

MOBILIZING AGAINST GENDER INJUSTICE:

Global Solution Networks
Combating Violence Against
Women and Girls

Diane Francis
Editor at Large
National Post

Global institutions in the twentieth century have addressed global problems and initiated multilateral projects and activities. But their traditional approaches and politics often impede viable solutions for some of the world's most urgent and intractable challenges. Gender violence is one. The role of women in cultures and families varies—and “abuse” and the issue of equality is a distinct and subjective matter—but global consensus exists against, and this report focuses on, gratuitous violence, rape, exploitation, negligence and enslavement of females. Such maltreatment has been criminalized in developed nations in the past century, but it is still common in many cultures around the world.

To combat these injustices, new tools, new thinking and new players are needed. The Internet, technology and new digital templates are being harnessed to pressure for change and help victims. Such a non-institutional ecosystem is effective, but research is needed to determine what works and how and why, as well as how to leverage effective solutions. Collaboration and innovation between traditional institutions and global solution networks can deliver needed reforms for women everywhere.



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Idea in Brief

Violence against Women and Girls (VAWG)—the systemic abuse and enslavement of females—represents one of the world's greatest moral challenges. “It’s the great unfinished business of the 21st Century,” declared Hillary Clinton.¹ In the twentieth century, violence against women has been criminalized in the developed world and sizeable resources have been provided by the UN, non-governmental organizations and governments to increase public awareness about the issues.

However, the facts continue to tell a discouraging tale. Women ages 15 to 44 are more likely to become victims of rape and domestic violence than they are to be afflicted as the result of cancer, car accidents, war and malaria.² Girls are three times more likely to be malnourished than boys.³ Of the world's 130 million out-of-school youth, 70% are girls. Each year, roughly two million girls between the ages of 5 and 15 are trafficked, sold or coerced into the sex trade.^{4,5} Girls are disproportionately affected by harmful practices such as slave or forced labor, rape, early and forced marriage, honor killings, the abortion of female fetuses, and female genital mutilation.

VAWG also exists in developed countries even though laws against domestic abuse, trafficking and other practices have existed for decades. Immigrants may import their abusive behavior. There are consequences for the perpetrators in the developed world as well as shelters for battered women, hotlines and a host of government and charitable programs. Even so, abuse persists and often victims are unable to take advantage of available resources.

The subordination and degradation of females is an age-old problem and has profound negative consequences. In recent decades, many countries have put systems in place to prevent and mitigate VAWG. Yet violence and gross abuse remain prevalent globally, mostly in developing countries. Wherever it occurs, violence causes damage to families and communities. Those who witness sadistic or exploitative acts against their mothers and sisters can become perpetrators themselves and continue the cycle of violence in their homes and society at large.⁶

Internal and external pressure, aided by civil society and moral leaders, Global Solution Networks (GSNs) or other non-state players, must be recruited to make a difference. These entities can help get inside, and work to create change in nation-states, religions, corporations and cultures that mistreat women, and bring about reforms in policies and laws.

Today, thousands of organizations are involved in helping women, but with varying effectiveness. As of March 2014, the Open Directory Project⁸ listed 24,896 sites in its VAWG category. As is often the case, many of these organizations operate in isolation and on shoestring budgets. They struggle to survive and there is much duplication and fragmentation of effort. Many lack the influence necessary to promote new laws or to intervene for victims.





UN Women: a series of Women Should ads⁷

The organizations and networks profiled in this report are established non-state players with fund-raising and operational scale. Individually, they advocate for women's rights, take action in identified instances of abuse and seek restorative justice. Organizations discussed here include:

- Vital Voices—an advocacy network that identifies and mentors female leaders.
- Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch—watchdog networks that expose wrongdoing.
- Women Living Under Muslim Laws—a knowledge and advocacy network that provides solidarity and research in 70 countries.
- SafeCity and HarassMap—operational and delivery networks that provide crisis mapping to help women navigate dangerous cities.
- Tau Investments—a governance network that aims to incentivize global supply chains to stop using forced or slave labor.
- Anonymous—a vigilante network that pursues perpetrators of VAWG and seeks justice on behalf of victims.

These networks are effective and greater global coordination across all VAWG organizations might increase their effectiveness as can the application of technology applied to global and local solutions.



