# Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

# **Shadow Report 2007 on France**



# Coordination Française pour le Lobby Européen des Femmes

NGO in consultative status with ECOSOC

English version

This report was written by the French Coordination for the European Women's Lobby, which is comprised of 80 women's rights organizations. The C.L.E.F. thanks all organizations and women's networks that contributed to this report.

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N.B. The demands and recommendations of the C.L.E.F. are in boldface and in italics at the end of each Article or paragraph.

## Introduction

# Means available to the State for Promoting Women's Rights and Equality between Women and Men

The 6<sup>th</sup> National Report describes the evolution of women's rights in France from April 2002, date of the 5<sup>th</sup> Report. The first part of this Report calls for some comments.

1) Today France has constituted a considerable body of laws on women's rights. The governmental report, in its annex, numbers 22 new laws passed since April 2002.

There are unquestionably numerous advances, such as the law for electing regional Councilors and representatives to the European Parliament, on wearing religious insignia in public schools, on divorce, on founding the High Authority for Combating Discrimination and for Equality (HALDE) (with nonetheless important reservations), the fight against sexist or homophobic discriminatory statements, the prevention and repression of domestic violence. Other texts, on the contrary, such as the law on Internal Security, on Retirement pensions, the law of July 24, 2006 on the admission and residence of foreigners, are very unfavorable to women.

2) The benefits of these laws depend on their application. Some texts favorable to women have suffered from **delay in application**, through lack of political will or long delays in publishing application decrees.

The law of May 4, 2001 on professional equality was practically not applied. For the law of July 4, 2001 on abortion and contraception, it took 3 ½ years for the appearance of the application decree concerning medical abortion enabling women to have abortions with all possible speed. If the law of April 4, 2006 on domestic violence is to be effective, it must be accompanied by regulatory and financial measures for prevention, public action, the protection and asylum of the women victims.

The effects of many laws concerning equality between women and men are **never evaluated** and their effectiveness is thus in doubt.

3) The great number of laws passed does not always provide a holistic or mainstreamed view of gender problems. The culture of **gender** mainstreaming progresses very slowly. There has been no global outline law, such as that on violence adopted in Spain, nor on sexism, long called for by women's organizations.

Nonetheless, there have been governmental initiatives.

- **The Equality Chart** of 2004, the first integrated approach to equality, collectively involves the State, local authorities and actors in the economic and social spheres on several major issues. In the area of education, the Convention on Equality between girls and boys, renewed in 2006, groups 8 ministries in a common project; plans for women's access to decision-making positions are drawn up in all public office.
- **Gender budgeting:** the yellow document annexed to the national budget, analyzes the State's expenditures on women's rights for each Ministry. Since 2006, the Finance law includes a program on "Equality between Men and Women".

However, at present France lacks the authority of a single full Minister in charge of Women's Rights and Equality, able to effectively impose these mainstreaming actions.

**4) The chaotic status of the Minister responsible for Women's Rights** over the past 20 years does not favor credibility. Full Minister of Women's Rights in 1985, then either interministerial Delegate, Secretary of State, Deputy Minister, she often has to combine the duties of Women's Rights with other responsibilities.

In the present government, there is no Minister for Women's Rights. This responsibility, among others, is attributed by decree to a Secretary of State for Solidarity, under the authority of the Minister of Labor, Social Relations and Solidarity. With no appointed Minister, Women's Rights have become invisible.

We ask for a full Minister to be responsible for Women's Rights and Equality between Women and Men, and that she be given a high rank in the government and the necessary authority for promoting the gender dimension in public policies.

5) The presence of women Ministers in the government, a strong symbol at the top, has greatly progressed recently. The number of women had been reduced from 30% in April, 2002 to 25% in May, 2004, then to 20% in June, 2005.

The President of the Republic elected on May 6, 2007, announced a parity government. There is indeed parity among full Ministers, and some women have important Ministries, e.g., Finance, the Interior, Justice.

Parity is not maintained, however, when Deputy ministers are included, with 11 women Ministers out of 32. However, this is 34.3% and a distinct improvement over previous governments. A notable innovation is the promotion of women representing diversity.

We ask for a parity government, like those of Spain and Sweden.

### 6) We ask for a stronger role for partners of the State.

Parliamentary delegations for Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities, both in the Senate and in the National Assembly who, since their creation by the law of July 12, 1999, have accomplished considerable legislative progress, should be granted greater powers in the legislative process.

We ask that the periodic governmental Reports on CEDAW be communicated to them by the Presidents of both Houses.

The Parity Observatory, presided over by the Prime Minister, has thus far devoted itself primarily to political parity. With greater resources, it should be able to extend its work to cultural, economic and social areas, so as to effectively fulfill the broad missions granted it from its inception.

**Numerous organizations** promote women's rights, with regard to violence against women among other issues. They cooperate with the government, its regional departments and local authorities.

We ask that they receive greater financial support and that they be more closely associated with structures such as the Parity Observatory and the High Authority for Combating Discrimination and for Equality (HALDE). They should automatically have seats on the Boards of these bodies.

# Article 1 Discrimination

# **Definition of discrimination against women**

# 1. FOR A CODE OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND A SPECIFIC DEFINITION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN.

French legislation still has **no specific definition of discrimination against women**. The penal code only defines discrimination that is punishable by law: sexism, sexual orientation and family situation offenses; the same three discriminations are defined by the employment code in the workplace.

We ask for a Code of Women's Rights, grouping all the legislation currently spread over various codes. This would facilitate teaching and information on the issue. This code should include a specific and exhaustive definition of direct and indirect discrimination against women.

### 2. INCRIMINATING A NEW DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN: PREGNANCY

The law of March 23, 2006 broadened the provisions for combating gender-based discrimination **to include pregnancy**, particularly in employment; this also implements a European directive of 2002.

These provisions comply with Article 11 of the CEDAW Convention on protecting pregnant women. We are happy with this addition to the list of discriminations against women.

# Article 2 Policy Measures

# 1. FOUNDING THE HIGH AUTHORITY TO COMBAT DISCRIMINATION AND PROMOTE EQUALITY (HALDE)

This institution, created by the law of December 30, 2004, complies with **Article 2.c**) of **CEDAW**, recommending that competent tribunals or other public institutions ensure effective protection for women against all discriminatory acts

It also complies with the European Directive of 2002 to create bodies to combat discrimination. An independent administrative authority with a broad range of competence, it was expected to deal with all direct or indirect discriminations punishable by law.

# 1.1 Too few complaints concern gender discrimination

The HALDE receives more and more complaints (4000 in 2006, 6000 foreseen for 2007). Half of them concern employment and nearly half of these are from women. However, only 3% are from women accusing gender bias.

In fact, women tend to deny, minimize or hide the discriminations of which they are victims, in a multi-discrimination context. They hesitate to undertake a long and risky judicial process.

Sexist discriminations require more appropriate handling and should be governed by a separate body, perhaps within the HALDE, but specifically devoted to gender discrimination.

We ask that the HALDE undertake a project of information and communication towards women, relayed by women's organizations and by trade unions. The aim should be to highlight specific gender discriminations and to encourage and help women to denounce them.

It must be recalled that organizations whose aim is to combat gender discrimination can only apply to the HALDE together with the victim and, of course with her consent. The HALDE is supposed to be at the service of women.

This is practically never used because it is so restrictive. Organizations should be allowed to represent women victims of discrimination who are often afraid to be named in such cases.

## 1.2 Not enough women in the HALDE

Despite the balanced representation recommended by the texts, there are too few women in the HALDE. There are only 3 out of 11 women in the "Collège" and 6 out of 18 in the Consultative Council. Women's associations per se should also have at least one seat in this Council.

#### 2. PROGRESS: THE CONDEMNATION OF SEXIST REMARKS IN THE MEDIA

The law of December 30, 2004 represents progress in **combating discriminatory sexist** remarks in the media.

The provisions incriminating sexist remarks were introduced as amendments to the law creating the HALDE, thanks to the mobilization of women's organizations and women Parliamentarians. They establish equal treatment for discriminatory remarks made about

women and about homosexuals and Lesbians. Henceforth, **insults and defamation** are similarly punished, whether they target **women**, **sexual orientation or handicapped persons**. Provoking hatred, violence or discrimination for reasons of gender, sexual orientation or

handicap will receive the same punishment as racist offenses.

We ask however that these provisions not be limited to discrimination only in the areas of employment, housing and services, but be applied to all areas of life in which they exist.

### 3. STIGMATIZING LESBOPHOBIA; TO RECOGNIZE AND RESPECT LESBIAN IDENTITY

Discrimination for reasons of sexual orientation concerns not only homosexuals but also Lesbians and transsexites. However, this recognition of lesbophobic discrimination by remarks and insults remains implicit.

Lesbophobia is still a hidden reality, despite more open-minded public opinion on this issue. Lesbophobia is shown by negating Lesbian identity, since it does not correspond to the dominant male image of heterosexuality. The result is invisibility and exclusion of Lesbians, both in families and in society, great personal discomfort and rejection, as shown by insults, threats, and sexual aggression, e.g., rape.

Discrimination is also current in the economy: in hiring, employment, when seeking lodgings.

We ask the authorities to take all preventive measures and effective sanctions to enable Lesbians to enjoy the same respect, dignity and protection as other citizens, among others when seeking employment, when in the workplace, in seeking lodging, and for them to be granted the right to marry and be parents.

