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# Monitoring Media Pluralism in Europe: Application of the Media Pluralism Monitor 2017 in the European Union, FYROM, Serbia & Turkey

## Country Report: France

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# 1. ABOUT THE PROJECT

## 1.1 OVERVIEW OF THE PROJECT

The Media Pluralism Monitor (MPM) is a research tool that was designed to identify potential risks to media pluralism in the Member States of the European Union. This narrative report has been produced within the framework of the second EU-wide implementation of the MPM, carried out in 2017. The implementation was conducted in 28 EU Member States, Serbia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYRoM) and Turkey with the support of a grant awarded by the European Union to the Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom (CMPF) at the European University Institute.

## 1.2 METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

The CMPF cooperated with experienced, independent national researchers to carry out the data collection and to author the narrative reports, except in the cases of Malta and Italy where data collection was carried out centrally by the CMPF team. The research is based on a standardised questionnaire and apposite guidelines that were developed by the CMPF. The data collection was carried out between June and December 2017.

In France, the CMPF partnered with CEVIPOF, Sciences Po, who conducted the data collection and annotated the variables in the questionnaire and interviewed relevant experts. The scores assessing the risks for media pluralism were provided by the CMPF and calculated according to the algorithm developed by the Centre itself. The national report was reviewed by CMPF staff. Moreover, to ensure accurate and reliable findings, a group of national experts in each country reviewed the answers to particularly evaluative questions (see Annexe II for the list of experts).

Risks to media pluralism are examined in four main thematic areas, which are considered to capture the main areas of risk for media pluralism and media freedom: Basic Protection, Market Plurality, Political Independence and Social Inclusiveness. The results are based on the assessment of a number of indicators for each thematic area (see Figure 1 below).

Basic Protection	Market Plurality	Political Independence	Social Inclusiveness
Protection of freedom of expression	Transparency of media ownership	Political control over media outlets	Access to media for minorities
Protection of right to information	Media ownership concentration (horizontal)	Editorial autonomy	Access to media for local/regional communities and for community media
Journalistic profession, standards and protection	Cross-media concentration of ownership and competition enforcement	Media and democratic electoral process	Access to media for people with disabilities
Independence and effectiveness of the media authority	Commercial & owner influence over editorial content	State regulation of resources and support to media sector	Access to media for women
Universal reach of traditional media and access to the Internet	Media viability	Independence of PSM governance and funding	Media literacy

The results for each domain and indicator are presented on a scale from 0 to 100%. Scores between 0 and 33% are considered low risk, 34 to 66% are medium risk, while those between 67 and 100% are high risk. On the level of indicators, scores of 0 were rated 3% and scores of 100 were rated 97% by default, to avoid an assessment of a total absence or certainty of risk. For more information on the MPM methodology, see the CMPF report “Monitoring Media Pluralism in Europe: Application of the Media Pluralism Monitor 2016 in EU-28, Montenegro and Turkey”, <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/46786>



**Disclaimer:** The content of the report does not necessarily reflect the views of the CMPF or the EC, but represents the views of the national country team that carried out the data collection and authored the report. Due to updates and refinements in the questionnaire, the MPM2017 scores may not be fully comparable with those of MPM2016. For more details, see the CMPF report on MPM2017, which will soon be available on <http://cmpf.eui.eu/media-pluralism-monitor/>



## 2. INTRODUCTION

In January 2018, France's population numbered in at 67, 2 million inhabitants, 233 000 people more than in 2017. Different geographical areas form this country: Metropolitan France, which consists of 96 departments in Europe (65,018,000 people), and the overseas departments and regions –DROM– (2,169,000), for a total of five overseas departments and six overseas regions (régions).

The official language in France is French, but several regional languages are present in the country, together with others spoken in France's overseas territories. When counting the geographic areas of the country, 15 local languages are used in Public Service Media, which include Alsatian, Basque, Breton, Corse, Catalan, Occitan, Picard, Franco-Provençal, Frankish, Normand, Gallo, Champenois, Poitevin-Saintongeais, Kanak languages, Creole languages and Walloon.

France is a heterogeneous society, with origins that are diverse and still present today. However, France does not recognise minorities based on characteristics of race, ethnic features, skin colour, origin, religion, sexual identification, or preference which are considered discriminatory criteria by law. Ethnic or racial statistics are forbidden in France, due to the “informatique et libertés” law passed in 1978. Also, according to the French constitution, France recognizes all people with equal rights by highlighting that “France is an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic. It guarantees equality of all citizens before the law without distinction as to origin, race or religion” (Art. 2). As a result, there are no minorities recognised as holders of collective rights.

Since January 2015, France has been the target of terrorist attacks that led to the adoption of controversial provisions to fight terrorism. The state of emergency adopted after the shootings in Paris on 13 November 2015, and its successive extensions until the approval of the anti-terrorism law on October 30th 2017, have ignited a debate on civil liberties as authorities gain greater powers over freedom of expression.

