as catchy, journalists often use them to convey their opinion. Starting with the 49.3 used mainly during 2023 but having repercussions on the 2024 government and political instability, *Le Monde* covered this matter with a technical and procedural language in addition to a sort of inevitability in these headlines. Referring to these headlines, "*l'inéluctable 49.3*" (the inescapable 49.3) (see Appendix A, headline no. 2) suggests a process beyond democratic control, or with "*à l'ombre du 49.3*" (in the shadow of 49.3) (see Appendix A, headline no. 1), this headline uses a metaphorical language implying opacity and dominance over parliamentary debate. With this

in mind, the 49.3 is seen as a tool used by the government to pass every law that is wanted, in addition to a symbol of crisis governance.

In contrast, the headlines surrounding the dissolution of the National Assembly show a character more emotive and with some dramatic note; the lexical frame, for its part, is more about the personal gamble of the president, which is noticeable through the headlines. Discussing “*pari risqué*” (see Appendix A, headline no. 40) or “*coup de poker*” (see Appendix A, headline no. 23), casting the president Macron as a risk taker. Or Expressions such as “*brutale dissolution*” (see Appendix A, headline no. 46) or “*flou total*” (see Appendix A, headline no. 28) to amplify the ideas of chaos, uncertainty, and instability. The narratives of these headlines are used in order to reinforce a narrative around President Macron to make him accountable for this decision, emphasizing negative consequences to press for dissolution as destabilizing the government.

Although *Le Monde's* editorial line seems to be doubtful depending on the matter, it maintains an appearance of journalistic neutrality, distinguishing some framing mechanism in its headlines. The differences in tone, lexical choices, and narrative structure are summarized in the comparative table below.

*Table 3: Comparative Analysis of Media Representation: Article 49.3 vs. Dissolution*

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Article 49.3</b>	<b>Dissolution</b>
<b>Tone</b>	Procedural, cautious, institutional	Emotional, dramatic, personalized
<b>Primary Actor</b>	Michel Barnier, Parliament	Emmanuel Macron
<b>Framing</b>	Legal mechanism under tension	Personal gamble with national consequences

<b>Lexical Choices</b>	“Inéluctable”, “en sursis”, “motion de censure”	“Brutale”, “piégé”, “pari dangereux”, “flou”
<b>Implied Perspective</b>	Slightly sceptical of executive power	Critical of presidential decision-making

The difference in tone in this table suggests that *Le Monde* frames the use of article 49.3 as an embedded feature of France’s semi-presidential system, albeit controversial. Whereas the dissolution is treated as an exceptional event, carrying political and symbolic weight, and generating broad repercussions. These findings do not establish a new research gap but confirm the absence of prior empirical analyses noted in Chapter 2. This highlights the importance of focusing on *Le Monde*’s 2024 coverage.

#### **4.2. survey application**

As part of this study, an initial exploratory survey was carried out among a limited sample of respondents, with a percentage of 10% of the expected number of responses. While the survey had the aim to reach one hundred responses, however, only eighty respondents were recorded. This survey aimed to assess the relevance of the subject. The questionnaire, distributed online, was sent to a selection of people with varied profiles (age, gender, level of education, country of residence) in order to collect data to report on the smooth running of the survey and to be able to determine possible results, which are therefore the logical continuation of this dissertation. The responses collected in this preliminary survey determine the usefulness of the survey by demonstrating, through a small range of responses, the validity of the topic. Throughout the survey, the varied profiles have given a majority of women responding to the survey, with 63.9% of the respondents who were women.

In fact, this questionnaire helped to prepare the ground for a more in-depth investigation, which was developed with an optimum number of responses. The aim was to collect a hundred or so responses, to be able to open up the field and obtain a broad public opinion. To this end, the survey will include a key qualitative set of questions aimed at determining the importance

of the media and the impact of politics on the media. This study may provide a fundamental insight into societal issues in France and its information policy. This survey directly supports the research question that this dissertation delves into: to what extent does the French public perceive traditional media as trustworthy and independent in times of political crisis?

While this survey was divided into four main categories, the aim was to depict the media perception in France. Starting with a demographic part, which aims to collect data on age, gender, location, and education level to enable cross-tabulation of responses and trend analysis. The second section starts to discuss the matter of media consumption habits and delves into an investigation of the frequency of political news consumption, by debating the platforms used for the consumption of this information and the readership of specific outlets such as *Le Monde*. Section three delves into the influence of these media by focusing on participants' views regarding media neutrality, trust in journalists, and the perceived influence of political parties over media coverage. And the last section allows the respondent to give their own opinion on the matter. This part expresses deeper opinions about the media's role during political instability, offers suggestions for improvement, and provides real-life examples of perceived political influence on the press. Taking into account that this survey does not represent the entire France and is more of a sample that can be considered as a cross-section, allowing a rich qualitative and comparative analysis.

Whereas this survey has provided this dissertation with actual results on the matter, it has been structured through a list of expected results and the results obtained. Through that idea, the demographic patterns of this questionnaire were intended to show how younger respondents would be more likely to rely on social media and show lower trust in the more traditional media, due to the digital period, with most of the information being findable through the different social networks. In addition to that, the higher the education level you had, the more reliable you would have been, which correlates with higher media engagement and with a possible bigger trust in traditional media. Given this, the international respondents were designated as the target for a more distinctive perspective.

Table 4: Age distribution of respondents

Age Group	Total number	Percentage
18–24	16	20.3 %
25–34	16	20.3 %
35–44	10	12.7 %
45–54	14	17.7 %
55+	18	22.8 %

Based on the result provided by the survey, the actual result does not fall far from the expected one. The age distribution of this research shows a big range of answers as presented in Table 3, with 20.3% being 18–24, 20.3% being 25–34, 12.7% being 35–44, 17.7% being 45–54, and 22.8% being 55+. Cross-tabulations confirmed that younger groups relied more heavily on social media for political news, while older respondents preferred traditional newspapers.