# 4. MIGRANT WOMEN, VICTIMS OF DUAL DISCRIMINATION

# 4.1 Discrimination in regulations and practice of reuniting families.

Numerous women, whether foreign or born of immigrant parents, are victims of dual discrimination, both **as women and as foreigners**, because of strong social and family oppression and of **more and more restrictive immigration laws**.

Many women immigrants are subject **to** the laws of their country of origin, because of Article 3 of the Civil Code and of Bilateral Conventions.

They often arrive in France through the extremely selective process of "**reuniting families**". As such, they have temporary resident cards. They can be **victims of repudiation by their husbands**. They may also immigrate as **wives of Frenchmen** (often from the same country of origin), who can then reject them or ask for a divorce.

The required delay for living together, necessary to obtain a Resident Card, was upgraded from two to three years by the Law of July 24, 2006. This can have grave consequences. **If cohabitation ends sooner than 3 years: the Resident Card can be withdrawn or its renewal refused**. The years of waiting often cause dependency on the husband and servitude to his family

Further, the separation can take place even before the wife has obtained her first resident card. In this case, she has no recourse whatever and her status is illegal.

We ask that repudiation, illegal under French law, be effectively considered contrary to the principle of equality between women and men inscribed in the 1946 Constitution as well as in the European Convention of Human Rights.

Since 2003, in cases of domestic violence, a foreign woman having received a resident card by reason of her marriage can leave her husband and obtain the renewal of her card. However, this renewal, which should be a right, in fact depends on the discretionary power of the Prefect. If the court does not succeed in condemning the aggressor, the resident card is not renewed.

We ask that resident cards be systematically renewed for women victims of domestic violence, and not depend on the outcome of the judiciary process, and that a first resident card be issued to women victims in cases of domestic violence, when such violence takes place after arrival in France.

# 4.2 Discrimination towards illegal women residents

Foreign women without resident cards live in very precarious conditions, **made worse by the Circular of June 13, 2006**. This apparently well-intentioned text allowed legal residency to families with heretofore illegal status (no resident cards) who had lived in France for two years and **whose children attended school regularly**. It concerned numerous women immigrants, either married or single parents. Of the 33,500 files corresponding to the circular's requirements and duly sent in, only 6,900 obtained a one year resident card, because arbitrary quotas had been set. Thousands of women and families were therefore thrown back into illegality, and risked being deported from the country, since their names and addresses were now known.

We request that these files be re-examined and that all those women and parents of children who attend school regularly, who are in conformity with the requirements of the circular be granted the right to reside legally in France

### 5. DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN IN OVERSEAS TERRITORIES

Women in overseas Departments (DOM): Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guiana and the Réunion, in overseas Collectivities (COM): Saint Pierre and Miquelon, Mayotte, Wallis and Futuna), in French Polynesia and in New Caledonia suffer from specific discriminations and stronger inequalities both for economic reasons and because of local customs.

# 5.1 In the DOM, stronger inequalities than in continental France

These women have a higher rate of unemployment, insufficient training and are employed in little skilled jobs. With regard to health, contraception is less used, and therefore recourse to voluntary abortion is more frequent, especially by young girls (See art. 12). The number of cases of AIDS is far higher, particularly in Guiana. More than in continental France, women of the DOM are victims of sexism and violence.

## 5.2 In Overseas Collectivities, the Legal Situation of Women must be clarified.

In some of these territories, there is at the same time a personal status of common law, regulated by the French civil code and a personal status of local custom that must nonetheless respect the principles of French law, in particular with regard to equal rights for women and men.

**In Mayotte**, in order for the local law governing personal status to conform to Republican principles, a law of July, 2003 forbade polygamy and repudiation. Divorce by common law is applicable in all cases of divorce between persons subject to local custom.

In New Caledonia, Kanak women are subject to local custom but can choose common law. They are often victims of strong family pressure and of conjugal violence. More and more of them, especially young women, ask for common law to be applied, in particular where the penal code is involved, so that conjugal violence, often hidden by the clan, can be made public and judged.

We ask for a specific Report on the economic, social and legal situation of overseas women, relating to equal rights between women and men, with specific attention to violence against women, to be drawn up by the public authorities as soon as possible.

We also ask that no provision of local custom laws contrary to the laws of the Republic, particularly with regard to equality, be henceforth applicable.

### 6. DISCRIMINATION IN HOW WOMEN ARE ADDRESSED

The habit of calling women "Miss" or "Mrs." is widespread, both socially and in administrative and professional practice. It constitutes a violation of personal life, flagrant discrimination towards women according to their marital status and an inequality between women and men who, throughout their lives are called "Mr.", whatever their marital status.

The right to a legal name for French citizens is the same for men and women; the family and given names are legally those of the Birth Certificate. Married women can refuse any other names. Similarly, women can refuse to be called "Miss". But administrations often refuse to follow this.

We ask that instructions be given to administrations so that celibate women, having so requested, can be called "Madame", in all official forms and documents, and for the only legal name, that of birth, to be systematically retained for married women.

# Article 3 Guarantee of Basic Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

# Promotion of Women's Human Rights and Gender Equality

For a more effective promotion of women's rights in France, a full Minister charged with this is essential.

We ask that the Minister in charge of Women's Rights and Equality between Women and Men have a high rank in the government, so as to be able to impose equality in public policies. We also ask that this Ministry be a permanent one.

The appropriate Minister has a Service of Women's Rights and Equality within the Ministry of Labor. This Service has a large number of missions to perform to promote women's rights. In order for this Service to have the authority necessary to practice mainstreaming within the administration, we ask the government to transform it into a full Ministerial Direction.

We also ask that the Regional Delegates for Women's Rights and for Equality between Women and Men and their local representatives have more means of action and greater financial means to effectively implement progress on the local level, particularly with regard to employment, and that the national network of Centers of Information and Documentation on the Rights of Women and Families (CIDFF), whose mission is one of public service and that provide women with free legal information, essential for the defense of their rights, be strengthened.

# Article 4 Temporary Special Measures

# 1. IN POLITICAL LIFE (see Art. 7)

Application of the parity principle, compulsory for list elections by proportional representation, such as senatorial, European, regional and municipal elections, had immediate and positive results.

In legislative elections, however, the parity principle depends on non-compulsory measures, i.e. financial penalties for political parties that do not respect parity candidacies. These penalties have had little or no effect

The law of January 31, 2007 extends the parity principle to regional and municipal boards. For legislative elections, it only strengthens the financial penalties applied to parties that do not present parity lists.

We ask for specific and compulsory parity measures to ensure parity in the National Assembly.

#### 2. FEMINIZATION OF TOP PUBLIC POSITIONS

At the end of 2003, women occupied 10.3% of top jobs in governmental positions: 4.2% in civil administrations, 13.5% in legal administration, 7.3% in higher education and research (see Article 10); 1/1% in defense administration, according to the last report of the Pilot Committee for equal access of women and men to higher public positions.

Women progress very slowly here. **Pluriannual Plans for improving their access**, that exist in several Ministries, have not proved very effective.

In the most prestigious positions that depend on governmental decision, the situation of women is still worse. There are 26 out of 185 women Directors of central administrations, 6 out of 109 Prefects, 7 out of 31 Rectors of Academies and 21 out of 179 Ambassadors, according to a recent report of the Economic and Social Council on Women in Decision-making positions.

The same is true for **Ministerial Cabinets**, composed primarily of upper civil servants and where there are still few women. In 2004, they were close to 30%.

This is also the case for women obtaining high national distinctions. In the July 14, 2007 **promotion of the Legion of Honor**, women were 23.3%. Are women then less deserving than men for services rendered to the nation?

Promotions and nominations of women to decision-making positions contribute greatly to these positions. We ask for positive action measures to favor their access to such top public positions, and for specific objectives to be set and regular evaluations of progress to be recorded. The government must set the example in those positions, which depend on it alone.

# **Article 5 Sex Role Stereotyping and Prejudice**

Sexist stereotypes are still strongly present in French political parties, as was shown by the **sexist remarks** following the announcement **of a woman candidate for the Presidency of the Republic**. The insulting comments on her person, her appearance, her supposed incompetence underlined the still fairly wide-spread feeling, at least in political parties, that a woman has no place at the Head of the State,

Governments must gradually contribute to the evolution of behavior by changing mentalities in schools (see Article 10) and by combating the dissemination of prejudice by communication.

#### 1. COMBATING DISCRIMINATORY REMARKS

We are glad of the Law of December 28, 2004 that strengthens the combat against sexist remarks (see Article 2 § 2) and that condemns all insults and defamations, **however they are disseminated**, whether verbally, in writing, by images or by all other means, including electronic communication.

#### 2. COMBATING STEREOTYPES IN THE MEDIA AND IN ADVERTISING

Audio-visual media are today the principal vectors of gender stereotypes. The image of women in the media is scarcely positive, too often limited to home and children or else to roles of seduction. Studies have shown that when women's activities are mentioned in the media, 80% of the time, they are house-keeping or parental, 45% concern celebrities and only 12% mention their political, economic or scientific responsibilities.

With the exception of televised news broadcasts, information primarily concerns men, and physical criteria, unimportant for men, are determining factors where women are concerned.

The dominant culture remains male, in particular because of the limited number of women journalists and also because these are so seldom in top positions. They are often paid at space rates and are paid less than men. Numerous at the intermediate level, they gradually disappear as one goes up the hierarchical ladder. Women are mostly absent from top management positions.