France has a powerful audio-visual industry. 31 channels in metropolitan France integrate the landscape of national television: 8 channels are public, 18 are private free-to-air, and 5 are private pay-per-view. Besides national TV, 41 local channels are present in the metropolitan area, and 26 public and private channels operate in overseas departments and regions. The total number of radio stations planned by the CSA comprises almost 8,000 FM frequencies, which are used by private stations and two public broadcasters: Radio France and Réseau France Outre-mer (RFO).

The media in France suffer from the same crisis as all media in the world since the advent of the Internet and the “new” digital environments. But other factors are added to these difficulties and have created specific challenges that guarantee pluralism of the media.



# 3. RESULTS FROM THE DATA COLLECTION: ASSESSMENT OF THE RISKS TO MEDIA PLURALISM

When analysing indicators of basic protections of media pluralism, the risks are in the low range (23%), thanks to various laws that have been adopted. It must be admitted, however, that the recent events related to terrorist acts have provoked political reactions that have not been considered compatible with the concept of the rule of law<sup>1</sup>, such as the adoption of exceptional measures and the new anti-terrorism law, as highlighted by Human Rights' advocates<sup>2</sup>.

On the other hand, even if the risks seem low (23%), the analysis of various media markets shows a worrying concentration of the media (54%). Despite the laws passed to guarantee pluralism, it is becoming increasingly difficult to prevent concentration from occurring.

The political independence of media indicator scores a 9% risk as there is little evidence of political control over public or private media. A new article 2 (November 2016) on the Act of the Freedom of the Press of 29 of July of 1881 provides that a journalist cannot be obliged to accept an act against his professional conviction. It also ensures that any journalist from national broadcasting companies has the right to refuse disclosure of his sources as well as signing a broadcast or a fragment of it that has been changed without his knowledge.

The main risks to media pluralism, when observing risk assessment, are related to social inclusiveness, particularly in the area of media access for minorities.

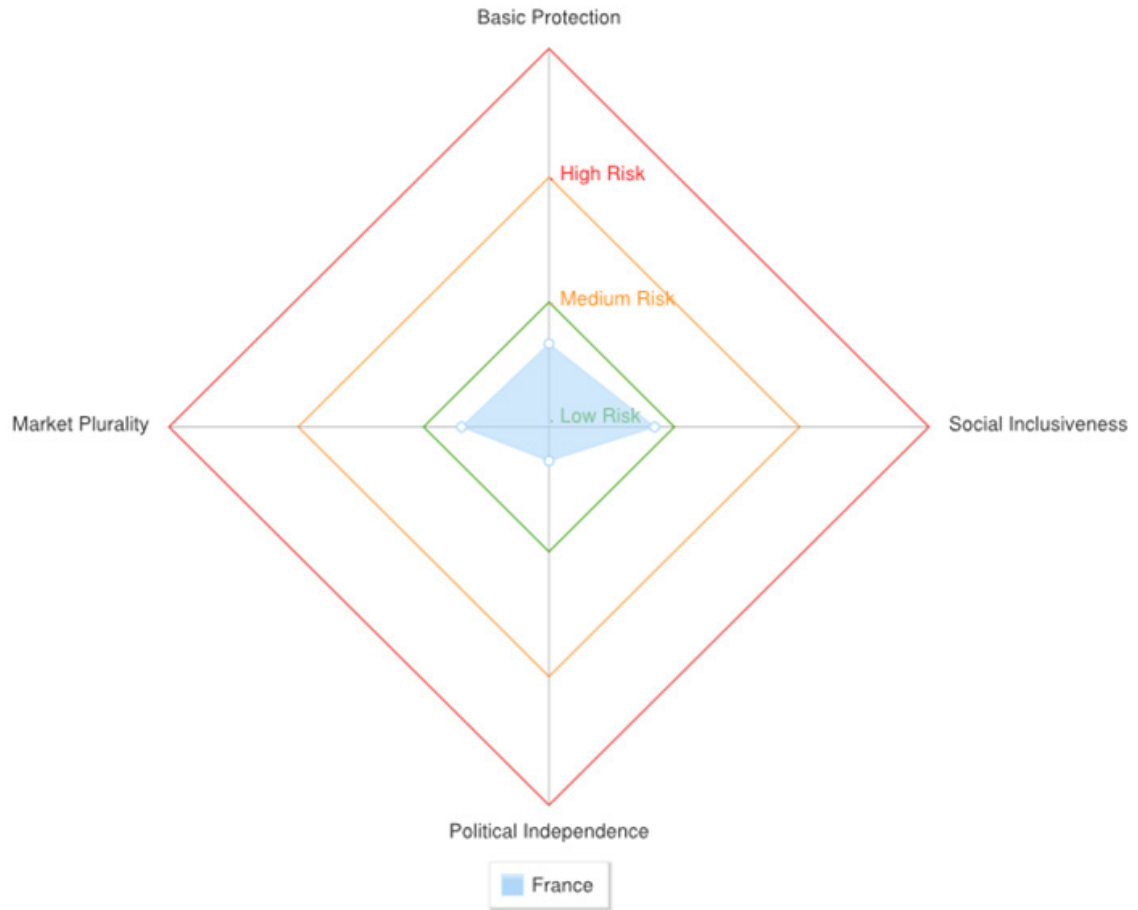
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1 See: «Projet de loi antiterroriste : les risques de l'état d'urgence permanent», 2017, available at [https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2017/09/13/les-risques-de-l-etat-d-urgence-permanent\\_5184887\\_3232.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2017/09/13/les-risques-de-l-etat-d-urgence-permanent_5184887_3232.html)