Table 5: Comparison of Expected vs. Actual Results on Media Consumption and Trust

Category	Expected	Results	Interpretation
<b>Age &amp; Media Use</b>	Younger respondents would rely more on social media and show lower trust in traditional media (e.g., <i>Le Monde</i> ).	Younger groups relied more heavily on social media, and older respondents preferred newspapers.	Expectations were confirmed: younger respondents sceptical of traditional outlets, older groups more traditional.
<b>Education</b>	Higher education levels would correlate with greater media engagement and possibly more trust.	Respondents with Master’s or higher (41.9%) reported stronger engagement with newspapers like <i>Le Monde</i> .	Education appears to moderate trust: higher-educated respondents show higher credibility toward established outlets.

<b>Nationality</b>	Non-French respondents might offer distinctive perspectives.	A small proportion of non-French respondents reported somewhat different trust levels.	Differences were present but limited due to sample size.
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Considering these factors, the actual outcomes closely correspond to expectations, with younger respondents exhibiting scepticism towards conventional media sources, while education appears to moderate trust levels.

Talking about the media consumption behaviour, social media would be considered the new source of information for the youth. Through this interpretation, *Le Monde* can be perceived as less important in terms of leadership of the media, but still has an important impact, considered by the readers as a higher trust related to this media, compared to other French media that might have a lower impact on respondents and on the youth. The findings reveal a clear generational divide in news consumption patterns. Social media has firmly established itself as the leading channel for younger respondents, with more than 25.3% identifying it as their main source of political news.

These findings show that the youth have a bigger trust in social media, which allows faster information compared to more trustworthy sources. In comparison, *Le Monde* only reached 12% of the sample, proving a marker of credibility and engagement. *Le Monde* readers report a higher level of trust compared to those who consume news primarily via social media. This suggests that *Le Monde* functions less as a mass outlet and more as a trusted niche resource among highly engaged, often better-educated segments of the population.

The findings confirm that social media plays a central role in shaping political news consumption in 2024. At the same time, it appears that *Le Monde* does remain one of the trusted media among the readers and the higher educated respondents, reinforcing the idea that traditional media still matter and still hold a tangential credibility within educated or older audiences.

While the perception of Media Influence is quite controversial in terms of respondents, the survey explored participants' perceptions of media influence, neutrality, and trust. Respondents were asked to indicate, on a scale, the extent to which they believed the media influences public opinion, whether they considered the media neutral, and the degree of trust they place in traditional outlets. To which only 37.3% considered the media neutral, while 62.7% believed they were not neutral.

*Table 6: Summary of Respondents' Perceptions of Media Influence*

<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Believe the media significantly influences public opinion	54.7%
Believe the media has a moderate influence	32.0%
Consider media neutral	37.3%
Consider media not neutral	62.7%
Perceive bias towards the left	26.7%
Perceive bias towards the right	22.7%
Perceive bias towards the government	37.3%
Perceive extreme left bias	8.0%
Perceive extreme right bias	5.3%
Express strong trust in traditional media	14.7%
Express moderate trust	40.0%
Express no trust	45.3%

Therefore, the perception of the media can be perceived as not trustworthy and neutral due to the impact of politics on it. Indeed, while the political instability in 2024 was correlated to the parliamentary election, the faces of the different political parties were seen, and 26.7% reported bias toward the left, 22.7% toward the right, and 37.3% believed the media leaned toward the government. Smaller groups perceived extreme-left (8.0%) or extreme-right (5.3%) bias.

While the qualitative insights of the survey were optional, a large number of respondents took the time to answer these questions. The aim was to call for objectivity, fact-checking, and

transparency. Criticism of sensationalism and political manipulation. These questions were designed to capture perspectives that could not be fully expressed through multiple-choice or scale-based responses. In particular, respondents were encouraged to comment on the role of the media through their opinions.

By incorporating open-ended responses, the survey ensured that participants’ subjective experiences and frustrations could complement the quantitative data gathered in earlier sections, providing a richer picture of how media influence is perceived. This collection of answers allows the survey to give a broader extent of the matter, by discussing the way in which media should broadcast information, with a large number of answers mentioning the terms “neutrality” or “informative communication”.

While the last open question allowed respondent to be honest and give their opinion on the matter (see appendix B), the answer involve one particular television media “TPMP” broadcast every evening that clearly does have an impact on the lack of neutrality, due to its majority shareholder that is not well perceived due to different action undertaken by himself or due to the lack of neutrality that are broadcasted on this media. The mention of different events which occurred in the year 2025 is also mentioned in terms of lack of neutrality, with a high mention of different political parties and, in particular, of their leader, such as Marine Le Pen or Jean-Luc Mélenchon.

*Table 7: Summary of the Qualitative Insight on Media Perceptions*

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Example from responses</b>
<b>Role of Media</b>	Duty to inform objectively	“The media should be independent from political power”
<b>Needed Improvements</b>	Calls for less bias, more transparency & independence	“Stop serving corporate and political interests”
<b>Perceived Manipulation</b>	Specific reference to Political influence on the media	“Macron influences headlines” “Mélenchon attacks journalists” “Le Pen is framed strategically”
<b>TPMP</b>	Respondents criticized the talk show TPMP for a lack of journalistic rigor and lack of neutrality	“TPMP manipulates debates instead of informing”

## CHAPTER 5

### Discussion

Since the French Political Instability in 2024 have emerged through different key factors that change the political landscape and the perspective of the media in terms of neutrality, the central aim of this research was to how political instability in France during 2024 was reported in the French press, focusing on *Le Monde* as a case study, and to assess how political parties attempted to influence the media system. To better understand the intersection between the political instability in France during the year 2024 and the role of traditional media such as *Le Monde*, it is advantageous to look through the lens of Media Framing theory and Political Parallelism. By combining in this research the uses of a qualitative discourse analysis through the bias of a study of the catchy headlines used by *Le Monde* and the findings of the research gaps over the matter with the survey data, this chapter assesses the public perceptions of media trust and neutrality between different factors. The analysis presented here directly addresses the research gap identified in Chapter 2. It provides one of the first empirical examinations of *Le Monde*'s portrayal of the 2024 political instability. This links the theoretical absence of prior studies with the new evidence collected in this dissertation.