This situation, in total contradiction to the equality principle, is hard to change. It requires an in-depth change in culture, and many television programs are farmed out and thus not controlled by the French Channels.

Nonetheless, the government can intervene through the Higher Audiovisual Council, (CSA) currently composed of nine members, five of whom are women.

One of the CSA's missions is to safeguard fundamental rights, ethics and program quality. **Its** action in the area of equality seems wholly insufficient.

### We ask:

- that Article 1 of the Law of 1986 be amended to explicitly include respect for equality between men and, that this also be explicitly stated in the Charter governing French television and in the specifications of French television companies.
- that the CSA (Higher Audiovisual Council) strengthen its recommendation power so as to ensure that public audiovisual media fully respect the principle of equality,
- that in cases of serious failures, the CSA apply appropriate sanctions,

- that the authorities launch consciousness-raising programs aimed at top media management and media professionals as well as in the curricula of Journalism Schools with regard to the fight against gender stereotypes and sexist discrimination,.

**Sexist advertising** in towns and in the press is a violation of women's dignity. The most degrading images of women posted in recent years, are less visible today, thanks to a concerted action by the Ministry charged with Parity and the Advertising Verifying Office (BVP). But such images reappear periodically.

We ask that the Advertising Verifying Office (BVP)'s control be strengthened and that advertisers using degrading and humiliating images of women be considered illegal and subject to penalties.

#### 3. COMBATING PORNOGRAPHIC PRODUCTION

Numerous Web sites sell pornographic cassettes and DVDs and, in all impunity, films of rape and of domestic violence that particularly violate human dignity and encourage sexist violence. In sex-shops, whole shelves of pornographic, rape, gang rape and domestic violence films are offered to clients. These complacent representations of sexist violence against women are intolerable and are, in fact, equivalent to encouraging sexist violence. They must be firmly fought, as must the incitation to violence and the degrading images and prose in magazines of pornographic production.

We denounce governmental laxity in this area and ask the State to exercise effective control over the dissemination of these pornographic supports.

# Article 6 Prostitution

Since France's last Report to the CEDAW Committee, the situation has scarcely improved. A few organizations have received some support for specific projects, but the general tendency has been to drastically cut credit lines and in fact to eliminate subsidies for organizations that work on trafficking and prostitution.

The whole notion of linking equality, violence against women and help for women victims of trafficking and prostitution is totally absent from grass roots actions undertaken in France. Aid is provided only in the framework of social rehabilitation.

The first excellent Report published in 2000 by the Senate Committee on Women's Rights and on Equality between women and men, entitled "Public Policies and Prostitution", showed how the subject was divided up between different ministries and the ensuing lack of political coherence. In the conclusions of the Report by the Secretariat on Women's Rights and Professional Training in 2002, the same omissions hold, and they are proof of a lack of political will to shape a global and effective policy of prevention and of aid to victims of trafficking and prostitution.

We do, however, recognize with pleasure some strengthening of human resources, albeit still sadly insufficient, of the Central Office for the Repression of Trafficking in Human Beings.

The March 18, 2003 Law on "internal security" was a serious step backward and gravely endangered women in prostitution, victims of trafficking and of prostitution and, more broadly, women en general. Article 18 of that law introduced the offence of soliciting, "even by a passive attitude". Any woman suspected of being a prostitute thus risks spending two months in prison and paying a fine of 3750 Euros. France thereby became the first country in the European Union to consider women in prostitution, or suspected of being so, as criminals.

That law on soliciting is applied only to women prostitutes and never to clients, although the client could be prosecuted in certain circumstances. It makes women still more vulnerable to pimps and to policemen, and prevents any possibility of creating relations of confidence between them and the police.

# This law runs counter to the Human Rights Principles inscribed in the United Nations Convention of 1949 and of CEDAW, which forbids considering victims as delinquents.

Further, those whose identity papers are not in order are only protected in exchange for their collaboration with the police, an extremely dangerous collaboration for them. Many women who, despite having borne witness, did not receive identity papers and were then considered illegal and could be expelled from France.

It is true that some resources have been granted to set up safe shelters for victims of trafficking, but this support is more symbolic than truly effective. It involves only a limited number of victims. This is partly because of lack of space, just as for victims of domestic violence, and also because of the lack of funding in general for grass roots organizations or structures.

The law allows for prosecuting clients of certain kinds of prostituted persons: minors and women considered particularly vulnerable. But such vulnerability is defined as "due to illness, infirmity, a physical or psychological deficiency or being pregnant". It ignores economic vulnerability, the effects of violence, and the severe physical and psychological attacks on victims of trafficking and prostitution.

Very few clients have been prosecuted in application of these criteria. Many young girls, minors, in particular Nigerians, are prostituted in France, and the clients are never troubled.

This shows the limitations of the adult/child distinction. Pimps order young girls to tell police that they are 18.

France thereby flouts its commitments to the United Nations Convention of 2000 on Organized Transnational Crime and its Protocol on Trafficking. The latter states, in its Article 9.5: "The States parties must adopt or strengthen their legislative or other measures to discourage demand...".

France later backed the resolution of the Commission on the Status of Women in 2005 asking States to eliminate demand.

We congratulate the initiative taken by the Minister of Sports in 2006, who launched a campaign "We Will Not Be Accomplices" before the World Football Cup in Germany. A 30 second television clip was shown on different channels in prime time and also at the friendly France/Mexico match at the Stadium of France before 20,000 spectators in May, 2006.

We also want to congratulate the commitment made by the largest French political parties, from left to right, in the world-wide campaign organized by the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW) "Buying Sex is not Sport", concerning this World Cup`

This shows, if it were necessary, that there can be consensus on this issue and that, whatever government is in place, it must give priority to punishing demand.

Aside from the Ministry of Sports, no other government authority engaged in any significant campaign on this, neither the Ministry delegated to Social Cohesion and Parity, nor the Ministries of National Education or of Defense, who should all have equally mobilized to prevent trafficking and prostitution by undertaking important actions against "demand".

Since France's last Report, the international community has adopted new norms; the UN adopted a code of conduct in 2005, forbidding all its personnel to engage in prostitution, even in countries that have legalized it. NATO adopted a similar code for its military personnel in 2005.

We ask France to adopt a code of conduct prohibiting French military personnel from resorting to prostitution, especially in the Ivory Coast, in Afghanistan or in the FINUL. Such a code of conduct should include sanctions.

We ask that women prostitutes no longer be treated as delinquents and that the offense of soliciting be taken off the books, that they be granted resident cards with no strings attached, (no obligation to lodge complaints or bear witness) and that they benefit effectively from all support measures foreseen by law (protection, housing, help in reinsertion...).

We ask that a real policy of information and prevention be carried out, by campaigns of sensitization towards the young, and that penalization of clients at last be organized.

# Article 7 Political and Public Life

After the legislative elections of June, 2007, France had 18.5% women in the National Assembly. This placed her  $57^{th}$  among parliaments world-wide, between Venezuela and Nicaragua and below the European average of 19.8%.

### 1. Women's Progress in Proportional Elections since 2002

# 1.1 Massive Arrival of Women in Elected Assemblies...

The laws of June 6, 2000 on parity and of July 30, 2003 on regional and European elections both had very positive effects on the number of women elected in all proportional elections.

Municipal elections of 2001: (towns of more than 3 500 inhabitants) 47,5% (25,7% in 1995).

European elections of 2004: 43,6%

Regional elections of 2004: **47,6**% (27,5% in 1998).

Proportional Senatorial elections June 2004: 29 women out of 83 newly elected senators, i.e., **34.9%.** The Senate now has **16.9% of women**.

### 1.2 But Few in Local Executives

Women, however, rarely head the lists, and they tend to be blocked from access to top responsibilities: only 1 woman is a regional President out of 26, and only 10.9% of women are Mayors of a town. Women are not sufficiently present on local boards.

# 2. SLIGHT PROGRESS IN LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS...

## 2.1 The National Assembly in 2002 and in 2007

With regard to uninominal legislative elections, the law of June 6, 2000 financially penalized political parties that did not present 50% candidates of both sexes. This attempted only to incite, reduced subsidies to parties.

In the legislative elections of June 2002, the number of elected women deputies rose from 63 to 71, or 12.3%.

In the 2007 elections, political parties improved the number of women candidates: 46% for the Socialist Party and 30% for the UMP. 107 were elected, i.e., 18.5%.

The Socialist Party doubled the number of women elected (from 23 to 48, i.e. 25.8%. The UMP had 45 women elected, i.e. 14%.

Progress is slow. The system of financially penalizing parties that do not present parity lists, is clearly not effective.

### 2.2 The Senate Goes Backwards

The law of July 30, 2003, modifying the electoral process for the Senate, in fact resulted in less parity by re-establishing election by absolute majority in Departments that have less than three senators. In these Departments, the number of women went from 20% to 4.8% between 2001 and 2004.

The government must re-establish the previous method of proportional representation with parity obligation for Departments with three senators.

### 3. A New Parity Law on January 31, 2007

# 3.1. Better Representation of Women on Local Executives

For Regional executives, a parity obligation is imposed in elections when voting proportionally for members out of a list, such as for Regional Executive and for Regional Vice-Presidents. For municipal executives, there is also a parity obligation when electing Deputy Mayors out of a list.

This must be taken further. We ask:

- to apply proportional elections to towns of between 2000 to 3500 inhabitants (smaller towns can continue to use the uninominal majority vote
- to extend parity to delegates appointed to inter city structures which, today, are the new decision-making structures.