The Problem

In 2012, the torture-murder of a young woman in New Delhi horrified the world. A 23-year-old physiotherapy intern and her boyfriend went to a movie and boarded a bus at 9:30 pm to go home. The five other passengers and the bus driver gang raped her and beat her boyfriend. The details were horrific. The two were left for dead, and the woman died of her injuries 13 days later.

Her story revealed an alarming cultural phenomenon. She had come from a rural area to study after her father had sold his farmland to pay for her education. Under Indian law, her name could not be disclosed, so the media dubbed her “Nirbhaya” or “the fearless one.” But her father told the Indian Express newspaper: “We want the world to know her real name. My daughter didn’t do anything wrong, she died while protecting herself. I am proud of her. Revealing her name will give courage to other women who have survived these attacks. They will find strength from my daughter.”⁹

The incident was condemned around the world. Public protests filled India’s streets to demand better laws, more security in cities and tougher sentences for rapists. Protests spread to other major cities attacking what some called India’s “rape culture.” Six men were arrested, tried and sentenced. One died in custody, one was a juvenile who received a minor sentence but the other four were hung. New laws were passed that imposed tougher sentences and six new fast-track courts were established to hear rape cases. The tragedy highlighted the violent culture against women in India, a phenomenon that has existed for generations.

Following the incident, another gang rape occurred, causing NGOs and informal organizations to in some cases demand and provide help for survivors to cope with the cost and stigma of rape and sexual violence.¹¹ The second incident involved a 16-year-old student in the northeastern state of Meghalaya who was gang raped by 18 males, many of whom were minors. They were arrested but the girl suffered being “re-victimized,” subjected to taunts in her village and death threats from friends of the accused. She was forced to relocate in order to complete school.

“Sexual autonomy is something people are not comfortable with,” said Ravi Kant, President of the NGO Shakti Vahini. Victims are blamed, institutions discriminate against women, and police procedures are inadequate. “An autonomous woman is seen as fair game. Either you’re a slut or a goddess. And that misogyny...is not endemic [only] to India.”¹⁰

The public outcry over the tragedies led a group of entrepreneurs to create a website called Safecity.in that maps “safe” and “unsafe” areas in real time. These “rape” maps, available on mobile phones, are based on police statistics as well as direct messages from girls and women who report incidents of sexual harassment, inadequate police protection, criminal presence and poorly lit streets. In India, citizen organizations and activists have mobilized to protect women in the absence of police or government involvement. With such interventions, and consciousness-raising, violence



against girls in India may eventually decline and rapists will receive swift and appropriate punishment.

Two months earlier, in a different country, there was another violent act against a female student who was punished by the men in her community for committing the crime of seeking an education. This was part of a years-long campaign by religious fanatics, the Taliban, to prevent the education of females in Pakistan and Afghanistan.¹² The leaders decided to target a world famous activist, 15-year-old Malala Yousafzai, who had drawn worldwide attention to Taliban violence through her blog and interviews on the BBC.

On October 9, as she boarded a bus full of schoolgirls, a masked gunman leaped on board and shouted, “Which one of you is Malala?” She identified herself and the gunman shot her in the head. The severity of her injuries required that she be airlifted out of the country to Britain for medical attention. She has remained in Britain and continued her activism through appearances and with the release of a book, *I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up For Education*. She has addressed the United Nations and has become the poster child for injustice and violence against females. She has also established a fund that raises money to build schools for girls around the world.¹³

These incidents, while not tipping points, have coalesced global sympathy. Following the crimes, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stated simply, “Violence against women must never be accepted, never excused, never tolerated. Every girl and woman has the right to be respected, valued and protected.”



Saudi Arabia outlawed domestic violence in 2013 and embarked on a widespread anti-abuse campaign using this image and the caption “some things can’t be covered.”¹⁴





United Nations Entity for Gender Equality
and the Empowerment of Women

The Role of Traditional International Organizations

The United Nations has been at the forefront of the fight against VAWG, raising public awareness by building grassroots networks and financing a series of research initiatives through its agencies and partnerships. Successive Secretaries General, the World Health Organization, UNICEF, UNESCO and the UN Human Rights Council have provided intelligence, relief and guidance. As intergovernmental bodies, these UN agencies cannot change the policies and laws of their member-states. Instead, their focus has been on gathering research about deleterious health and economic effects as well as on staging conferences, entering into partnerships and disseminating anti-VAWG action plans to member states in order to inform and help those interested in reforms.