2 See: «France: Don't 'Normalize' Emergency Powers | Human Rights Watch», 2017, available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/06/27/france-dont-normalize-emergency-powers>

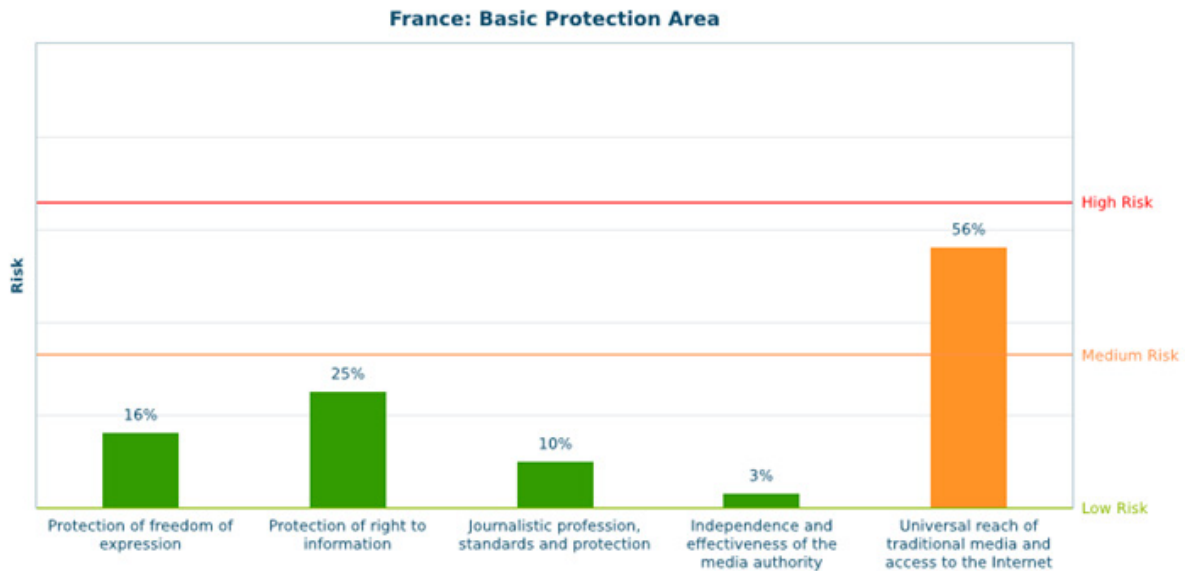


### France: Media Pluralism Risk Areas



### 3.1 BASIC PROTECTION (22% - LOW RISK)

The Basic Protection indicators represent the regulatory backbone of the media sector in every contemporary democracy. They measure a number of potential areas of risk, including the existence and effectiveness of the implementation of regulatory safeguards for freedom of expression and the right to information; the status of journalists in each country, including their protection and ability to work; the independence and effectiveness of the national regulatory bodies that have the competence to regulate the media sector; and the reach of traditional media and access to the Internet.



When observing the indicator on the protection of freedom of expression, France scored 16% risk, which is considered low. The Declaration of the Rights of People and the Citizen (DDHC) of 1789 recognises freedom of expression as a fundamental right – but not an absolute one - and a constitutional right since 1958. However, for three years France has been whipped by the deadly attacks of the Daesh terrorist group. Despite the ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1980) and the European Convention on Human Rights (1950), the obligations of France towards freedom of expression (16%) were put into question by the declaration of the state of emergency. Although initially provisional (3 months), then extended up to six times, and finally integrated into the anti-terrorism law (LOI n° 2017-1510 du 30 Octobre 2017 renforçant la sécurité intérieure et la lutte contre le terrorisme), the controversial measure has ignored warnings from Human Rights Watch as well as other organizations like Amnesty International. The consequences of the state of emergency in the online sphere have also been noted due to the significant rise in requests for suppression of pro-terrorism content. However, according to the 2016 Freedom on the Net report, France generally does not practice politically-motivated blocking of websites.

The indicator on Protection of the right to information scores 25% (low risk). The DDHC recognises the right to information and its specificities and restrictions were defined in the law of 17 July 1978. The Administrative Documents Access Commission (CADA) is the independent authority responsible for ensuring the freedom of access to administrative documents. The massive leaks of the organisation Wikileaks (2010), then Snowden (2013) as well as the financial scandals (Luxleaks, Panama Paper, etc.) have been at the centre of the debates as well as the question of the protection of sources and more particularly, the whistleblowers. In France, the law of 9 December 2016 on transparency, the legislation concerning the fight against corruption and the one related to the modernisation of economic life establish a framework for the protection of whistleblowers (Chapter 2).