When analysing the different headlines used by *Le Monde* to depict an event or a situation in times of political crisis, the findings have demonstrated the capabilities of the media to use to their advantage information employing the different framing tools. Discussing about the infamous Article 49.3, it has been reported by the media through a procedural and institutional tone, often using characterizable traits to push the reader into the event such as the term inevitability (*l'inéluctable*), while depicting the event of the dissolution of the French Assembly were represented through an emotional, dramatic and personalized tone, mentioned as a gamble or act of chaos, with headlines such as “*pari risqué*” or “*brutale dissolution*”. The difference in depicting an event and using different headlines and different tones, which fall within the remit of the Framing theory.

Through the survey results, a generational indicator divides in news consumption. Indeed, younger respondents prioritise social media for political information while older respondents favour traditional newspapers. These results align with the previous research, assessing the centrality of digital platforms in the youth media habits and the continued role of newspapers

as trusted sources for older or more educated audiences. Thereby, political communication strategies will address the division in the engagement of respondents based on their ages. Although the sample size in this study is limited, the generational pattern observed reinforces broader trends reported in the literature.

While it is important to highlight the framing theory, Entman's work (1993) have proven through his claim that framing can determine how an event would be depicted and understood by choosing and making some aspect of a reality tends towards someone in particular or tend to change reality towards another noteworthy point, as he states in his work "Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p.52). Therefore, by portraying the dissolution as a "*pari risqué*" (see Appendix A, headline no. 40) or "*coup de poker*" (see Appendix A, headline no. 23), *Le Monde* pushed towards an image of Macron as destabilizing the government and the order established. This does confirm Ojala's thought, arguing that traditional journalism is abandoned, more specifically, neutrality is abandoned in favour of partisanship. Framing such events in order to shape narratives that extend beyond descriptive reporting.

Besides, while it is clear that media shapes the narratives of their information, forcing a lack of neutrality, this project has been completed with a survey with the main goal to assess perceptions of political instability and media influence. The survey results reveal a lack of neutrality in the perception of the viewers in terms of the media. Indeed, respondents frequently point out that political leaders such as Macron, Le Pen, or Mélenchon play a pivotal role in influencing and manipulating headlines, or, for the new digital media, press their character to influence decision-making. These findings resonate with Carral et al.'s (2023) study of the Rassemblement National's communication strategies, which showed deliberate efforts to reshape media portrayals, as well as Baloge and Hubé's (2022) analysis of La France Insoumise's use of digital platforms to bypass traditional media.

Considering that these results indicate that political parallelism in France is not limited to structural alignments between media outlets and political actors, it is then visible and understood in everyday interactions that shape public perceptions of neutrality. The survey has

allowed us to understand the implications of parties within the media system. Indeed, respondents' references to the opinion given by the different parties categorise them as part of a general outcry, mentioning that they should stop giving their opinions and that everyone should have a say. This supports Hallin and Mancini's (2004) concept of the "polarized pluralist" model, where media serve as both political actors and arenas for political struggle.

Although one of the most perceivable findings on the survey regards the perception of the decline in the media's neutrality, with only 37.3% of respondents who considered French media neutral, while 62.7% respondents believed that the media displayed bias, most frequently toward the government but also toward both left- and right-wing parties. This scepticism in neutrality can be highlighted and put next to Ojala's argument (2021) that the idea of neutrality is fading and eroding. In addition to the division in terms of neutrality with the involvement of the government, in addition to the left-wing and right-wing parties, this suggests that neutrality within the media, and especially here with *Le Monde*, is eroding, with a high number of different points of view based on the readers' minds.

While the abstract aspect of this matter has been illustrated, the focus on *Le Monde* based on concrete examples illustrates how French newspapers have in the past responded to a period of political pressure. For instance, the 2005 French referendum on the European Constitution shows how *Le Monde*'s line was seen as pro-European; therefore, creating a feeling of « No » campaign and a perception of elite media bias (Kuhn, 2010). Correspondingly, during the 2017 and 2022 presidential elections, it has been noted that the coverage of Macron was more favourable than that of his opponents, raising concerns and questions about the liabilities of *Le Monde* to be seen as neutral. According to Neveu (2017), political actors often engage in "soft pressure" strategies, offering access, leaks, or exclusive interviews that can influence how journalists frame political figures or parties.

*Le Monde*, being one of the most respected and influential daily newspapers in France, is known for its centre-left editorial stance. During a time of crisis, newspapers are known to play a pivotal role in shaping the narratives. As Hallin and Mancini (2004) argue, "In the Polarized Pluralist model, the press is often oriented toward specific political tendencies or party affiliations, and journalistic practices reflect a tradition of commentary and advocacy more than neutral reporting" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.89) .

Thus, the intervention of politicians, in another way of the different parties in the media system, is perceived in the editorial stance. Studies suggest that in more recent events, such as the presidential election of 2017 and 2022, *Le Monde*'s coverage tended to be more favourable toward Emmanuel Macron, especially in contrast to more critical coverage of his opponents like Jean-Luc Mélenchon or Marine Le Pen. As Hallin and Mancini argue, "It implies an instrumentalization of media by political and economic interests seeking to wield political influence... parallel no longer to specific parties but to more general political orientations" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.37).

These results align with scholars' input, such as Neveu's work (2017) analysing the decline of French journalism, as the audience increasingly views the press as polarised and tending more towards a political path rather than being autonomous. With this statement in mind, it also confirms Hallin and Mancini's work (2004), augmenting that political parallelism characterizes Mediterranean media systems such as France's. However, the observation that neutrality is perceived differently based on political orientation underscores the fact that parallelism is not solely a structural phenomenon but also an interpretative one. This is because audience trust and expectations influence our perception of neutrality.