# 3.2. Elections for Departmental General Councils: a Start on Reform

These Councils remain a bastion of male power; women only number 10.4%.

The law foresees alternates for General Councilors; Councilor and alternate must be of different sexes. This is a way of favoring parity by enabling women to become Councilors whenever a place becomes vacant. This reform, however, only enables women to enter General Councils very slowly and does not solve the necessary change in electoral methods. There must be in-depth reflection on this subject.

# 3.3 Legislative Elections: an Unsatisfactory Reform

The law increases the financial penalty incurred by political parties that do not respect parity among candidates proposed for legislative elections.

Since the mechanism of financial dissuasion, albeit strengthened, has not been modified, we doubt the new provisions will be effective for the 2012 elections.

Other solutions must be planned.

- link public aid to political parties to the number of women elected,
- introduce a certain number of Deputy seats to be elected by a proportional system with parity lists; more women would then be automatically elected to the National Assembly.

More radical measures are needed in the long term. The system of concentrating male power by allowing plurality of offices and these being renewable many times must be revised.

To allow only one office to be held at a time by the same parliamentarian would provide space for more women candidates.

To limit the number of times the same person can be reelected to the same office would rapidly ensure a renewal of deputies that would benefit younger people and women.

The positive effects of more women in Regional and Municipal Councils have produced changes in stereotyping in politics. Positions of power no longer seem "naturally" reserved to men. This made it possible to have a woman candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, well accepted by public opinion, although political parties still showed great reticence.

The coming years must see greater efforts made within political parties, so that more women can be elected to top national positions, e.g. Presidents of the National Assembly and the Senate, Presidents of Committees and Political groups, and also so that within political parties themselves, more women hold top positions, both on national and local levels.

# Article 10 Education

#### 1. SCHOLASTIC AND PROFESSIONAL ORIENTATION OF GIRLS

# 1.1 Too few women in science

Scholastic and professional orientation, throughout the entire cycle, push girls toward literature and third sector jobs, while boys are directed to scientific training and production. Scientists have voiced their alarm at this loss of competence and of talent, prejudicial both to scientific careers and to research.

Girls succeed better than boys in school: 68% (over a whole generation) of girls obtained their baccalaureate degrees, as compared to 56% of boys.

However, girls are not oriented toward the same sections for the Baccalaureate; they represent 46% of the scientific section and 82% in the liberal arts, 96% in medical and social science sections and only 8% in technical and industrial science sections. These differences are reproduced in higher education. More numerous than boys in the first University years (57%), they are 75% of the language sections, 68% of medicine and 30% of science sections. Boys are a majority in the preparatory classes for the Engineering Schools, in the University Institutes of Technology and in the Engineering schools themselves, where girls are only 25%.

# 1.2 Influence of Stereotypes

The in-depth reasons for this orientation are linked to the attitude of all those charged with advising and orienting the young: teachers, instructors, orientation advisers, parents, all strongly influenced by the stereotypes still frequent in our society, concerning the traditional image of women, the roles they should play, the professions they should take up.

Similarly, there are insidious prejudices attached to the supposed difficulty of scientific subjects, the ignorance concerning scientific professions and industry..

These influence the behavior of many teachers toward their pupils. From elementary school on, there is a supposed superiority of boys in mathematics and of girls in literature. In secondary schools, professors often discourage girls as to their scientific competence, while boys with the same results, are systematically encouraged by their teachers.

The role models in school programs and textbooks strengthen these tendencies

Little attention is paid in school programs to contributions of women to knowledge and ideas, particularly in history and literature but also in science. The curricula do not integrate the social and political history of women, save very exceptionally by occasionally mentioning great heroines.

The role of women in history books remains marginal. Universal suffrage, granted in 1848 in France is always presented as "universal", forgetting that women only obtained the right to vote in 1944.

# 1.3 Rehabilitating women in history and science. Improved orientation of girls

A number of positive initiatives to improve orientation for girls have taken place in recent years: information campaigns to improve access of girls to scientific fields, scholarships for research in industry, e.g. the Irene Joliot-Curie Prize, a number of symposia.

Nonetheless, according to the **M**inistry of National Education, the proportion of girls in scientific or technological sections in final years of secondary schools only increased by 2,6% between 1997 and 2003.

Thus the Interministerial Convention, renewed and signed on June 29, 2006, prioritizes the improvement of scholastic and professional orientation of girls.

Its objective is to have 20% of girls in scientific sections of secondary schools by 2010.

To improve scholastic and professional orientation for girls, action must be taken very early to combat the effects of stereotypes and prejudices in schools.

#### We ask:

- In the IUFM (Teacher Training University Institutes), for future teachers to be made aware of the gender problem and for compulsory training for equality between women and men.
- To visibly integrate, in programs and textbooks, women in history as early as elementary school, not only the most important female figures in political, social and scientific history, but history itself taught with a gender angle, the evolving social relations between the sexes, women's struggles to obtain their rights.
- Develop the critical spirit of students: for teachers to make them aware of the origin and persistence of gender prejudices, such as specific social roles and gender conceptions of training and of professions.
- Restore the confidence of girls in their scientific capabilities, for teachers to help them combat the "automatic selection" mechanisms and to orient them toward scientific fields.

We also ask for a complete revision of the orientation procedure by:

- Rehabilitating science for girls by actions of promotion and communication, e.g., prizes and scientific stipendiums, organizing regular exchanges with industry and large research structures (training periods, visits, meetings, lectures,...)
- Involving the entire education community in orientation: teachers, as well as principal professors, class councils, orientation counselors, parents, School Boards
- Better training for orientation counselors as to knowledge of professions and the employment market
- Organizing a vast public service of school and professional orientation.

# 2. EDUCATION FOR EQUALITY BETWEEN GIRLS AND BOYS

Co-education, obligatory for more than 30 years, has not succeeded in creating equality between girls and boys, and in recent years there has been increased violence and sexist behavior in and out of schools, particularly in certain neighborhoods. The 2006 Convention explicitly highlights prevention and combating sexist violence, as well as promoting mutual respect between girls and boys.

# 2.1 Training for Equality

It is essential to train teachers and all actors in the education system for equality.

Teachers must be trained in their IUFMs (Teacher Training University Institutes) to be better prepared to deal with behavior problems and sexist violence, (e.g., by organizing compulsory training seminars in Zones of Priority Education). Moreover, young and/or inexperienced teachers should not be sent to those zones, as is often done. Rather experienced teachers should be posted there.

Campaigns to inform and to promote equality must be organized for the young and for the general public by the press and the media. For example, the Guide for Respect, published by the organization "Neither Whores nor Submissive", with the support of the Ministry in charge of Women's Rights, of which more than 100,000 copies were distributed, was very successful.

We ask that in the framework of training for equality in IUFMs (Teacher Training University Institutes), teachers be sensitized to specific problems in Priority Education Zones and that training actions on these themes also be organized for staff members of the educational system (e.g., Education inspectors, Directors of schools...).

#### 2.2 Sexual Education

Education for equality has as its corollary, **sexual education**.

Until the 2000s, this was sadly deficient. Taught superficially by embarrassed teachers, it was often only marginal.

It was rendered obligatory by the law of July 4, 2001 regarding abortion, but it was not until February 2003, with the appearance of a Ministerial Application Circular, that it was really organized.

Its implementation is extremely uneven. Some schools have not organized any sexual education, for lack of motivation on the part of teachers, School Directors or Academic Inspectors. No overall evaluation seems to have been set up.

The Interministerial Convention of 2006 on equality recommended "evaluating the action of each Ministry, as well as a midway balance sheet on Interministerial activity, before the end of the year 2008". We ask that this evaluation indeed take place and be made public.

### 3. FEW WOMEN IN DECISION-MAKING POSITIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND IN RESEARCH

The small proportion of women in top level positions in all public sectors (10.3%), in particular in higher education and research (7.3%) has long been denounced by women researchers and professors. The Pilot Committee for equal access of women and men to top public function positions was very severe in its latest report.

## 3.1 Number of Women Inversely Proportional to Prestige and Power

Although the number of women is not negligible in teaching and research, it decreases gradually throughout their careers: weak in the highest bodies, it is even more reduced in directorship positions, with important variations according to the areas chosen.

In Universities, women are 39% of lecturers, but only 16% of full professors. The situation is better for women in literature and Liberal Arts, where they are 51% of lecturers and 29% of full

professors. The inequalities are worst in science; respectively 31% and 11%, particularly in the Earth Sciences (8% women professors and in mechanics and computer engineering (7%). In mathematics they are 13%, in political science, 9%, i.e. only 12 women professors in all of France. Progress toward parity remains very slow.

The number of women in EPSTs (Public Scientific and Technological Establishments) is scarcely better: 39% of Research Assistants and 22% of Directors of Research

In the CNRS (National Scientific Research Center), the largest and most prestigious public research institution, there are numerous women researchers, about 31%. However, the proportion diminishes as we rise in the hierarchy, and men become Directors of Research much earlier and more massively.

These past years, things have hardly changed. The social balance sheet published by the CNRS in 2005 gives the following figures: 11,677 researchers in all. Among these women are:

25.1% of Research assistants; CR1:37,4% 25.7% Directors of Research; DR1:12,2%

12.2% Directors of research, Exceptional class. DRCE 1:12,3%; DRCE 2:10,7%,

At the top of the pyramid, i.e. Directorship positions, in 2003 women were only 3.7% of all Directors of Public Research establishments.