The indicator on journalistic profession, standards and protection scores 10% (low risk). This paradigm shift directly concerns journalism. Although the secrecy of sources is legally guaranteed (law of 4 January 2010), the Intelligence Act of 24 July 2015 allows a wide range of officials (police, gendarmes, intelligence agencies and counter-terrorists, as well as several ministries) to monitor directly, in real time and without prior authorization, the use of computers, tablets and smartphones and the collection of metadata (Willsher 2013). However, the measurement of standards and the protection of the journalistic profession shows that risks are still low (10%) due mostly to the fact that the access to the career is open in practice (Article L7111-3 du Code du travail), as well as the protection of journalistic sources, and that there are neither killing of journalists, nor arbitrary arrests.

The indicator on independence and effectiveness of the media authority scores 3% (low risk). The Superior Council





of the Audiovisual (CSA) guarantees the freedom of audiovisual communication. The president of the Republic, the National Assembly and the Senate choose its members. Sanctions imposed by the CSA can directly suspend a broadcast, apply a financial penalty, as well as reduce or withdraw authorisations to broadcast. As indicated in the 2016 annual report, 38,186 e-mails, letters and telephone calls were received by the Council this year, compared to 8,906 in 2015, which means an increase of more than 300%. These results are explained by a better understanding of the input method of the CSA, thanks to a communication adapted to the new digital environment (website and social networks). The independence and effectiveness of the authority do not seem to be questionable (3%).

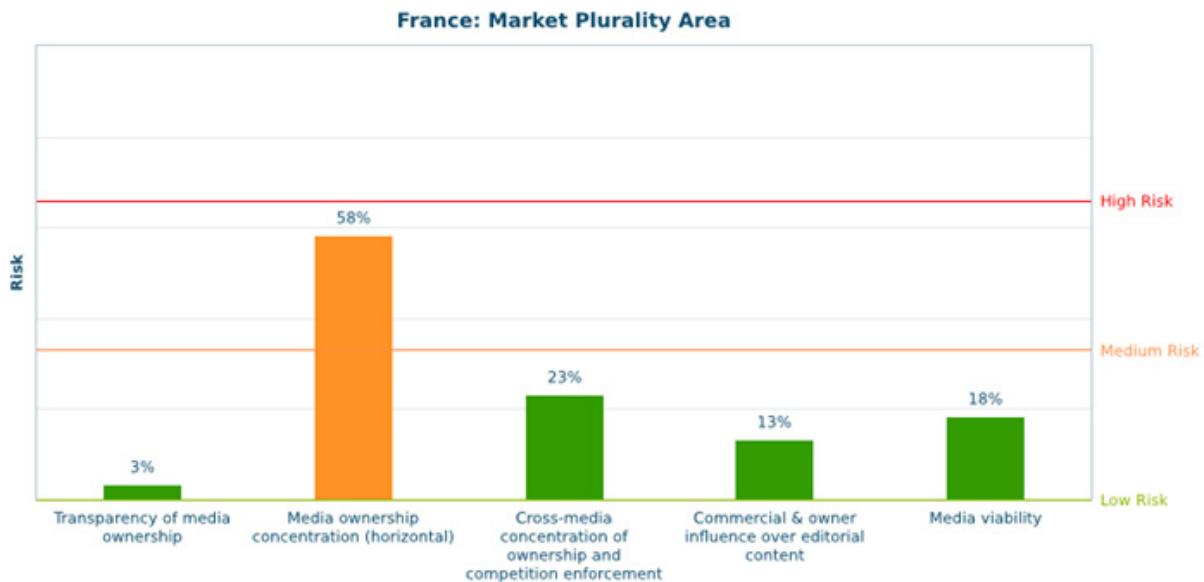
The indicator on the universal reach of traditional media and access to the internet scores 56% (medium risk). The neutrality of the Net is regulated by the law n° 2016-1321 du 7 octobre 2016 pour une République numérique. In France, the Autorité de régulation des communications électroniques et des postes (Arcep) is the authority that regulates telecommunication. His mission is to preserve an Open Internet by ensuring the proper functioning of the Internet, guaranteeing the neutrality of the net, and contributing to the opening of platforms. The neutrality of the internet was at the heart of the news last December, following the repeal in the United States of this founding principle of the Internet and raising fears of the possibility of access to the Internet at several speeds. Universal coverage of PSM has been a constant obligation and is included in the terms of references of France Télévisions as well as Radio France. Article 96-1 of the Law n° 86-1067 du 30 septembre 1986 relative à la liberté de communication states that the national services of television unencrypted over the air digitally are diffused and distributed freely to around 100% of the population in the mainland territory. The evaluation of the universal coverage indicator of traditional media and Internet access shows that the risks measured are medium (56%), due to a low percentage of broadband subscription (78%) and of high speed broadband coverage (50% with 30Mbps). In France, it is regulated by the law of October 7, 2016 for a digital Republic.