Quite apart from the concept of neutrality, the survey has highlighted the topics of digital and traditional media. Indeed, a generational divide in media consumption, with younger respondents relying primarily on social media for political information, while older and more educated respondents preferred traditional outlets such as *Le Monde*. While this idea confirms Neveu's work (1998, 2017) on the decline of traditional media towards a more digital period, with a decline of periodical newspapers and the growing dominance of digital media, the persistence of trust in *Le Monde* among educated readers suggests that traditional outlets continue to play a significant role as niche sources of credibility.

In this context, the findings indicate a symbiotic relationship between digital and traditional media, frequently positioned in a dichotomy. This coexistence facilitates a form of coexistence, where social media predominates in mass consumption while newspapers such as *Le Monde* maintain influence among a privileged elite and highly engaged readers. During periods of political upheaval, this dual role enables traditional media outlets to persist in shaping discourse, even as their overall influence diminishes.

While the matter has been explicitly analysed over the last pages, it is also important to discuss another dimension. The dissertation does benefit from contributing to academic debates in several ways. This study addresses a topic that remains under-researched due to the recent events in France. The 2024 political instability in France has garnered limited scholarly attention, and this study presents one of the earliest systematic analyses of media coverage of the crisis. By integrating a discourse analysis of *Le Monde*'s headlines with survey data on public perceptions, the study contributes empirically, offering a comprehensive understanding of how instability was reported and perceived.

Regarding the limitation of this study, the focus is on the traditional media, *Le Monde*, which, while influential, cannot represent the full diversity of French media perspectives, could have allowed a better analysis through a better opening in terms of media. Indeed, analysing the matter through an addition of media could have given a broader analysis of the topic, with distinct ideological orientations and readerships could have provided a more balanced understanding of media pluralism and framing strategies.

While the survey is the perfect choice to identify and highlight the public opinion, the survey sample, though diverse in terms of age, education, and professional background, was relatively small, with only eighty respondents. It is an adequate sample in terms of research, but it is only a small sample representing France. This does restrict the possibility of generalising the findings to a national range. Furthermore, the inclusion of an international audience, which is allowed to have a small amount of international perspective and background on the matter, while offering valuable external perspectives, may have introduced biases that do not reflect domestic media consumption patterns.

It is noteworthy that the study was conducted only a year after the political upheaval. Consequently, academic resources, political interpretations, and journalistic analyses of these events are still in a state of development. Future research may reinterpret their causes and consequences with the benefit of hindsight and additional data. However, it is important to acknowledge that the research design employed qualitative and self-reported data, which are inherently subject to interpretation and potential respondent bias.

## CHAPTER 6

# Conclusion

This dissertation, now being concluded, has examined and assessed the intersection between political instability and the media representation in France during the year 2024, with a particular focus on the media coverage of *Le Monde*. This research employed Media Framing Theory and Political Parallelism to analyse how a prominent French newspaper presented key political events, including the dissolution of the National Assembly and the repeated invocation of Article 49.3. Furthermore, it investigated the public's reception and interpretation of these constructions. This research, which involved qualitative discourse analysis of headlines, the identification of research gaps in the literature, and the administration of a survey capturing public perceptions, revealed both the narrative potency of *Le Monde* and the contentious nature of media neutrality during periods of democratic upheaval.

With this in mind, the findings within this dissertation underscore that *Le Monde*'s coverage did not reflect events as the media should but instead framed them in ways that shaped public understanding and political discourse. The headlines surrounding Article 49.3 adopted a procedural, institutional tone, whereas those covering the dissolution were more dramatic and personalised, portraying President Macron's actions as risky and destabilising. These framing techniques corroborate Entman's (1993) assertion that media framing encompasses processes of selection and salience. Consequently, it influences the interpretation and retention of events. In this context, the overarching research inquiry can be unequivocally resolved: political instabilities in 2024 were not conveyed through neutral descriptions but rather through narrative constructions that positioned the events within broader discourses concerning legitimacy, stability, and accountability. This dissertation addresses the gap identified in Chapter 2 by offering one of the first systematic analyses of *Le Monde*'s coverage of the 2024 political instability.

In parallel, the study has revealed that political parties have actively played a role in influencing the media and, through that, have benefited from this coverage. The survey and literature review highlight how political parties such as the Rassemblement National or La France Insoumise deployed strategies of digital communication. The articles published by *Le Monde* in 2024 demonstrated and supported the theory of political parallelism described by

Hallin and Mancini (2004). Indeed, the media system in France does not position itself solely as a neutral disseminator of information, but is often associated with certain political tendencies and is therefore polarised. This observation directly answers the second research question: political parties interact with the press not only through official statements and media appearances, but also by developing communication strategies. They therefore influence the space in which public debate takes place and public opinion is formed.

While the survey did bring new information on the role played by the different parties, it also brought another dimension to the analysis. Indeed, with a big majority of the respondents expressing their feeling of scepticism toward the neutral character of the media, with 62.7% perceiving bias either toward the government or political parties, while only 37.3% viewed the media as impartial. The youth primarily rely on social media for political information, while older and more educated respondents demonstrated stronger engagement and trust in *Le Monde*. The parallel sphere between the generational gap divides the response towards the new digital and traditional media. In this regard, the survey results have confirmed that the research question by demonstrating that political instability in 2024 was influenced by the press coverage who was perceived as biased, while the different political parties and the age-based disparities shaped how this event was reported and received.

Furthermore, from an academic perspective, this study contributes to the lack of literature on a recent topic that has not yet been analysed by offering one of the first systematic analyses of how the 2024 crisis was reported and perceived. Political instability in France in 2024 has so far received limited attention from researchers, and this research provides an initial framework for understanding how media representation interacts with political instability in contemporary France. Theoretically, it analyses the continued relevance of media framing and political parallelism in explaining press behaviour in conditions of polarisation. From a professional perspective, the findings highlight the challenges journalists face in maintaining their credibility, as well as the risks for political actors whose strategies can backfire when presented as opportunistic or destabilising.