The United Nations declared 1975 as International Women's Year, then two years later declared March 8th as International Women's Day. This designation focuses attention on broader women's issues—inequality as well as violence—in the media every year. In 1981, November 28th was chosen to be the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, a date coinciding with the 1960 murders of three political activists, the Mirabal sisters, by Dominican Republic dictator Rafael Trujillo. The White Ribbon in many countries has become its symbol. In 2011, October 11th was named as the International Day of the Girl Child, a designation used to underscore the special needs and difficulties facing young females around the world, adding concerns about neglect as well as violence.

In 2010, the United Nations General Assembly created a special agency: UN Women, the Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women¹⁵ and its Ending Violence Against Women Section.¹⁶ UN Women spokesperson Kalliope Mingeirou¹⁷ says the UN has built extensive relationships with implementing partners (including NGOs and civic networks) through its network of country offices. To date offices have been established in 65 countries with 500 staff to provide grassroots assistance.

UN Women also operates a Virtual Knowledge Center¹⁹ that gathers information about incidents, legislation, child marriages, shelters, response efforts, policies and programs. The UN General Assembly allocated funds for the database as a research tool for members. “We gather independent research, but member states [110 out of 192 total] give us information about what they are doing too,” said Mingeirou.

There has been progress, with Latin America as a bright spot, thanks to a UN partnership with the Organization of American States. Together they forged the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence against Women, known as the Convention of Belém do Pará (the Brazilian city where it was adopted in 1994).²⁰ It has been argued that the “machismo culture” in Latin America fosters domestic and street violence against women. “There has been accelerated change through



recognition of standards and progressive laws. Mexico has done a good job, so has Brazil. Many of these countries have adopted National Action Plans, devised by other countries, and have worked with NGOs and civil society,” Mingeirou said.

The UN Human Rights Council also monitors members through assignment of an ombudsman, known as the “Special Rapporteur.”²¹ She initiates her investigations internally in member countries, under the supervision of the Human Rights Council, and has sweeping powers. “The Rapporteur can’t be denied access [to do her audits] by institutions, persons or NGOs in member states,” said Mingeirou.

In addition, the UN’s Committee to enforce the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women²² monitors implementation by those member nations that have signed the Convention. If a country is found to be in contravention of the convention, the UN’s Committee makes specific recommendations to convention members that are posted on its website. There is no mechanism to force change, only to put peer pressure on countries that are not living up to their pledges.

The UN’s World Health Organization²³ regards VAWG as a “pandemic” health issue. It publishes VAWG studies, research findings and fact sheets in dozens of languages. The material includes information about intimate partner violence; sexual violence; “femicide;” female genital mutilation; human trafficking and health consequences as a result of abuse and neglect. It conducts surveys and compiles evidence to advance global recognition of the issues and to promote remedies²⁴ that can be implemented by UN members.

In 2012, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) published a 115-page World Atlas of Gender Equality in Education with information broken down by country that included dropout rates, trends and completion percentages.²⁵ The lowest female participation rates in formal education were in sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East. A follow-up report, in March 2014, titled the “Education for All Global Report,” noted that the Arab region was behind the rest of the world. Pauline Rose, author and former Director of the “Education for All Global Monitoring Report,” said, “The Arab world is the region that is lagging most behind. The reasons are largely cultural.”²⁶

In 2013, UNESCO’s Education for All Monitoring Report noted that gaps²⁷ in female educational outcomes and opportunities condemn them to poverty and disenfranchisement. “Fewer girls than boys are in school. Alongside, sub-Saharan Africa, the Arab States has the widest gender gap. Nine out of 15 countries with data have not yet achieved gender parity at the primary level. Disparities are further aggravated by wealth and location: In 2005 in Iraq, almost all children from rich households had been to school, but 34% of poor girls in the South had never been school versus 15% of poor boys in that region.”



This suggests several influences: families emphasize education for boys over girls when money is insufficient to cover both; there is less commitment to female education; travel outside the home to school may be hazardous for girls; girls are relegated to household chores or child raising; and education for females may be pointless because they lack opportunities.