The Autorité de régulation des communications électroniques et des postes (Arcep) is the authority that regulates telecommunication. His mission is to preserve an Open Internet by ensuring the proper functioning of the Internet, guaranteeing the neutrality of the net, contributing to the opening of platforms. However, if we see that 78% of French households have a broadband subscription, only 50% have access to high speed broadband (30Mbps). At the same time, it is interesting to observe that the Top Internet Service Provider is –far from the other (Free, 22,4%; SFR, 20,3%; Bouygues Telecom, 11,7%)– Orange (45,5%). According to UFC-Que choisir – a consumer association– the operator has the lowest number of disputes registered compared to its number of subscribers.



### 3.2 MARKET PLURALITY (23% - LOW RISK)

The Market Plurality indicators examine the existence and effectiveness of the implementation of transparency and disclosure provisions with regard to media ownership. In addition, they assess the existence and effectiveness of regulatory safeguards to prevent horizontal and cross-media concentration of ownership and the role of competition enforcement and State aid control in protecting media pluralism. Moreover, they seek to evaluate the viability of the media market under examination as well as whether and if so, to what extent commercial forces, including media owners and advertisers, influence editorial decision-making.



Since 2016, the law aiming at strengthening the freedom, independence, and pluralism of the media obliges the media outlets to indicate the composition of their capital as well as to inform on its management (once a year). Otherwise, public aids could be suspended or withdrawn merely. As a consequence, the transparency indicator of media ownership is relatively low (3%).

The indicator on media ownership concentration (horizontal) scores 58% (medium risk).

The monitoring of the application of anti-concentration mechanisms of the media is in the hands of the CSA. The competition authority controls the concentration operations. To reduce the possibilities of concentration, the capital holding of a person is limited to 49%. It is interesting to note that more than half of the market shares (56%) is held by 4 companies (Groupe Canal+: 44,41% Groupe France television: 25,86%, Groupe TF1: 17,99%, Groupe M6: 11,74%), so same (53%) for the audience (Groupe France television: 31,1%, Groupe TF1: 27,7%, Groupe M6: 16,0%, Groupe Canal +: 6,3%).

For radio, the same authorities are involved in limiting concentration. However, the measurements are different. The cumulative potential public cannot exceed 20% of the cumulative population areas affected by all networks of the same company. The market share is 65% between only 4 media (NRJ: 24% Group RTL: 22% Lagardère Group: 17% Radio France: 2%).

It is interesting to note that there is no specific authority for the regulation of ownership of the press. This is an important contradiction. Indeed, the 9 most important publications in France are in the hands of large groups. The concern is all the greater as the media observatory ACRIMED3 has noted that this recurring practice has increase in recent years.

The CSA asserts that anti-concentration measures in the audio-visual sector are still based on rather rudimentary tools, not necessarily adapted to a world in rapid change and constant evolution. In 2016, the law n° 2016-1524 was adopted to reinforce freedom, independence, and pluralism of the media. However, the latter just proposed to limit the effects, and not to avoid the concentration to occur.

The indicator on cross-media concentration of ownership concentration and competition enforcement scores 23% (low risk). Concerns also lie in cross concentration (23%). Although there is legislation establishing some limits for

3 See: <http://www.acrimed.org/Concentration-des-medias-en-France-et-ailleurs-5456#nb2>

cross-ownership concentration<sup>4</sup>. ACRIMED observes that the concentration of media is getting worse and Reporters Without Borders in 2017 said that the concentration in France is worrying.

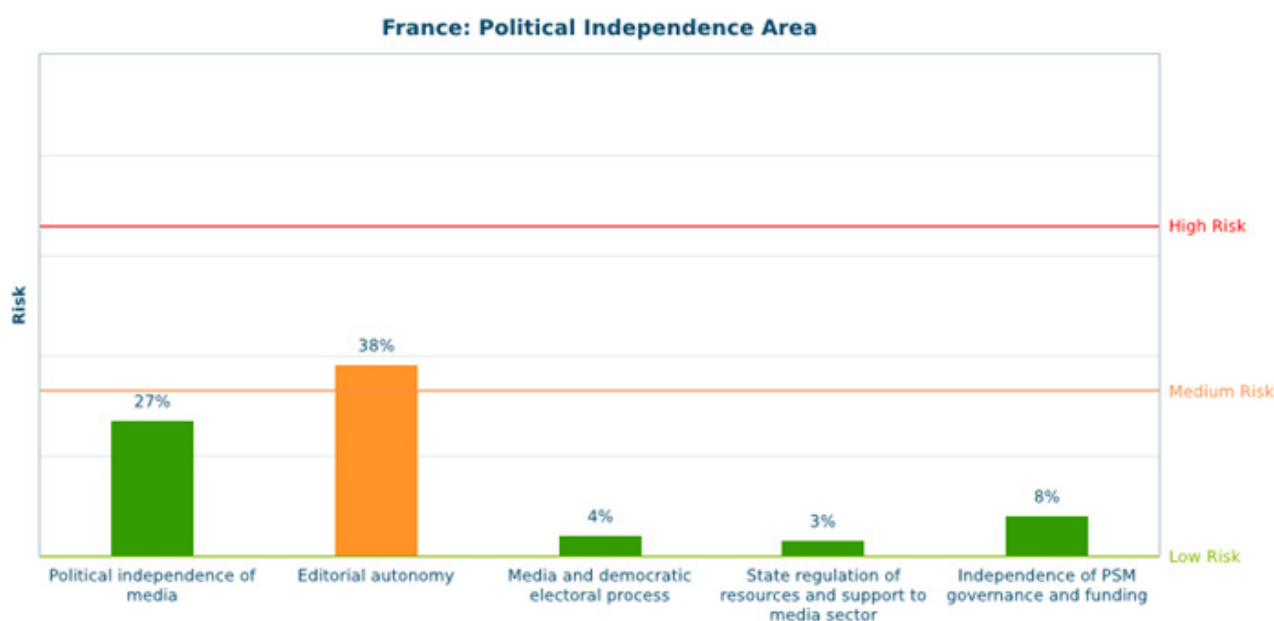
The indicator on commercial and owner influence over editorial content scores low risk (13%). Compared to other employees, French journalists benefit from two exceptional protections: i) the conscience clause (article L7112-5 3° of the Labour Code) when a journalist thinks that there is a substantial change in the character or editorial policy of its company, he/she may decide to leave without notice and with rights to compensation; –ii) the transfer clause (article L7112-5 of the Labour Code) in case of change of ownership, journalists can leave the company without notice and with right to compensation. These regulations are well implemented. The “Journalists’ companies in the print media” must also ensure the protection of journalists to promote freedom of information.