Certain limitations remain. The focus on *Le Monde*, although justified by its influence, these limitations do restrict the analysis to a single media outlet, preventing a comprehensive assessment of media pluralism. The survey sample, although diverse, is modest in size and partially international, which limits its generalisability. Moreover, the fact that these events

occurred in 2024 and that they are still being interpreted emphasises the ongoing development of understanding. Future academic research has the potential to illuminate their causes and consequences. To achieve this, future research should adopt a comparative approach that encompasses a broader spectrum of French media, employs larger survey samples, and investigates the transformation of the relationship between traditional and digital media in shaping political discourse.

This document shows that the political instability of 2024 tested French democratic institutions and highlighted the central role of the press in managing political crises. The articles in *Le Monde* illustrate the dual nature of the press as a key player in the news cycle, while public reactions reveal a lack of trust that is increasingly difficult to ignore in a context of media polarisation. At a time when neutrality is being questioned, political communication strategies are diversifying, and citizens consume information through fragmented channels, the credibility of the media is crucial to democratic stability. By analysing this episode in French history, the study offers perspectives that go beyond the national context and contribute to a broader debate on the role of journalism in times of political upheaval and on the future of trust in the media in democratic societies.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A: List of Headlines from *Le Monde* Used in the Discourse Analysis

Nb.	Title	Date	Focus	Link
1	Budget 2025 : à l'Assemblée nationale, un débat à l'ombre du 49.3	21/10/2024	Article 49.3	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/10/21/budget-2025-a-l-assemblee-nationale-un-debat-a-l-ombre-du-49-3_6357549_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=2">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/10/21/budget-2025-a-l-assemblee-nationale-un-debat-a-l-ombre-du-49-3_6357549_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=2</a>
2	Budget 2025 : le gouvernement assure vouloir que le débat ait lieu à l'Assemblée nationale, malgré l'inéluctable 49.3	22/10/2024	Article 49.3	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/10/22/budget-2025-le-gouvernement-assure-vouloir-que-le-debat-ait-lieu-a-l-assemblee-nationale-malgre-le-spectre-ineluctable-du-49-3_6357913_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=7">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/10/22/budget-2025-le-gouvernement-assure-vouloir-que-le-debat-ait-lieu-a-l-assemblee-nationale-malgre-le-spectre-ineluctable-du-49-3_6357913_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=7</a>
3	Sur le budget, des députés LR et Renaissance demandent un 49.3 rapide à Michel Barnier	4/11/24	Article 49.3	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/11/04/sur-le-budget-des-deputes-lr-et-rennaissance-demandent-un-49-3-rapide-a-michel-barnier_6375210_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=3">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/11/04/sur-le-budget-des-deputes-lr-et-rennaissance-demandent-un-49-3-rapide-a-michel-barnier_6375210_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=3</a>
4	Michel Barnier déclare qu'il utilisera « probablement » le 49.3 pour faire adopter le budget	14/11/2024	Article 49.3	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/11/14/michel-barnier-declare-qu-il-utilisera-probablement-le-49-3-pour-faire-adopter-le-budget_6393991_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=5">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/11/14/michel-barnier-declare-qu-il-utilisera-probablement-le-49-3-pour-faire-adopter-le-budget_6393991_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=5</a>
5	Les représentants du NFP : « Si Michel Barnier impose son budget par 49.3, nos groupes parlementaires déposeront une motion de censure »	21/11/2024	Article 49.3	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2024/11/21/les-representants-du-nfp-si-michel-barnier-impose-son-budget-par-49-3-nos-groupes-parlementaires-deposeront-une-motion-de-censure_6406355_3232.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=11">https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2024/11/21/les-representants-du-nfp-si-michel-barnier-impose-son-budget-par-49-3-nos-groupes-parlementaires-deposeront-une-motion-de-censure_6406355_3232.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=11</a>
6	Michel Barnier affirme que le budget sera « probablement » adopté par 49.3, mettant en garde contre « des turbulences graves sur les marchés financiers » en cas de censure	26/11/2024	Article 49.3	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/11/26/le-budget-sera-probablement-adopte-par-49-3-dit-michel-barnier-qui-met-en-garde-contre-des-turbulences-graves-sur-les-marches-financiers-en-cas-de-censure_6416095_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=9">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/11/26/le-budget-sera-probablement-adopte-par-49-3-dit-michel-barnier-qui-met-en-garde-contre-des-turbulences-graves-sur-les-marches-financiers-en-cas-de-censure_6416095_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=9</a>
7	Budget de la Sécu : «	1/12/24	Article	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article</a>