# 3.2 Parity in National Evaluation Bodies

These primarily male bodies play a key role in maintaining inequalities and discrimination in nominations.

The National Board of Universities and the National Committee for Scientific Research, that decide on hiring, careers and promotion, are made up of sections according to disciplines. The vast majority of their Presidents are men who tend to eliminate women progressively all the way up the University ladder.

We ask for parity in these National evaluation structures and for them to ensure parity promotion of women in all top-level positions of higher education and research.

# Article 11 Employment

Despite the high proportion of Frenchwomen gainfully employed (64% from 16 to 64 and 80% from 25 to 49), discrimination and inequality in employment are flagrant and affect many of them.

### 1. UNEQUAL SALARIES

Despite the equal wage laws of 1972, 1983, 2001 and 2006, the high rate of salary inequality only improves very slowly.

According to various estimates, the overall difference varies from 20% to 25%, because of women's part-time work. For full time work, it is approximately 12%. In comparable employment, with training, age and experience all equal, it is still about 5%, which denotes real discrimination.

The law of May 9, 2001 on professional equality is scarcely applied. A survey carried out by the Delegation for Women's Rights of the Senate in 2004 found that more than 70% of industries never implemented the compulsory annual negotiations for professional equality objectives.

Ministerial initiatives, e.g., publication of a Guide to Support Negotiations, Conference on Equality in 2003, creation of an "Equality Label", have proven insufficient to really impose equality and, save for very large firms, neither industry nor trade unions have made it a priority in their negotiations.

To stress the importance of equal wages, **the law of March 23, 2006** aimed at eliminating salary inequalities in five years time. Despite strong inducements to negotiate, **failing immediate sanctions** and the lack of power by the law to render results obligatory, the objective was not achieved. According to trade unions, it is difficult to set up this impetus.

A national Conference on Professional Equality has been announced for autumn, 2007.

We ask that existing laws on professional equality be effectively applied and that employment inspection authorities be mobilized to impose sanctions on firms that do not respect equality provisions.

# 2. WOMEN'S ACCESS TO PROFESSIONAL AND SOCIAL DECISION-MAKING POSITIONS. ABOLISHING THE CONSTITUTIONAL OBJECTION.

The Delegation for Women's Rights of the National Assembly included, in the text on equal wages, provisions for reaching, within 5 years, a balanced number of women and men in personnel representation and in high-level industry positions.

Corporation Boards and public enterprise Surveillance Councils were to have at least 20% women. Instead women represent only 6% of Board members among those enterprises on the French stock exchange.

On March 16, 2006, the Constitutional Council decided that such objectives were contrary to the principle of equality and were not covered by constitutional rules on political parity.

This decision, that is consistent with a constant opposition to installing quotas, is however contrary to the Constitutional principle in the preamble of the 1946 Constitution: "The law guarantees women equal rights to those of men in all areas", and it would have been logical to suppose that the parity principle of Article 3 of the Constitution applied to social and professional positions as well as to the political area.

Because of this decision, the President of the Delegation for Women's Rights of the National Assembly has proposed an amendment to the Constitution, to guarantee equal access by women and men to professional and social decision-making positions, both in the public and the private sector.

We wholly endorse this proposal.

### 3. VIOLENCE IN THE WORKPLACE: SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The definition of sexual harassment as stated in the French penal and labor codes is much too narrow. It defines harassing a person "with the object of obtaining sexual favors". Since 2002, it concerns, not only hierarchical superiors but also colleagues at work.

This does not conform to the much broader definition of the European Directive of September 23, 2002, that describes harassment as "sexually connoted undesirable behavior, expressing itself physically, verbally or not, with the purpose of attacking a person's human dignity and, in particular, creating a hostile, degrading or humiliating environment". The Directive stresses the victim of harassment, broadens the nature of incriminated actions as well as their motivation (no longer limited merely to "obtaining sexual favors") and refers to the idea of a harassing environment that can create an intolerable atmosphere in the workplace.

These provisions of the European Directive were not transferred to French law, as they should have been by right before October 5, 2003.

We ask that the French penal code, the work code and that of public function, adopt provisions complying with the European Directive concerning sexual harassment in the workplace in the shortest possible time.

We also ask that the provisions in the present penal code concerning the offense of false accusation be eliminated; because of them, a woman victim of sexual violence and who has the courage to denounce this can, if her complaint is rejected, be condemned for false accusation.

### 4. Too Many Women in Precarious Situations

Today, more women than men suffer from precarious employment situations; women suffer more from unemployment; 30% of them have part time work as well as many precarious positions, e.g. limited length, temporary or provisional employment.

Part time work is precarious first because of the low pay, particularly when it is imposed and not the result of a choice. The hourly wage, set by collective agreements, is equal to the minimum hourly wage in France or just barely above this, with only rare possibilities of change. Improvements in the form of compensatory salaries or bonuses should be envisaged by collective agreements, as is the case in some large firms and for civil servants.

Work organization is penalizing. Flexibility leads firms to impose atypical schedules: longer working days related to cuts in time, late hours, irregular from one week to another, work on Saturdays and Sundays. Strict rules set by the working code must be closely adhered to, including scheduled working hours, under control of labor inspectors.

Most part time workers hope to work more or even full time. The labor code provides for priority change **from part to full time work**, when requested by the worker. It is important to ensure that the employer respects this provision, that is valid both when new jobs are created or when a job falls vacant.

Re **retirement pensions**: The law of August 21, 2003 enables private sector part time workers to pay dues as for full time work, in order to have a higher retirement pension. However, this is expensive for the worker; additional support from the employer or the State would lighten this burden.

We ask the authorities to update evaluation of part time work, to improve protection of workers with regard to organization of work and scheduling in strict accordance with the labor code.

### 5. Women's Retirement Pensions

# 5.1 Women Disadvantaged in Retirement

Women's retirement pensions are much lower than those of men today (an average of 50% less) because of an unfavorable situation in the workplace: often incomplete careers because of interruptions for bringing up children; precarious and part time work; unequal salaries.

Thus, less than one woman out of two, as compared to nearly all men, is able to validate a full career. To improve the amount of their pensions, women are often obliged to work longer; they retire on average two years later than men.

The average amounts of their pensions remain low, despite the existence of family advantages. When they have done part time work all their lives and paid dues at very low rates, they will only receive a very modest pension upon retirement. They are over-represented in low pensions: one woman out of two, as compared to one man out of four, receives the minimal pension due to workers in the general category.

The law of August 21, 2003 on retirement reform changed the rules for calculating retirement rights, lengthening the number of dues-paying years required for full pension rights. This provision, unfavorable for women with incomplete careers, constitutes an **indirect discrimination.** 

At the same time, the law introduces a distinction between the periods for which payment was actually made and those counted for other reasons (e.g., educating children), for retirement before age 60 and for calculating the minimum contribution. There is no link between time counted for other reasons and that for which payment was actually made. Women cannot therefore claim the time devoted to educating children, since the longer period of the insurance linked to children is not counted as having been paid for. Paradoxically, military service is recognized, which is clearly discriminatory.

# 5.2 A Serious Loss in Attributing Family Advantages

The loss in family advantages primarily concerns the public sector. Until the law of August 21, 2003, the ensured period was increased by one year per child. After a legal decision by the European Court of Justice and by the French Council of State on equal treatment between women and men, this increase was extended to men for children born before January 1, 2004, on condition that there be at least a two month career interruption (maternity leave, adoption

leave, parental leave). For children born after January 1, 2004, the one year bonus disappears in favor of a gratuitous validation of the interrupted employment periods recognized for women and men. A 6 month increase of the ensured period is granted, linked to the date of birth but is not taken into account when calculating pension rates.

These measures jeopardize the recognition of mothers raising children and who yet continued a full time career with no interruption.

We ask that the negative effects on women of the way in which pensions are calculated be corrected, that incomplete or discontinued careers, as well as part-time work be more fairly counted.

# Article 12 Health

# **Reproductive Health and Combating AIDS**

Public opinion tends to think that everything has been achieved with regard to contraception and abortion. In fact, because of lapses in contraception use, of taboos that inculcate guilt in women, medical-administrative reticence and procedural sluggishness that still exist in abortion procedures, women and young girls are blocked by all kinds of difficulties.

The law of July 4, 2001 was intended to put an end to the long and stormy history of legalized abortion in France, but if they are to be truly effective its provisions must be consolidated and completed by information, prevention and education.

Whereas it was thought that widespread contraception would lower the number of abortions, this number is still at a relatively high level in France: 203.000 in 2003, 210.000 in 2004, i.e., 14.1 abortions for 1000 women from ages 15 to 45 (with an even more worryingly high rate in Overseas Departments: 28.8 for 1000 women, or double the number in continental France, and 41.5 for 1000 women in Guadeloupe). Most take place between the ages of 20-24: 27 abortions for 1000 women, and this number is rising among minors.

# 1. To Improve Failures in Contraception: Diversify Methods, Lower Costs, Improve Information to Women and especially Young Girls

Unforeseen and unwanted pregnancies (1/3 of all pregnancies) are clearly diminishing. However, women, particularly the youngest, decide to abort more frequently (6 out of 10 unwanted pregnancies). Behavior varies. There is the concern for a chosen maternity and the best possible environment for the child; also in the balance are the risk of interrupting studies or a professional career, unstable relationships, economic precariousness, unemployment...).