Media owners and other business entities generally refrain from influencing editorial content, but there are nevertheless some serious concerns, such as the Canal+/Bolloré case<sup>5</sup>. In 2017, the “Society of Journalists” (23 media) denounced a very worrying signal about the independence of the media and the protection of sources. It seems important to remember that most media outlets are owned by companies that have business with the State.

The indicator on Media Viability scores low risk (18%). In fact, press support programmes are very important and many of them apply in the form of direct and indirect support. Public funding of the press in France is understood as a guarantee of pluralism.

### 3.3 POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE (16% - LOW RISK)

*The Political Independence indicators assess the existence and effectiveness of regulatory safeguards against political bias and political control over the media outlets, news agencies and distribution networks. They are also concerned with the existence and effectiveness of self-regulation in ensuring editorial independence. Moreover, they seek to evaluate the influence of the State (and, more generally, of political power) over the functioning of the media market and the independence of public service media.*



<sup>4</sup> Article 41 Loi n° 86-1067 du 30 septembre 1986 relative à la liberté de communication (Loi Léotard)

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.telerama.fr/medias/vincent-bolloré-dans-le-viseur-de-reporter-sans-frontières.n5409042.php>

The Political independence area scores an overall 9% risk as there is little evidence of political control over public or private media.

The indicator on Political independence of media scores 27% (low risk).

Political independence-related legal safeguards are well guaranteed in France through several laws, regulators mechanisms and a plurality of players within the media ready to denounce any attempt of influence. The main legal provisions in this area are the ACT no. 2013-907 of 11 October 2013 on transparency in public life, the authorisation power of the frequency spectrum, which is conditioned to the independence of economic or public interests through the Act No 86-1067 of 30 September 1986 on freedom of communication and, since 2014, the Act of 14 of November of 2016 which reinforces freedom, independence and pluralism, which offer new missions to the CSA in order to guarantee freedom, independence and pluralism of information of the emissions. However, some indirect attempts at controlling information are used by politicians to hinder free reporting by refusing journalists' accreditation, publicly expressing mistrust and suspicion towards journalists or questioning fair professional procedures. For example, in 2017, only certain journalists were allowed to cover the visit of President Emmanuel Macron to Mali. This incident was highly denounced and 15 editorial offices signed an open letter to the President of the Republic to transmit "concerns" regarding this decision. Even if there is no direct evidence of political control over newspapers, Serge Dassault, the owner of the national daily newspaper leader of French media Le Figaro, is a major player in France's defence industry and has been for many years been an elected politician for the mainstream right, although he has not held a government post. As a result, indirect influence can take place.

The indicator on Editorial autonomy scores a medium risk (38%).

A non-restrictive law characterises the situation in France in this area regarding appointments and dismissals of editors-in-chief. However, limited evidence of political interference in appointments and removals of editors-in-chief in the last period has been found. To safeguard editorial autonomy, self-regulatory measures are in place- For example, every media outlet had the obligation of having a deontological charter, written jointly and directed by representatives of the journalists before the 1st of July of 2017. The CSA also contributes, through monitoring, to the respect of the deontological principles, and to guaranteeing that economic interests of the shareholders and advertisers do not act against those principles (Act on the Freedom of Communication of the 30th of September 1986; article 3-1). It is mandatory, under the same Act (article 30-8) to establish in every media outlet a committee for honesty, independence, and the pluralism of the information and emissions of political information (Comité relatifs à l'honnêteté, à l'indépendance et au pluralisme de l'information et des programmes). The latter is responsible for contributing to the respect of the deontological principles and for informing the CSA of every act susceptible of breaching those principles.