	Jusqu'au bout, on est prêts à améliorer le texte » déclare le député RN Jean-Philippe Tangy à la veille du vote ou d'un 49.3		49.3	e/2024/12/01/en-direct-jean-philippe-tanguy-est-l-invite-de-questions-politiques_6423528_823448.html?search-type=classic&ise_click_rank=10
8	Michel Barnier a déclenché l'article 49.3, son gouvernement est en sursis	2/12/24	Article 49.3	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/12/02/michel-barnier-a-declenche-l-article-49-3-son-gouvernement-est-en-sursis_6426411_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=6">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/12/02/michel-barnier-a-declenche-l-article-49-3-son-gouvernement-est-en-sursis_6426411_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=6</a>
9	Le récit d'une journée de bascule à l'Assemblée nationale : du 49.3 décidé par Michel Barnier au dépôt de deux motions de censure	3/12/24	Article 49.3	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/12/03/du-49-3-decide-par-michel-barnier-au-revirement-de-marine-le-pen-recit-d-une-journee-de-bascule-a-l-assemblee-nationale_6426829_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=8">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/12/03/du-49-3-decide-par-michel-barnier-au-revirement-de-marine-le-pen-recit-d-une-journee-de-bascule-a-l-assemblee-nationale_6426829_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=8</a>
10	Comment fonctionnent l'article 49.3 et la motion de censure ? Comprendre en trois minutes	4/12/24	Article 49.3	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/comprendre-en-3-minutes/video/2024/12/04/comment-fonctionnent-l-article-49-3-et-la-motion-de-censure-comprendre-en-trois-minutes_6429796_6176282.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=4">https://www.lemonde.fr/comprendre-en-3-minutes/video/2024/12/04/comment-fonctionnent-l-article-49-3-et-la-motion-de-censure-comprendre-en-trois-minutes_6429796_6176282.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=4</a>
11	François Bayrou à Matignon : LFI promet une motion de censure ; le PS demande au nouveau premier ministre de renoncer au 49.3... les premières réactions politiques	13/12/2024	Article 49.3	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/12/13/francois-bayrou-nomme-premier-ministre-les-premiereres-reactions-politiques_6446834_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=1">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/12/13/francois-bayrou-nomme-premier-ministre-les-premiereres-reactions-politiques_6446834_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=1</a>
12	Tout comprendre à la dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale : conditions, précédents, conséquences...	9/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2024/06/09/qu-est-ce-que-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale_6238345_4355770.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=3">https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2024/06/09/qu-est-ce-que-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale_6238345_4355770.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=3</a>
13	Emmanuel Macron annonce la dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale après la victoire du RN aux européennes	9/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/elections-europeennes/video/2024/06/09/video-emmanuel-macron-annonce-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale_6238332_1168667.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=21">https://www.lemonde.fr/elections-europeennes/video/2024/06/09/video-emmanuel-macron-annonce-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale_6238332_1168667.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=21</a>
14	Dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale : les dates des élections législatives	10/6/24	Article dissolution of the National	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/10/dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-les-dates-des-elections-legislatives_6238338_823449.html?sea">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/10/dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-les-dates-des-elections-legislatives_6238338_823449.html?sea</a>

			Assembly	rch-type=classic&ise_click_rank=2
15	Après la dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale, trois semaines pour éviter le pire	10/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2024/06/10/apres-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-trois-semaines-pour-eviter-le-pire_6238400_3232.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=5">https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2024/06/10/apres-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-trois-semaines-pour-eviter-le-pire_6238400_3232.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=5</a>
16	Comment la dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale a fait son chemin à l'Élysée	10/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/10/comment-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-a-fait-son-chemin-a-l-elysee_6238407_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=8">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/10/comment-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-a-fait-son-chemin-a-l-elysee_6238407_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=8</a>
17	Elections européennes 2024 : à la Mutualité, les macronistes entre déni et sidération face à la dissolution de l'Assemblée	10/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/10/elections-europeennes-2024-a-la-mutualite-les-macronistes-entre-deni-et-sideration-face-a-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee_6238359_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=16">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/10/elections-europeennes-2024-a-la-mutualite-les-macronistes-entre-deni-et-sideration-face-a-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee_6238359_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=16</a>
18	Revivez l'annonce de la dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale par Emmanuel Macron...	10/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/live/2024/06/11/en-direct-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-des-candidatures-uniquees-a-gauche-conference-de-presse-d-emmanuel-macron-dans-l-apres-midi_6238193_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=17">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/live/2024/06/11/en-direct-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-des-candidatures-uniquees-a-gauche-conference-de-presse-d-emmanuel-macron-dans-l-apres-midi_6238193_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=17</a>
19	Dissolution de l'Assemblée : le pari à haut risque d'Emmanuel Macron pour relancer son quinquennat...	10/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/10/dissolution-de-l-assemblee-le-pari-a-haut-risque-d-emmanuel-macron-pour-relancer-son-quinquennat-apres-l-echec-aux-europeennes_6238372_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=18">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/10/dissolution-de-l-assemblee-le-pari-a-haut-risque-d-emmanuel-macron-pour-relancer-son-quinquennat-apres-l-echec-aux-europeennes_6238372_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=18</a>
20	En vidéo : après la dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale, les appels à l'union des gauches se multiplient	10/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/videos/video/2024/06/10/en-video-apres-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-les-appels-a-l-union-des-gauches-se-multiplient_6238461_1669088.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=20">https://www.lemonde.fr/videos/video/2024/06/10/en-video-apres-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-les-appels-a-l-union-des-gauches-se-multiplient_6238461_1669088.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=20</a>
21	Législatives 2024 : une campagne sous pression pour un scrutin à haut risque	10/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/elections-europeennes/article/2024/06/10/legislatives-2024-une-campagne-sous-pression-pour-un-scrutin-a-hauts-risques_6238429_1168667.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=24">https://www.lemonde.fr/elections-europeennes/article/2024/06/10/legislatives-2024-une-campagne-sous-pression-pour-un-scrutin-a-hauts-risques_6238429_1168667.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=24</a>
22	Européennes 2024 : le récit vidéo d'une soirée électorale	10/6/24	Article dissolution	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/elections-europeennes/video/2024/06/10/europeennes-2024-le-recit-video-d-une-soiree-">https://www.lemonde.fr/elections-europeennes/video/2024/06/10/europeennes-2024-le-recit-video-d-une-soiree-</a>