Unwanted pregnancies are most often caused by the failure of contraceptive measures. The pill, theoretically the most effective, remains a constraint. Hence, women forget to take it or stop taking it, and this causes nearly 10% of all abortions each year.

Other causes are also identified: poorly adapted methods, failure of condoms or of so-called "natural" methods, unprotected sexual relations among the very young. Women are not always well informed of what to do and of possible aids, such as emergency contraception.

# 1.1 The Next Day Pill: A Current Solution for Emergencies and Common Practice Today

11.500 abortions each year are practiced on young girls from 15 to 17 years old (1 out of 100), and that rate is rising. To help avoid these abortions, particularly traumatizing for young girls whose lives as women are just beginning, the law of December 13, 2000 authorized recourse for minors to the next day pill (Norlevo): it is delivered free of charge in secondary school infirmaries to minor and adult students who request it, and without the need for parental consent. It is also delivered free of charge in pharmacies to minors without medical prescriptions.

Six years on, we can say that this emergency contraception works very well in schools and that it is known to most women (in 2005, 13.7% of sexually active women declared having used it – 8.4% in 2000, as well as 13% of young girls aged 15-19).

On the contrary, delivery by pharmacies is variable, despite a decree of January 9, 2002 specifying the conditions. Pharmacists, especially in the Paris area, have shown objections, even refusal to deliver it to young girls. The National Council of the Order of Pharmacists was obliged to remind its members of their obligations. Information booklets were given to pharmacists (one version for the Metropolis and another for Overseas), to be widely distributed by them.

Nonetheless, the next day pill is not a panacea; it does not replace regular contraception in the long run. Pharmacists and school infirmaries are instructed to send girls on to a doctor for an appropriate contraceptive prescription.

# 1.2 Better Information on the Variety of Contraceptive Methods, Reducing Costs, Improving Reimbursement by Social Security and Organizing Regular Information Campaigns.

Each woman must choose a good contraceptive, among the many available, adapted to her personal situation and living conditions (emotional, social or sexual).

Because of forgetfulness or cessation of pill taking, other methods may be proposed. The coil, more reliable than the pill and effective over a period of several years, should be in greater use. The patch and the vaginal ring are expensive and are not reimbursed by Social Security. The implant is an effective method, lasting three years, expensive but 65% reimbursed by Social Security.

The latest method available to women is the female condom, Femidon. Its advantage is to allow women to control contraception during sexual relations without being subjected to the good will or refusal by the male partner. It also has the great advantage of protecting against STD and HIV.

The cost of these recent methods remains an obstacle. The second-generation pill can be replaced by its generic, and the third generation pill, often prescribed because better tolerated, should be reimbursed when taken by medical prescription.

The price of Femidon (2 to 4 Euros) is an obstacle. It must often be ordered from pharmacies that do not have it in stock. A recent survey in the Paris area showed that its sales greatly increased after being distributed at a very low price. It can also be acquired free of charge from Family Planning Centers. *Information on its use, still little known, should be more widely disseminated.* 

This supposes that doctors themselves be regularly informed and trained in the use of newly available contraceptive devices and pay a bigger consideration in medical prescriptions to personal, social and family aspects that affect women.

In recent years, the Minister of Health and the INPES (National Institute for Prevention and Health Education) have disseminated booklets, leaflets and information files, mostly by Internet, towards the feminine public and health professionals.

Nothing, however, is as useful or effective as an audiovisual information campaign carried out every two or three years, so as to target each new generation of young women. The last such was in 2002 and the one planned for 2007 has not yet taken place.

In order to allow effective access by all to contraception, we ask for:

- the reimbursement of medically prescribed contraceptives by social security and, in the long run, their purchase without charge
- Reduction of the cost of other contraceptives, such as Femidon
- Free of charge contraceptives for all women under 25 years of age, since those who most frequently resort to abortion are aged 20-24. This would particularly help target students whose access to health is often precarious.

- That doctors prescribe contraceptives better adapted to each woman's situation and in accordance with the diversity of available methods.
- Preventively, systematic information in the schools in the framework of sexual education planned by the Law of 2001, and the organization of regular media information campaigns.

### 2. ABORTION STILL DIFFICULT AFTER THE LAW OF JULY 4, 2001

Most problems are those due to delays in putting medically prescribed abortions into practice in urban areas and to abortions later than 10 weeks.

# 2.1 Medicalized abortions in urban areas: insufficient supply and too few doctors

One of the innovations of the 2001 law is the "urban area abortion" practiced by a doctor entitled to do so and having a convention status with a health establishment. The advantages are considerable: a technique lighter than surgery, practiced on out patients, adapted to early abortions (up to the 5<sup>th</sup> week of pregnancy, less delays and physically closer to the women concerned.

We had to wait more than 3 ½ years, however, for the application decrees and the Circular (respectively July, August and November 2004) for this to be put into effect.

What is the present situation? In 2004, medicalized abortions were 42% of the whole (cf. 20% in 1998), mostly in public health establishments. More non-conventionalized doctors should be trained for this technique.

We insist firmly on the importance of this practice becoming more widespread. Medicalized and conventionalized abortions should also be able to take place in "Family Planning and Education Centers" and in "Health Centers", all of which are competent and are neighborhood structures. Already in the Seine-Saint-Denis Department, with the approval of the General Council, doctors and Family Planning Centers have set up medicalized abortions. This possibility should be extended to the entire country.

### 2.2 Cost and Reimbursement Problems

Abortions are reimbursed by a lump sum, finally updated in July 2004. Social Security reimburses 70%, the difference is eventually paid by a Mutual Insurance Company. *If we want to rapidly develop urban zone abortions, the entire amount should be paid for directly*.

The lump sum system should be revised, so as to render medicalized abortions more attractive and to alleviate the shortage of doctors able to practice them, by considering abortion as a normal medical act, integrated in the general nomenclature of other medical acts with an appropriate evaluation, enabling fair reimbursement and subject to regular updates.

# 2.3 Overstepping Expiration Dates and Abortions Abroad

For various reasons women may overstep the 12 week legal abortion limit: impossibility of obtaining medicalized abortions, too long waiting lists for a first appointment, personal and psychological reasons, refusal to recognize pregnancy. The law states that a first appointment should not require more than 5 days. In 2004, 12% of health establishments estimated the delay at more than 2 weeks.

Recourse to medicalized abortions beyond 12 weeks is strictly limited by the law of July 4, 2001. It is only authorized when the pregnancy is considered a grave health risk for the woman, or when there is a strong probability that the child may be born with a particularly serious illness recognized as incurable. Limited to strictly medical reasons for the woman, medicalized abortions cannot be reimbursed for "psycho-social" reasons, referring to the WHO definition of health. This excludes women who have been forced to wait too long, minors whose pregnancy was diagnosed too late and who were afraid to speak up, women threatened with forced marriages, raped women...

These women, in situations of real distress, are received by Family Planning Centers who understand both the legitimacy of their request and the finality of the decision. The only recourse is to go abroad, and the number concerned is estimated at 3000 women yearly, excluded from abortions in France.

In order to allow all women to have abortions in France, and in the shortest possible time, we ask:

- that all abortion costs be taken in charge in cities.
- that Family Planning Centers be allowed to practice medicalized abortions within the framework of Conventions with health establishments.
- that medicalized abortions be taken in charge in situations of psychological and social distress for the woman.

# 3. WOMEN AND AIDS: INEQUALITIES FOR WOMEN AND MEN WITH REGARD TO THIS EPIDEMIC. SPECIFIC PREVENTION FOR WOMEN.

In France, there is **increasing feminization of this epidemic**. According to the INPES (National Institute for Prevention and Education on Health), 60% of the heterosexual contaminated population are women (of whom half come from Sub-Saharan Africa). Today, heterosexual relations are the primary means of contamination among the newly diagnosed (53% of the whole, of whom 74% are women).

Women and Men are unequally protected from AIDS. Women are more vulnerable to contamination for physiological, as well as for social and cultural reasons, such as unequal protection methods, difficulty of obligating partners to use protection, unprotected relations therefore, use of violence by partners...

The national program for combating AIDS for 2001-2005 included these problems. For example, training programs were set up, together with Family Planning Centers, to prepare trainees for sex related risks. **However, organizations combating AIDS feel that prevention policies for women are insufficient.** 

Access to protection methods is insufficiently developed. The cost and limited distribution of female condoms limits their availability, despite the fact that they are supposed to be widely distributed in pharmacies, super-markets, and automatic machines. Microbicides, in gel or cream form, that efficiently lessen risk, are not yet available. Medical research must give higher priority to the specificities of sero-positive women.

The precarious situation of many sero-positive women (young, migrant, without residency cards, drug addicts...), and the discriminations they suffer, increase the difficulty of their access to care and therapeutic follow-up. Pregnant women should be able to benefit from specific support and detection to avoid transmission of the virus to their children.

The Conference on Women and AIDS in March, 2004, organized by Family Planning and several other associations, the International Days to Combat AIDS on December 1, 2004 (Women and AIDS), and 2005 (Stop AIDS) made possible a vast mobilization of public opinion. The fight against AIDS was recognized as a "priority national cause" in 2005 by the authorities, and a National Action Plan against AIDS was set up for 2005-2008.

# Article 13 Economic and Social Benefits

## Women's Access to Credit

We find it interesting that for more than 20 years, there is a stable proportion of some 28% of women among creators of new enterprises, all the more so in that, during those 20 years, two phenomena were noted.