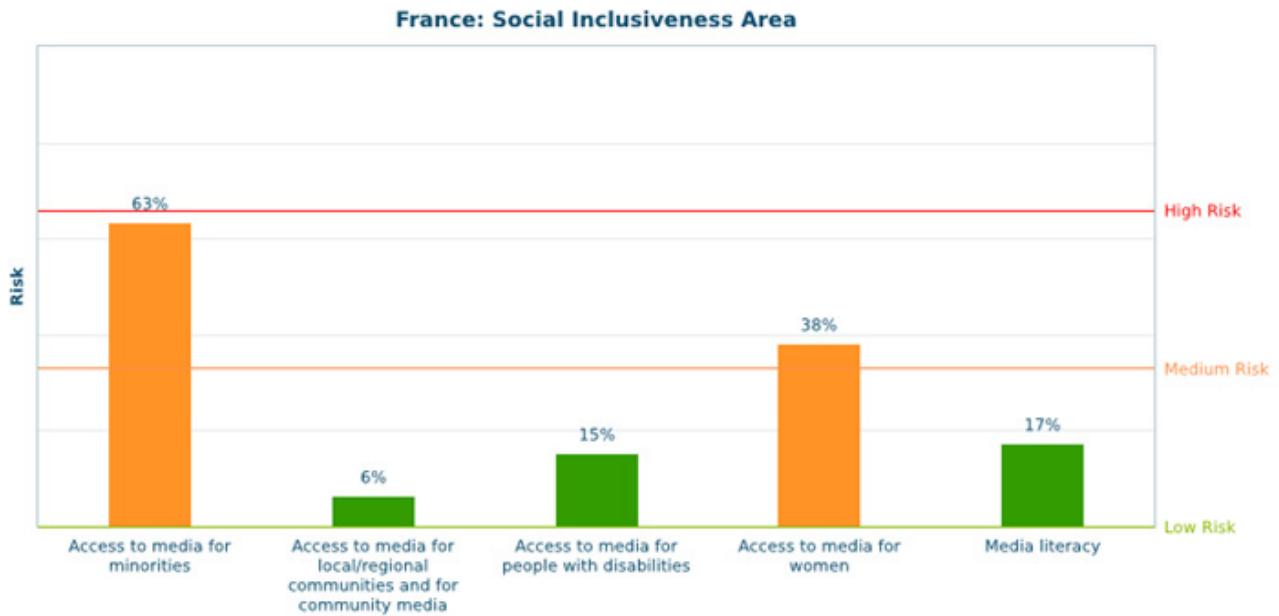
The indicator on Media and democratic electoral process also scores a low risk (4%). The CSA monitors the fair representation of political actors and political viewpoints in the news and informative broadcasts. This process is rigorous and is always in the agenda of politicians and media outlets. According to the reports published by the CSA, fair representation has improved in 2017 in comparison to the results of 2016. Moreover, public and some private televisions are obliged to publish regularly and inform the CSA about the speaking time of the different parties and politicians in election periods and the latter releases recommendations on how to address information during election campaigns and sends formal notice in case of violation of the law.

The Indicator on State regulation of resources and support to the media sector shows minimal risk (3%). Direct subsidies to media outlets are distributed in a fair and transparent manner. Several rules and exceptions are taken into account in the final calculation of subsidies, which divided into three categories: 1) Direct payments (amounts actually paid) 2) The indirect aid (tax and social security reduction, preferential rates with the post office, etc.) 3) Aid to third parties. The transparency of policy is based on the budget information annexed to the Finance Bill, which clarifies the calculation method. Furthermore, amounts and direct payments to the press per beneficiary are publicly available since 2012.

The Public Service Media governance and funding indicator scores at 8% (low risk). The appointments procedures for heads and boards of PSM are laid out by the 1986 law on audiovisual communication, which seeks transparency and is based on the decision of independent members of the CSA, which must be motivated by a good professional career and criteria of competence and experience. On the other hand, financing is implemented with regulatory safeguards in the form of contracts among the State and France Télévision, Radio France, France Media Monde, Arte-France and l'Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, based on a sufficient public discussion procedure.

### 3.4 SOCIAL INCLUSIVENESS (28% - LOW RISK)

The Social Inclusiveness indicators are concerned with access to the media by various groups in society. The indicators assess regulatory and policy safeguards for community media, and for access to media by minorities, local and regional communities, women, and people with disabilities. In addition to access to the media by specific groups, the media literacy context is important for the state of media pluralism. The Social Inclusiveness area therefore also examines the country's media literacy environment, as well as the digital skills of the overall population.



The Social inclusiveness indicators score an average of 28% (low risk) and this increase in comparison to other indicators is related to the risks in the area of access to media for minorities and access to media for women. Access to media for minorities is the indicator that scores at higher risk (63%) in the Social inclusiveness area. This is due to the inaccessibility of data and the difference of approach to the subject in the French context, where the concept of minorities is not recognized and where it is forbidden to collect ethnic statistics. Minorities are not understood in French law as particular groups and therefore, no specific rights are applicable within this legal framework, where all citizens have the same rights and obligations regardless of their origin. The French way of dealing with the issue is through the concept of “diversity”: the standard is to achieve a diversification of people appearing on air so that the diverse backgrounds present in French society can find visibility in programs via journalists, entertainers, candidates, game shows or reality TV, interviewees in news or fictional characters (Obligation by Article 3 of the Law of Communication of 1986). The CSA works systematically in improving the performance of this indicator through its Barometer of diversity, which monitors the presence of diverse people in terms of features, gender, etc. However, this approach is still insufficient in practice. According to the CSA, the overall representation of diversity is getting better in 2017 but is still far from being proportional to the real diversity of French society. The indicator on Access to media for local and regional communities and for community media scores very low risk (6%). The majority of French local TV services benefit from an adequate level of funding. Several mechanisms to support daily and non-daily press coverage of political and general information at local, regional, and national levels also contribute to pluralism and diversity of local media.