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23	Elections européennes : après le « coup de tonnerre », le « coup de poker » d'Emmanuel Macron...	10/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/10/elections-europeennes-apres-le-coup-de-tonnerre-le-coup-de-poker-d-emmanuel-macron-selon-la-presse_6238454_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=28">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/10/elections-europeennes-apres-le-coup-de-tonnerre-le-coup-de-poker-d-emmanuel-macron-selon-la-presse_6238454_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=28</a>
24	« A force de jouer avec le feu, le chef de l'Etat pourrait finir par se brûler... »	10/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/10/a-force-de-jouer-avec-le-feu-le-chef-de-l-etat-pourrait-finir-par-se-bruler-en-entrainant-dans-l-incendie-le-pays-tout-entier_6238431_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=4">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/10/a-force-de-jouer-avec-le-feu-le-chef-de-l-etat-pourrait-finir-par-se-bruler-en-entrainant-dans-l-incendie-le-pays-tout-entier_6238431_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=4</a>
25	Dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale : « Ce quitte ou double est un pari osé et dangereux »	11/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2024/06/11/dissolution-ce-quitte-ou-double-est-un-pari-ose-et-dangereux_6238577_3232.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=7">https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2024/06/11/dissolution-ce-quitte-ou-double-est-un-pari-ose-et-dangereux_6238577_3232.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=7</a>
26	Après l'annonce de la dissolution, Emmanuel Macron arrive affaibli à une série de rendez-vous internationaux	11/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2024/06/11/macron-affaibli-a-l-aube-d-une-serie-de-rendez-vous-internationaux_6238633_3210.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=32">https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2024/06/11/macron-affaibli-a-l-aube-d-une-serie-de-rendez-vous-internationaux_6238633_3210.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=32</a>
27	Législatives : plusieurs rassemblements contre l'extrême droite dans les grandes villes de France	11/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/11/legislatives-plusieurs-rassemblements-contre-l-extreme-droite-dans-les-grandes-villes-de-france_6238555_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=5">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/11/legislatives-plusieurs-rassemblements-contre-l-extreme-droite-dans-les-grandes-villes-de-france_6238555_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=5</a>
28	Au Sénat, le « flou total » après la dissolution de l'Assemblée	11/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/11/au-senat-le-flou-total-apres-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee_6238662_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=1">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/11/au-senat-le-flou-total-apres-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee_6238662_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=1</a>
29	Emmanuel Macron : la dissolution de l'Assemblée « était la bonne décision, dans l'intérêt du pays »	11/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/11/selon-emmanuel-macron-la-dissolution-etait-la-bonne-decision-dans-l-interet-du-pays_6238738_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=6">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/11/selon-emmanuel-macron-la-dissolution-etait-la-bonne-decision-dans-l-interet-du-pays_6238738_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=6</a>
30	La dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale vue par la presse internationale : « Emmanuel Macron est-il	11/6/24	Article dissolution of the National	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/11/la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-vue-par-la-presse-internationale-ca-passe-ou-ca-">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/11/la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-vue-par-la-presse-internationale-ca-passe-ou-ca-</a>

	devenu fou ?»		Assembly	casse_6238767_823448.html?search-type=classic&ise_click_rank=19
31	Dissolution de l'Assemblée : les infirmiers déplorent le « coup d'arrêt » d'une réforme très attendue par la profession	12/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/12/dissolution-de-l-assemblee-les-infirmiers-deplorent-le-coup-d-arret-d-une-reforme-tres-attendue-par-la-profession_6239087_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=13">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/12/dissolution-de-l-assemblee-les-infirmiers-deplorent-le-coup-d-arret-d-une-reforme-tres-attendue-par-la-profession_6239087_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=13</a>
32	Dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale : la timide mise en garde des patrons contre les extrêmes	12/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/12/dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-la-mise-en-garde-prudente-du-patronat-contre-les-extremes_6239098_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=14">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/12/dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-la-mise-en-garde-prudente-du-patronat-contre-les-extremes_6239098_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=14</a>
33	Laurent Le Gall, historien : « La dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale a incontestablement partie liée avec la production d'un ordre démocratique »	12/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2024/06/12/laurent-le-gall-historien-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-a-incontestablement-partie-liee-avec-la-production-d-un-ordre-democratique_6239059_3232.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=15">https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2024/06/12/laurent-le-gall-historien-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-a-incontestablement-partie-liee-avec-la-production-d-un-ordre-democratique_6239059_3232.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=15</a>
34	Avec la dissolution de l'Assemblée, la loi sur l'« aide à mourir » menacée d'effacement	12/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2024/06/12/avec-la-dissolution-la-loi-sur-l-aide-a-mourir-menacee-d-effacement_6238960_3224.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=4">https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2024/06/12/avec-la-dissolution-la-loi-sur-l-aide-a-mourir-menacee-d-effacement_6238960_3224.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=4</a>
35	Tous les projets que suspend la dissolution : loi sur la fin de vie, audiovisuel public, orientation agricole, Airbnb...	12/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2024/06/12/tous-les-projets-que-suspend-la-dissolution-loi-sur-la-fin-de-vie-audiovisuel-public-orientation-agricole-airbnb_6239137_4355770.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=25">https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2024/06/12/tous-les-projets-que-suspend-la-dissolution-loi-sur-la-fin-de-vie-audiovisuel-public-orientation-agricole-airbnb_6239137_4355770.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=25</a>
36	Ce qu'il faut retenir de la conférence de presse d'Emmanuel Macron, trois jours après avoir annoncé la dissolution	12/6/24	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/12/ce-qu-il-faut-retenir-de-la-conference-de-presse-d-emmanuel-macron-sur-les-legislatives-anticipees_6239121_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=31">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/12/ce-qu-il-faut-retenir-de-la-conference-de-presse-d-emmanuel-macron-sur-les-legislatives-anticipees_6239121_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=31</a>
37	Après la dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale, les dossiers de la défense suspendus « en plein vol »	13/06/2024	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2024/06/13/apres-la-dissolution-les-acteurs-de-la-defense-suspendus-en-plein-vol_6239345_3210.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=12">https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2024/06/13/apres-la-dissolution-les-acteurs-de-la-defense-suspendus-en-plein-vol_6239345_3210.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=12</a>
38	À la suite de la dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale, les autorités de contrôle seront	13/06/2024	Article dissolution of the	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2024/06/13/a-la-suite-de-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-les-autorites-">https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2024/06/13/a-la-suite-de-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-les-autorites-</a>