The number of unemployed among new creators of industry rose considerably. Knowing that more women are unemployed than men, their number should have increased by simple arithmetic.

In 1989 a specific provision for women's access to banking credit, the FGIF (Guarantee Fund for Women's Economic Initiatives) was set up. Its local accessibility was recently improved.

To explain this situation, "discriminatory banking practices" are commonly invoked, and France's 6<sup>th</sup> Report to CEDAW is no exception to the rule (see p. 70).

We feel it necessary to first counter these assertions in the light of documented studies in the field. For example, the APCE (Agency for Creating Enterprises) recently indicated:

"Hardly any difference is to be noted between women and men with regard to the financial means required to start a business and the funding sources. 34% of men and 34% of women take out bank loans.

These loans are mainly made in the name of the firm. Thus, unlike what is often affirmed, women who create businesses have as much access to bank loans as men."

Secondly, we recall recent surveys. These indicate that, in France, out of 100 people with a relatively well thought out project for creating a firm, 47 are women and 53 are men. It is clear then that women do not fulfill their full economic initiative possibilities, since they only represent 28% of creators of new firms.

We ask the government to begin an active policy of promotion and support for women's entrepreneurship, in accordance with the stakes in terms of job creation, wealth creation and social benefits.

# Article 14 Rural Women

### 1. INEQUALITIES AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST RURAL WOMEN

Rural women are still victims of much discrimination, despite recent progress in their situation and greater consideration for equal opportunity for women and men in rural areas.

They are far less numerous than men. In 2003, there were 290.000 working women as compared to 590.000 working men (Agreste: Agricultural Statistics). In 15 years, their number decreased by half and that of men by a third.

They do not have the same responsibilities: 37% are heads of farms (cf. 62% of men); 40% are non-salaried spouses and 14% are salaried (cf. 19% of men). The number of wage earners is increasing in precarious and non-qualified jobs (wine growers, horticulture and market gardening) and often part time work.

Young women are less and less inclined to agricultural work. On many farms, women have no agricultural activity; they may work in a neighboring town keeping jobs they had before marriage, or they may stay at home to take care of the children. The rural exodus of young women is therefore significant. Some small farmers take wives from developing countries who accept particularly discriminatory living conditions, with no status or security.

Upon retirement, social protection remains very low, despite recent improvements. Many farmers' wives, too old to benefit from recent laws, are at the lowest old age level attributed to the second person in the home.

Rural women still find it difficult to have their rights recognized by managers of rural economic life (agricultural professionals and agricultural organizations, Chambers of agriculture,...), these circles are still strongly dominated by gender stereotypes. Furthermore, women are under-represented in these professional agricultural organizations and in small rural villages, where no political parity laws apply.

# 2. PROGRESS IN RECENT YEARS: BELATED RECOGNITION OF WOMEN'S AGRICULTURAL WORK

We note recent advances in the area of social protection for rural women, spouses of heads of farms.

Since January 1, 2006, the spouse is obliged to choose one of three statuses: co-exploiter, salaried spouse or spouse-coworker) all of which carry social protection provisions. We must note, however, that until 2006, the status of spouse-coworker (created in 1999) was not chosen by the woman herself but by the husband, who signed and granted her this status. Furthermore, it is only since October 2006 that this status of spouse-coworker is extended to common-law wives or those linked by a PACS (A Civil Solidarity Pact), and that the authorization of the head of the farm is no longer necessary. Difficulties still remain, however, in implementing these measures.

We ask for on-going re-evaluation of low agricultural retirement pensions, begun in 2002, in particular those of wives of agricultural farmers who were unable to reconstitute a complete career in agriculture.

# 3. PURSUE EFFORTS IN FAVOR OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN AND MEN IN RURAL AREAS. TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE CONCEPT OF RURALITY.

In 2002; the Minister of Agriculture set up a Four Year National Plan "Women, Training and Employment in Rural Spheres: Integration and Equal Opportunities", comprising actions intended to change mentalities and practices, to render the roles of women and men visible, to favor professionalization. This Plan, 50% financed by the ESF (European Social Fund) was nearly totally halted for the year 2006, for lack of French counter funding, the budget line corresponding to the Ministry of Agriculture having been cut by 75%.

The concept of rurality, which goes beyond agriculture, concerns life in rural areas in general and women in particular, thanks to the new professions being developed there: organic agriculture, tourism, horse racing and riding, craftwork, multiple service activities and jobs...).

In order to maintain women in rural areas, and to improve their daily lives, we ask:

- to maintain public proximity services in rural zones, such as post offices, health care, in particular hospitals and maternities, local Treasury offices),
- to develop public transportation systems,
- to create cultural and sports services,
- to set up day care centers.

## We also ask for:

- improved training of women farmers giving them access to technical training. 80% of them are still trained "on the job" and only 5% benefit from adult training. They are penalized by their lack of degrees, especially to obtain subsidies granted to young farmers and for which specific degrees are required.
- Access of farmers' wives to salaried activities in rural areas, e.g., personal support services, rural tourism trades.

# Article 16 Marriage and Family Life

#### 1. MARITAL AGE

The first provisions of Article 16 of CEDAW, (on equal rights in contracting marriage, freedom to choose a spouse, and free consent) recognized in the French civil code, forbid certain practices such as polygamy and forced marriages that primarily victimize women of migrant families. In recent years, many measures have been taken to improve this situation, in particular instituting the same marital age for girls and boys, one means of combating this specific violence against women (See General Recommendation N° 19).

Article 144 of the Civil Code (unchanged since the Napoleonic Code of 1804!), finally modified by the law of April 4, 2006, henceforth states ""Men and women cannot marry before reaching the age of 18". This long awaited measure had been requested in our previous Shadow Report (2003).

### 2. DIVORCE REFORM

The latest divorce reform (law of May 26, 2004) implemented as of January 1, 2005, contained real improvements for women. More women than men ask for divorce; they will now be able to obtain those divorces more easily.

Divorce by mutual consent is simplified. Divorce for offense, that involved lengthy and destructive legal disputes, is maintained only for the gravest cases.

However, care must be taken to **protect women better**, since they are not always on an equal footing in divorce cases for both economic and social reasons. Thus, in case one of the parties is absent during the hearings, especially the woman, no decision should be taken before ensuring that the absent party was in fact informed of the procedure and of what was at stake, and the reasons for the absence must be fully ascertained.

We ask that every possible means be taken to prevent any divorce decision from serving as a "legal cover-up" for a repudiation already decided elsewhere.

In cases of divorce for offense, especially when the offense is that of violence against one of the spouses,

#### we ask:

- that recourse to penal mediation be systematically excluded,
- that eviction measures against the violent partner be taken rapidly and that the victim obtain, at the same time, the necessary financial guarantees ensuring housing,
- that the time limit after which these measures become null and void in case a divorce request not be registered, be extended from 4 to 6 months.

Particular attention must be paid to the situation of women divorced after a long-lasting marriage and who, having been little or not at all gainfully employed, are unable to acquire personal retirement rights.

We ask that, in these cases, the compensatory allowance granted, both in the form of capital and of a life annuity, be facilitated.

### 3. SHARED PARENTAL AUTHORITY

The law of March 4, 2002 recognized the sharing of **parental authority by father and mother**. This enabled France to withdraw its reservation to Article 16, 1.d).

### 4. CHOICE OF FAMILY NAME

France has still not withdrawn its reservation to Article 16 1. g), granting the same rights to women as to men concerning the choice of a family name for the children.

According to the amended law of March 4, 2002, parents can choose for their child the name of the father, that of the mother or both names joined, by a joint declaration to the Civil Status Registry Office. Where there is no joint declaration or where the parents do not agree, the child takes the father's name.

Women therefore still do not have equal and free rights for transmitting their name to their children. We ask that France conform to the terms of Article 16 1.g) and thus withdraw its reservation.

# General Recommendation N° 19 Violence Against Women

# **Combating Conjugal Violence Against women**

#### 1. FOR A BETTER KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACTS

#### 1.1 2006 Statistics

The most recent studies confirm the breadth of this phenomenon, a veritable social plague requiring active intervention by the authorities. A study by the Ministry of the Interior revealed the following dramatic figures for 2006.

- 168 people murdered by their spouses or partners in 2006;
- 1 woman killed every 3 days by the blows of her partner and 1 man killed every 13 days, by his partner;
- 11 children killed, victims of fatal violence by the male partner against the mother.

When we include suicides by perpetrators of violence and homicides of third parties, this fatal violence provoked a total of 228 persons killed.

We ask that this survey by the Ministry of the Interior be carried out annually in order to measure the evolution of violence against women.

We know the number of condemnations for conjugal violence: 9.767 in 2005 and 385 male perpetrators condemned to leave home. We also ask to know the number of complaints lodged, the number of those withdrawn and the number actually investigated by the Public Prosecutor, so as to be better informed of the difficulties women incur in obtaining justice.

### 1.2 The Cost of Violence. Psychological Effects on Women and Children

What does violence cost? (health costs; legal, police and penal handling of cases; housing and social provisions; human costs; loss of revenue) was estimated in 2004 at approximately 1 billion Euros per year.

The effects of psychological violence, however, could not be measured. **The grave psychological damage caused by violence must be taken into account:** stress, anxiety, depression, suicidal risk, abuse of medicines, problems during pregnancy, consequences for professional life. **Children, witnesses and victims of violence, are not spared** and often show symptoms of ill treatment.