"Discrimination in education and training continues through into the workplace for young women. In Egypt for example, young men in urban areas who have completed secondary school are five times more likely to earn over \$2 a day than are young women with the same level of education," said UNESCO's Monitoring Report.

The World Bank and International Monetary Fund have also addressed VAWG as an economic development as well as human rights issue. At the World Economic Forum meeting in Davos in 2013, Managing Director Christine Lagarde invoked the Delhi gang rape and the shooting of Pakistani educational activist Malala Yosafzai in 2012. "I dedicate the moment [of addressing the WEF meeting] to Malala, daughter of Pakistan and another daughter in India [the rape case]. You will ask what it has to do with the economy. It is indeed about economy and equality and bringing in prosperity. Gender inequality is also very important and the policymakers have not paid enough attention...the fact is when women do better the country does better and policymakers need to understand this."²⁸

Such traditional institutions provide information and advocacy, but cannot bring about reforms of nation-states, cultures or religions. This is why GSNs need to be nurtured to supplement and scale efforts to help bring about better outcomes.

The Role of Global Solution Networks

There is a fundamental change underway regarding how global problems can be solved and perhaps how we govern ourselves. Emerging non-state networks of civil society, private sector, government and individual stakeholders are achieving new forms of cooperation and social change as well as the production of global public value. These GSNs address all of the urgent issues facing humanity from poverty, human rights, health and the environment, to economic policy, war and violence against women and girls.

GSNs have been defined both in terms of key characteristics and in terms of the different types of functions they perform. The presentation of the case studies and the ensuing analysis follows the framework set out in the GSN definition.



The four characteristics are as follows:

1. **Diverse Stakeholders.** There are participants from at least two of the four pillars of society (government or international institutions; corporations and business interests; the civil society; and individual citizens).
2. **Beyond One Nation State.** The network should be global or at least multi-national, having participants from more than one country. To date there are few networks that are truly global and that operate on multiple levels—other than the Internet itself—while there are a growing number of problems that are truly global.
3. **Networking.** It must be a 21st century network in the sense that it harnesses digital communications tools and platforms to achieve its goals.
4. **Progressive Goals.** The network seeks to improve the state of the world through developing new policies or new solutions, influencing states and institutions or otherwise contributing to economic and social development, human rights, sustainability, democracy, global cooperation, building empowering platforms and global governance. One way of thinking about this is that these networks seek to solve a global problem.

The ten types of functional networks are:

1. **Advocacy Networks** seek to change the agenda or policies of governments, corporations or other institutions.
2. **Diaspora Networks** pursue problem solving through kinship and ethnicity connections.
3. **Global Standards Networks** are non-state based organizations that develop technical specifications and standards for virtually anything, including standards for the Internet itself.
4. **Governance Networks** have achieved or been granted the right and responsibility of non-institutional global governance.
5. **Knowledge Networks**, which develop new thinking, research, ideas and policies that can be helpful in solving global problems. Their emphasis is on the creation of new ideas, not their advocacy.
6. **Networked Institutions** provide a wide range of capabilities even similar to state-based institutions but with a very different *modus operandi*.





7. **Operational and Delivery Networks** actually deliver the change they seek, supplementing or even bypassing the efforts of traditional institutions.
8. **Platforms** create the capability for other networks to organize.
9. **Policy Networks** create government policy even though they are not networks of government policy makers.
10. **Watchdog Networks** scrutinize institutions to ensure they behave appropriately.

Examples of Global Solution Networks that Address Issues of Violence against women:

Hillary Clinton speaks at the 2013 Vital Voices Global Leadership Awards.³⁰

Advocacy Networks

Senator Hillary Clinton launched Vital Voices²⁹ Global Partnership in 1997 to advance the involvement of women in democratic institutions. In 2000, Vital Voices became an international, self-financing advocacy network and by 2012 had an annual budget of \$13 million. Its partners include the Inter-American Development Bank, the UN, the World Bank, the Nordic Council of Ministers, the European Union and other governments.