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39	« Emmanuel Macron, qui a déclenché cette dissolution pour piéger les partis, s'est piégé lui-même »	14/06/2024	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/14/emmanuel-macron-qui-a-declenche-cette-dissolution-pour-pieger-les-partis-s-est-piege-lui-meme_6239949_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=1">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/14/emmanuel-macron-qui-a-declenche-cette-dissolution-pour-pieger-les-partis-s-est-piege-lui-meme_6239949_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=1</a>
40	Dissolution : les coulisses du pari risqué d'Emmanuel Macron, en vidéo	16/06/2024	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/video/2024/06/16/dissolution-les-coulisses-du-pari-risque-d-emmanuel-macron-en-video_6240497_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=30">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/video/2024/06/16/dissolution-les-coulisses-du-pari-risque-d-emmanuel-macron-en-video_6240497_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=30</a>
41	Dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale : les macronistes sous le choc et la tentation du sauve-qui-peut	17/06/2024	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/17/dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-les-macronistes-sous-le-choc-et-la-tentation-du-sauve-qui-peut_6240891_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=9">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/17/dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-les-macronistes-sous-le-choc-et-la-tentation-du-sauve-qui-peut_6240891_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=9</a>
42	Législatives 2024 : Edouard Philippe estime qu'Emmanuel Macron « a tué la majorité présidentielle »...	20/06/2024	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/live/2024/06/20/en-direct-legislatives-2024-edouard-philippe-estime-qu-emmanuel-macron-a-tue-la-majorite-presidentielle-avec-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale_6241633_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=23">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/live/2024/06/20/en-direct-legislatives-2024-edouard-philippe-estime-qu-emmanuel-macron-a-tue-la-majorite-presidentielle-avec-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale_6241633_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=23</a>
43	Législatives 2024 : des programmes économiques désinhibés	21/06/2024	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2024/06/21/legislatives-2024-des-programmes-economiques-desinhibes_6242012_3232.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=36">https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2024/06/21/legislatives-2024-des-programmes-economiques-desinhibes_6242012_3232.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=36</a>
44	Depuis l'annonce de la dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale, quelle est l'ambiance sur votre lieu de travail ?	21/06/2024	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/economie/appele-temoignages/2024/06/21/depus-l-annonce-de-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-quelle-est-l-ambiance-sur-votre-lieu-de-travail-temoignez_6242128_3234.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=22">https://www.lemonde.fr/economie/appele-temoignages/2024/06/21/depus-l-annonce-de-la-dissolution-de-l-assemblee-nationale-quelle-est-l-ambiance-sur-votre-lieu-de-travail-temoignez_6242128_3234.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=22</a>
45	Au lendemain des législatives, le risque d'un pays ingouvernable	24/06/2024	Article dissolution of the National Assembly	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/24/au-lendemain-des-legislatives-le-risque-d-un-pays-ingouvernable_6243061_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=35">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/06/24/au-lendemain-des-legislatives-le-risque-d-un-pays-ingouvernable_6243061_823448.html?search-type=classic&amp;ise_click_rank=35</a>
46	« Décidée par Emmanuel Macron, la brutale	1/7/24	Article dissolution	<a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/07/01/decidee-par-emmanuel-">https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2024/07/01/decidee-par-emmanuel-</a>

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## Appendix B: Survey Questionnaire

### Section 1: Demographic Information (Basic Profile)

- **Q1. What is your age?**
  - Under 18
  - 18–24
  - 25–34
  - 35–44
  - 45–54
  - 55+
- **Q2. What is your gender?**
  - Male
  - Female
  - Non-binary
  - Prefer not to say
- **Q3. Where do you live?**
  - France (specify region if you want)
  - Other (optional: specify country)
- **Q4. What is your highest education level?**
  - High school or less
  - Undergraduate degree
  - Graduate degree
  - Doctorate
  - Other

### Section 2: Media Consumption Habits

- **Q5. How often do you consume political news?**
  - Daily
  - A few times a week
  - Once a week
  - Rarely
  - Never
- **Q6. Through which platforms do you primarily consume political news?**
  - Television
  - Newspapers (print)
  - Online newspapers
  - Social media (Twitter, Facebook, etc.)
  - Radio
  - Podcasts
  - Other (please specify)
- **Q7. Do you read *Le Monde* (print or digital)?**

- Yes, regularly
- Occasionally
- Rarely
- Never

### Section 3: Perceptions of Media Influence

- **Q8. During the 2024 political events, how influential do you think media coverage was in shaping public opinion?**
  - Very influential
  - Somewhat influential
  - Neutral
  - Not very influential
  - Not at all influential
- **Q8a. How would you describe *Le Monde's* coverage of the 2024 political instability?**
  - Very neutral
  - Mostly neutral
  - Somewhat biased
  - Very biased
  - Not sure
- **Q8b. Compared to other news sources, how trustworthy do you find *Le Monde's* political coverage?**
  - Much more trustworthy
  - Slightly more trustworthy
  - About the same
  - Slightly less trustworthy
  - Much less trustworthy
  - Not sure
- **Q9. In your opinion, how neutral was the media coverage of the 2024 political instability?**
  - Completely neutral
  - Mostly neutral
  - Somewhat biased
  - Very biased
  - Completely biased
- **Q10. Which political side do you think was favored most by the French media during the 2024 crisis?**
  - Left-wing parties
  - Right-wing parties
  - Center parties
  - No clear bias
  - Not sure

- **Q11. Do you believe political parties tried to influence media coverage during the 2024 political instability?**
  - Yes, strongly
  - Somewhat
  - Not much
  - Not at all
  - Not sure
- **Q12. Which political party do you think most successfully influenced the media during the 2024 events?**
  - La France Insoumise
  - Rassemblement National
  - Renaissance / Macron's party
  - Les Républicains
  - Other (please specify)
  - None
  - Not sure
- **Q13. Do you personally trust traditional newspapers (like *Le Monde*) to provide unbiased information?**
  - Yes, completely
  - Somewhat
  - Not really
  - Not at all

#### Section 4: Opinion Questions

- **Q14. In your view, what role should the media play during times of political instability?**
- **Q15. How could French media improve their coverage of political crises?**
- **Q16. Can you give an example where you felt a political party influenced how the media covered an event in 2024?**