The indicator on Access to media for people with disabilities scores low risk (15%).

Several laws require access services for people with disabilities (Law No. 86-1067 of 30 September 1986 on the freedom of communication (Article 33-1) and the Act of 11 February 2005, on equality of rights and chances). Channels whose annual audience exceeds 2.5% of the total audience for television are obliged to offer subtitles and broadcasts accessible to the visually impaired and suitable services to the deaf or hard of hearing. According to the monitoring reports of the CSA, these obligations have been respected during the last period.

The indicator on Access to media for women shows a medium-low risk (38%).

This is the result, on one hand, of a sufficient regulation and the significant efforts taken by the Public Media Service and the CSA in terms of policies to gain gender parity in the media. Among them, we can highlight the presence of a permanent device of monitoring to observe law enforcement as well as concrete commitments from the public media



service in their Contract of Objectives and Means<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, we can observe the challenge of overcoming subtle inequalities regarding factors such as age and the roles women presently assume in public media. If the presence of women among executives and management boards in the PSM is appropriate (67% and 40%, respectively), this figure is almost non-existent in private media services (0 among executives and 5% in management boards).

The indicator on Media literacy scores low risk (17%).

Media literacy policy in France is very comprehensive and a significant amount of resources, standards-setting tools, teacher training, and curricular and non-curricular programs are in place. A solid and complex network of public and private players in the field provide training and media literacy-related activities. However, this decentralisation allows heterogeneity in the implementation of these initiatives and some tendency to be dependent on private actors, especially concerning continuing education. The subject is present in the education curriculum as a separate subject (Media and ICT education) as well as an inter-disciplinary and cross-curricular theme and is part of syllabuses at all stages of education.

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<sup>6</sup> The “Contrat d’Objectifs et de Moyens” is a contract with the State fixing the goals, means, and resources needed by institutions of PSM





## 4. CONCLUSION

In the current ecosystem that learns clumsily to adapt to the new digital rules, the laws that regulate the media in France are complex and necessary. France has put strong legislative foundations in the service of protecting freedom of expression and freedom of the press. Notwithstanding, the terrorist acts that shocked the country showed the limits of a state that preferred to respond by reducing rights rather than establishing a dialogue. In this sense, it is necessary to recall the essential role of journalists in democratic debates.

Parallel to this, the concentration of the media is more and more worrying according to the aforementioned associations. The existence of laws does not seem to be sufficient in stopping the phenomenon, but only in limiting it. In other words, France should adopt more inflexible measures to ensure the pluralism of the media in the near future. It is essentially in the press sector that a specific regulatory authority such as the CSA should be developed.

The Social Inclusiveness indicators are still the most sensible measurements for media pluralism in the country, as France does not address the subject of the heterogeneity of its society through the recognition of minorities, but through the concept of diversity. If minorities are not understood in French law as particular groups, and therefore, no specific rights are applicable, representation of diversity is monitored systematically by the main audiovisual regulatory body, the CSA. More precise tools to accomplish this task are needed, especially concerning information that can be gathered.

Finally, it is relevant to highlight the imbalance between the Public media service and private media regarding the presence of women among their executives and management boards. It is necessary to propose stricter standards of encouraging measures to rectify women's under-representation in prominent positions in the private media.



## ANNEXE 1. COUNTRY TEAM

First name	Last name	Position	Institution	MPM2017 CT Leader (please indicate with X)
Thierry	Vedel	Researcher	SciencesPo	X
Geisel	García-Graña	Research Assistant	SciencesPo	
Marjorie	Grassler	Research Assistant		

## ANNEXE 2. GROUP OF EXPERTS

The Group of Experts is composed of specialists with a substantial knowledge and experience in the field of media. The role of the Group of Experts was to review especially sensitive/subjective evaluations drafted by the Country Team in order to maximize the objectivity of the replies given, ensuring the accuracy of the final results.

First name	Last name	Position	Institution
Nathalie	Sonnac	Commissioner	Conseil Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel
Arnaud	Mercier	School of journalism Paris 2	Director
Olivier	Da Lage	Member of the executive committee	Syndicat national des journalistes / Fédération internationale des journalistes
Alice	Antheaume	Executive director	School of Journalism - Sciences Po
Denis	Rougé	President	Les pieds dans le PAF
Muriel	Guidoni-Deregnaucourt	General Representative	Association des Chaînes Conventionnelles Éditrices de Services
Marie	Pascale	General Director	Syndicat d'éditeurs de la presse magazine