The group provides publicity, fundraising and resources for individuals and organizations such as the Malala Fund to build schools for girls; ANNpower to train leaders; the Global Leadership Awards to honor outstanding work in economic, political and legal fields and the Global Ambassadors Program to mentor women worldwide. Vital Voices also forms strategic partnerships such as Women in the World Foundation to mentor female leaders; Avon Foundation for Women to help survivors of extreme violence; Goldman Sachs' 10,000 Women; Humanity United plus various corporations involved in the cause.³¹

Vital Voices develops leadership skills in women and stages conferences and workshops. To date, its mentors have trained 14,000 women from 144 countries and those 14,000 have, in turn, returned home to mentor another 500,000 women and girls. Besides advocacy, Vital Voices provides direct services through its leaders such as emergency medical and financial assistance to survivors of extreme violence or to local NGOs.³²



Cindy Dyer is Vice President for Human Rights at Vital Voices and was one of the first prosecutors in the U.S. to specialize in VAWG cases.³³ She said that Vital Voices³⁴ works with women in dozens of countries, supporting them in their endeavors. This includes activities such as backing the efforts of Malala or financing activists who provide shelter, counseling and job training services to victims so that they can become self-sufficient. It also works with women leaders who raise local awareness of issues and resources, who advocate for change and who serve as litigators to fight court cases and lobby governments.

"We aren't doing research and those people talking about the issues don't take the place of people on the ground or the survivors talking about the issues," said Dyer. "Whether it's trafficking or domestic violence, we work with direct service providers all over the world and have connected them across the world. We talk with victims. We support training with police, prosecutors, government officials and judges about how to implement their laws even if they are imperfect. We're not doing research. We are trying to plug those holes."

Such Advocacy Networks are critical in developing nations that lack strong or independent media outlets, political opposition parties or well-developed and motivated civil society groups. But they are limited in terms of financial and personnel resources. What's more, they are only as effective as the leaders in the field who may be sidelined, harmed or expelled. The only protection for these important Advocacy Networks is size, influence and alliances with others engaged in the struggle.

Watchdog Networks

Amnesty International³⁵ and Human Rights Watch³⁶ are the world's foremost watchdog networks—established, well-funded and blanketing the globe with their networks of investigators, communicators and activists. They are an important force in regions such as Iran³⁷ where human rights abuses are rampant and other agencies are denied access. Amnesty was launched in 1961 and now has 4.5 million supporters and activists. Human Rights Watch was founded in 1978 and is supported principally by the George Soros Open Society Fund along with thousands more donors around the world. Its principal strategy has been to "name and shame" abusive governments through media and other outlets. Both raise tens of millions of dollars annually and provide needed transparency wherever the media is insufficient, non-existent or censored.

Technology has helped create specialized watchdog networks that allow women to better monitor their environment, enabling them to avoid danger. In 2010, UN Women launched its Safe Cities Global Initiative³⁸ to deal with the dangers that face women in both urban and rural settings. Subsequently, more than 80 local and global NGOs, UN agencies, the Habitat Network, women's groups, mayors' offices and governments convened to develop, implement and evaluate comprehensive approaches to make the world's



“ To date, its mentors have trained 14,000 women from 144 countries and those 14,000 have, in turn, returned home to mentor another 500,000 women and girls. ”

streets safer for women and girls. The initiative has pioneered the use of new online tools based on crowd-sourced mapping in several countries.

The New Delhi rapes in 2012 led to creation of a website called Safecity that identifies “safe” and “unsafe” areas in real time. The website was created by young entrepreneurs Alsa D’Silva, Saloni Malhotra, Surya Velamuri and Aditya Kapoor. “Police reform, judicial reform, those are all great things, but given the population of the country, I don’t think the system can handle it,” D’Silva said.³⁹ “We need new and innovative ways to facilitate a cultural shift...People should start using data for their own protection and safety. It’s not possible to only rely on the government and police for solutions.”

The site is culturally customized, said Velamuri, to “include Indian behavior such as cat-calling, touching and groping, sexual [invitations], indecent exposure, et cetera.” Rape statistics are under-reported and the site helps to reveal the extent of problems and to embarrass police forces. Safecity has also led to a safety ranking of cities, and subsequent headlines in the media, that help advance the safety agenda.