#### 2. LEGAL PROGRESS

The law of April 4, 2006 "strengthening the prevention and repression of violence in the couple or committed against minors" contains undisputed advances. Both Chambers of Parliament adopted it unanimously.

### 2.1 Civil and Penal Provisions

We are very glad of the important modification this law makes in the **Civil Code**, bringing the **legal marital age for women to 18** (see also Article 16). The law also introduces the concept of **mutual respect**, added to the duty of mutual aid and assistance owed by the spouses.

In the **Penal Code**, the text extends **aggravating circumstances**:

- to all conjugal partners (not only the spouse and the common-law partner, but also the person linked by a PACS) and also to the former spouse, common-law partner or PACS (the "ex"), since it is often during the break-up or shortly thereafter that violence is exacerbated.
- to all forms of violence committed within the relationship: murder, rape and sexual aggressions.

The measures, decided on by the judge, that order the perpetrator of violence to leave the home are strengthened.

**Theft,** which theoretically does not exist in the couple, is punished when its result is to deprive the other of his or her **identity papers**, **bank cards or resident cards**.

# 2.2 Deficiencies

Nonetheless, the law, whose provisions mainly concern the Penal Code, does not suffice. It includes neither preventive measures, nor any support measures for victims, these being considered by the government as regulatory. Nor does it mention the financial aspect. Difficulties remain regarding the legal handling of violence.

# 3. PREVENTION, LEGAL HANDLING OF VIOLENCE, SUPPORT MEASURES FOR VICTIMS

# 3.1 Prevention by Training and Information

Massive preventive measures must be set up with improved initial and on-going training for all professionals, social workers, **doctors**, magistrates, police and gendarmes.

Police training has greatly improved the way women are received in police stations.

Doctors are often ill prepared to handle the problems of their victim patients. The medical certificate written by the doctor establishes the degree of total incapacity for work (ITT), whose evaluation is most important for ascertaining the facts. However, this evaluation varies from one region to another. Medical-legal emergency services, called by the police are more effective, and their decisions are indisputable.

We ask for improved initial and on-going training of doctors and health professionals for detecting violence, for receiving and taking charge of women victims, for improved harmonization between ITT evaluation on the national level and improved reception of women in medical-legal emergency services.

Certain public prosecutors have dynamic policies for combating violence against women. However, penal practice differs greatly from one court to another. Judges must be more sensitized to these types of violence and taught to deal with them quickly and appropriately.

Information about violence is essential. We are glad of the campaigns organized recently (television spots); they must be continued regularly. We also salute the creation of a single national telephone number (3919), created in March 2007 by the Deputy Minister for Parity and Social Cohesion, for all victims of domestic violence.

# 3.2 Improve Legal Handling

**Handling of complaints is unsatisfactory**. More and more, women dare to lodge complaints with the police. However, a large number of such complaints for conjugal violence are simply filed and not followed-up by courts (70% in the Paris area).

Cases are dealt with by **penal mediation**, the result of which is that the complaint is filed and there is no court decision. Recourse to penal mediation, strongly condemned by organizations and by many professionals, is completely inappropriate for dealing with conjugal violence. The aggressor and his victim must not be placed on an equal footing; it provides the aggressor with the opportunity to strengthen his ascendancy and to escape legal procedures as well as any punishment.

We ask that official entries or police reports of domestic violence be handled with greater attention by the courts, and that recourse to penal mediation in situations of such violence be systematically eliminated from the penal procedure.

We ask that legal aid without material conditions be granted women victims to facilitate their access to justice

We also ask that foreign women victims of violence, without legal status, be given the right to lodge complaints and to obtain legal aid.

The issue of children, as witnesses or indirect victims of conjugal violence, has been too long neglected and is essential. It poses the problem of maintaining the parental link with the violent parent, particularly when the woman and the children have fled home because of the danger.

At present, the family judge can grant visiting and even lodging rights to the violent father, when we know that it is precisely during the break-up period and during such visits that the risk of violence is greatest. Women have been killed in those circumstances. **Furthermore**, a violent husband or partner cannot be a good father.

Recently, a battered woman was given a suspended prison sentence and condemned to pay damages for having fled to an aid organization with her children and having refused to give the address to her husband. This aroused strong indignation from organizations that combat violence against women. Not only did the decision refuse to recognize the violence of which the woman and her children were victims, but it condemned her to the benefit of her aggressor. It also contested and put at risk the missions of organizations that aid and shelter battered women.

These malfunctions are caused by the barriers between civil and penal justice. In cases of violence, the woman lodges a complaint with the penal court and, at the same time, begins a divorce procedure with a family judge. The two procedures follow different rhythms, often in mutual ignorance. Solutions must be found to ensure better coordination between the two.

We ask for a revision of penal code provisions concerning refusal to present a child in cases of family violence. We ask that the civil judge, kept properly informed, be enabled to suspend the exercise of parental authority (visit, lodging) under these circumstances, and that better coordination be sought between civil and penal procedures.

# 3.3 Accompanying the victim and the perpetrator of violence

Lack of sufficient shelters, particular in emergencies and at night creates real problems for sheltering and resettling women victims of violence. To mitigate this lack, some departments have experimented with lodging in families.

We ask that necessary funding be ensured to create emergency shelters, and in Shelter and Social Reinsertion Centers (CHRS), according to the different needs and that lodging in families be qualitatively evaluated.

To prevent recurrent violence, a course of action must be pursued with the perpetrators. On a ministerial level, studies are underway on how best to deal with violent men. With responsibility training groups, some organizations have set up training for violent men, to raise their awareness of the reasons for their behavior and of the gravity of their acts. These initiatives are to be strongly encouraged, because sexist violence is not a fatality.

Dealing with violence against women within the couple involves coordinated work between several ministries (Women's Rights, Education, Justice, the Interior, Social Affairs, Health). A true cross-cutting policy must be undertaken.

We ask for an Orientation law to combat conjugal violence, that will not be merely one of repression. It must posit guidelines for actions to be taken in the areas of information, training, systematic detection, improved legal handling, protection, shelters and accompaniment of women and children victims. It should be linked to an action program in the Finance law to ensure proper funding.

# Combating Violence Against Migrant Women and Women from Migrant Backgrounds

Because of the durability of traditional practices in their communities of origin, migrant women or those of migrant backgrounds can be victims of specific types of violence at different stages of their lives (divorce by repudiation, polygamy, female genital mutilation, forced marriage). Such violence is intolerable with regard to women's human rights, is contrary to French law and to many Articles and General Recommendations of CEDAW.

#### 1. OPPOSING A PERSONAL STATUS UNFAVORABLE TO WOMEN

Many of these women remain subject to the personal status of their countries of origin (see Art.2), because of Bilateral Conventions signed between the two countries. This personal status is often most unfavorable to women and is in contradiction with the principle of equal rights between spouses of the Civil Code and, more generally, to the Constitutional principle of Equality between women and men. The divorce by repudiation that it allows can have dramatic consequences for married women, especially at the start of their residency in France.

We ask that the Bilateral Conventions that flout the principle of equality between women and men be denounced and that the Residency law, more favorable to individual Human Rights, be systematically applied.

#### 2. COMBATING POLYGAMY

To effectively combat polygamy, we must first be able to measure its extent. Theoretically outlawed since 1993, it is today largely clandestine. Polygamous families, to escape legal convictions, must live in separate lodgings. The second wife must leave the home of the polygamous husband. Complex measures regarding such separation are implemented by prefectures and by organizations.

We ask for information on the extent of polygamy in France and the real results of separate lodgings.

#### 3. PUTTING AN END TO FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATIONS

Excision of minors under fifteen, is an unthinkable violence against the physical integrity of women, and is defined by the Penal Code as a mutilation liable to severe punishment. The numerous trials of excisers in French courts during the 1990s resulted in the disappearance of these crimes in France. Since then however, families send their daughters to other countries during school holidays where they are mutilated. To combat this more effectively, the law of April 4, 2006 extended punishment for sexual mutilations to those committed abroad on foreign minors, but who are usually residents of France.

We ask that the authorities remind health professionals of their obligation to notify them as soon as they are made aware of threats of, or actual cases of, sexual mutilation.

#### 4. DENOUNCING AND COMBATING FORCED MARRIAGES

Forced marriages are a form of violence against women, often difficult to determine because of the taboos and silence in families, the reluctance and fear of young girls to denounce their families and to lodge complaints.

Legal means for combating forced marriages were recently strengthened. The law of November 26, 2003 on controlling immigration allows the Mayor or Registrar (or the Consul when abroad) to interview candidates for marriage separately, and if one or both refuses to be heard, the marriage cannot be registered. The file is then transferred to the competent court that can institute action to annul the marriage.

Aligning the marital age of girls and boys at 18, by the law of April 4, 2006 is another way of combating these forced marriages of minors. The possibility of having her marriage annulled is vital for the victim. The length of time allowed for an annulment requested for lack of consent is extended from six months to five years after the marriage or the separation.

Today, the Prefecture can attack the marriage for lack of consent, particularly in case of violence. Furthermore, annulment of a marriage can be granted in cases of constraint or intimidation exercised by an older member of the family.

We ask that constraint used to force a girl into marriage be made a criminal offense, including when committed abroad on a foreign person who is usually a resident of France. We ask that threatened young girls, French or foreign, be able to seek emergency help abroad at French Consulates and that they find there competent and informed officials; that sufficient lodgings be made available for emergency shelters for young girls who need to leave their families to flee a forced marriage.