HarassMap⁴⁰ was “born as a response to the persistent problem of sexual harassment on the streets of Egypt, to which society had become increasingly tolerant.” Volunteers use their cell phones to call in danger zones and to issue warnings. They work with the community to find solutions to make the streets safer and alert activists to embark upon citizen’s arrests or to threaten or shame miscreants by emailing their photographs with descriptions of their misdeeds.⁴¹ Some watchdog networks have turned to vigilantism and members roam the streets to spray paint or rough up men who are abusive, leering, groping or assaulting women and girls in public places.

Watchdog networks are as essential to bringing about reform, better outcomes and improvements in attitudes, as is a strong, independent media in the developed world. They are the eyes and ears of society, often representing the only means of exposing wrongdoing and demanding accountability.

Operations and Delivery Networks

The International Rescue Committee Inc. (IRC) was founded in 1933 at the urging of Albert Einstein to help European refugees. It now has revenues of \$487 million that it uses to provide emergency relief on behalf of charities, individual donors, foundations and governments⁴². It also provides millions for women’s health care, counseling and shelters for sexual violence survivors in 17 countries. This includes economic empowerment programs that teach women skills they need to support themselves and their families. The organization also works to strengthen laws related to violence against and exploitation of women.



“ It also provides millions for women’s health care, counseling and shelters for sexual violence survivors in 17 countries. ”

The IRC maintains an influential blue-ribbon board of directors including Jean Kennedy Smith, actress Liv Ullman, *Foreign Affairs Magazine* Editor Gideon Rose and representatives from funding organizations such as J.P. Morgan Chase, American Express, UN Foundation, Ditchley Foundation, BBDO and others.⁴³ The IRC’s Vision Not Victim project enabled thousands of adolescent girls in the Democratic Republic of Congo to envision a positive future, to share their ambitions and to create change in their lives and communities. The IRC provides medical care, counseling and legal aid. It partners with community groups and launches campaigns to challenge norms, change behaviors and stop violence.

Since 1993, Women for Women International⁴⁴ has been a significant operational and delivery network that enjoys the support of blue-ribbon corporations and foundations such as the Bloomberg Foundation.⁴⁵ The organization works with female survivors of war and has trained more than 350,000 people in skills that enable them to become economically self-sufficient. This has been possible through the distribution of \$103 million in annual direct aid, microcredit loans and other services in eight war-torn nations: Afghanistan, Bosnia & Herzegovina, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq, Kosovo, Nigeria, Rwanda and South Sudan. Women for Women has also engaged 300,000 supporters from 185 different countries as donors, fundraisers, sponsors and field volunteers.



Women for Women International has trained more than 350,000 women since 1993⁴⁶

These operational and delivery networks are especially critical when it comes to interventions in failed or conflict states where there is neither adequate food nor infrastructure. It’s not coincidental that both organizations have their roots and conduct their activities in war zones



around the world. That's because VAWG thrives during times of war and represents a form of warfare against women and their children that requires enormous logistical and financial resources to stop. These groups, and other NGOs, work with the United Nations, CARE and other aid agencies. Amnesty International says that in recent years rape by conquerors has gone from being one of the spoils of war to becoming a principal weapon to subjugate and destroy communities.

Mass rape during conflicts humiliates the populace and results in the birth of many children with unknown patrimony. Like rape generally, this is an institutionally organized way of forcefully controlling victims, their families and communities. "Is rape really a matter for the United Nations? The Security Council has answered that question with a resounding 'yes' by voting unanimously [in 2008] for a resolution describing rape as a tactic of war and a threat to international security. But according to the UN Human Rights website, the more important question is: Will the resolution give teeth to efforts to stem sexual violence against women in conflict situations?"⁴⁷

UNHR cited remarks from Major-General Patrick Cammaert, former commander of UN peacekeeping forces in the eastern Congo. "You destroy communities. You punish the men, and you punish the women, doing it in front of the men. It has probably become more dangerous to be a woman than a soldier in armed conflict."

Diaspora Networks

There are groups working on behalf of their cohorts from offshore either by choice or necessity. An effective network involved in the most hazardous cultures and countries for females is Women Living Under Muslim Laws.⁴⁸ Formed in 1984, WLULM is based in London and provides networking, support, alerts, solidarity and education to women and organizations in 70 countries. It gathers petitions and undertakes advocacy with regard to issues such as stoning females, honor killings, forced marriages to rapists, lifestyle and educational restrictions and the lack of property asset protections through its "Our Voices" platform.

"They're awesome, global in scope and based in the UK," said Irshad Manji, a Canadian journalist and author, in an interview. She took on Islamic injustice toward women (and men) in her groundbreaking book, *The Trouble with Islam*, and is a professor and an advocate of a "reform and progressive" interpretation of Islam at the Moral Courage Project⁴⁹ at New York University. She develops leadership and decision-making skills to help students and groups develop the fortitude to make moral choices and to defy theological interpretations of Islam by abusive leaders to justify neglect, violent actions against females and domestic violence.

WLULM provides information, advice and support to women living under some of the most oppressive conditions in the world. This is a burgeoning feminist and Islamic reformist network that stretches from South Africa to



Uzbekistan, Brazil to France. In the Global Solutions Network taxonomy, this collaboration combines elements of diaspora, advocacy, knowledge and watchdog networks.

The organization formed following three cases in Muslim communities in which women were being denied rights. Nine leaders from eight countries formed an Action Committee and their network linked these isolated women with global feminist and progressive groups. The group issues Plans of Action⁵⁰ that guide its priorities: exposing fundamentalist practices, promoting and protecting women's equality under existing laws, resisting the impact of militarization and widening the debate about women's bodily autonomy.



Malala Yosafzai supports hashtag calling for return of kidnapped schoolgirls in Nigeria in 2014.⁵⁵¹

The organization consists of a Council and Coordination Offices or sub-committees in Pakistan and Senegal. "We are especially concerned about marginalized women. This includes non-Muslims in Muslim majority states, especially where space for religious minorities is rapidly dwindling; Muslim minorities facing discrimination, oppression, or racism; and women whose



assertions of sexuality—including but not limited to sexual orientation—are either criminalized or are socially unacceptable,” reads its mission statement.

The group provides information to women about their legal rights, asylum opportunities and applications, and links to institutions that can provide safety and counseling. The group also documents trends and selectively responds to information requests from academia, media, NGOs and government institutions. It translates information into French, Arabic and English whenever possible. It also provides training, exchanges and workshops to enhance networking across boundaries.

Partners of WLUML include Act Together, Arab Regional Resource Center on Violence Against Women, BAOBAB for Women’s Human Rights, Center for Egyptian Women’s Legal Assistance, Lebanese Council to Resist Violence Against Women, Palestinian Working Women Society for Development, Queer Jihad, Research Action and Information Network for the Bodily Integrity of Women, Rainbo, Sisters in Islam, Women Against Fundamentalisms and Women’s Global Network for Reproductive Rights.

WLUML does more heavy lifting on behalf of the world’s most vulnerable women than does any other network. The group challenges the most violent cultures in the world over issues such as polygamy, honor killing, stoning, child marriage, forced marriage to rapists, educational injustice, homophobia, domestic violence, lack of reproductive rights, lack of property rights, lack of access to children after divorce and many more abuses commonplace in Arab and extremist Muslim societies. This network deserves more support and protection in all respects from governments and the rest of the VAWG ecosystem.

Interestingly, some issues, notably wife beating, are being debated with more frequency in relatively prosperous, democratic Islamic nations such as Iraq, Tunisia and Turkey. Increased debate notwithstanding, a Turkish poll in 2013 showed that 62% of men thought that beating a wife remained a husband’s right,⁵² but the issue of criminalization is still debated. In Iraq in 2014, wife beating became an election issue because female candidates championed the cause. Under Iraq’s constitution, women must hold 25% of elected seats. In Tunisia, domestic⁵³ violence has been criminalized, and women enjoy property and other rights not available to women in most Arab cultures.

Violence against women takes root and grows wherever it is legally and morally permitted, as is the case in many Arab countries. It’s also an underlying factor in the export of violence from Arab cultures to the rest of the world. Violence begets violence.

Networked Institutions

The World Economic Forum (WEF) began in 1971 as an executive education and networking opportunity for CEOs. This soon broadened into a high-level gathering of business, political, academic and other leaders



“In Iraq in 2014, wife beating became an election issue because female candidates championed the cause.”

of society who aim to deal with the world's great challenges. Today, WEF finances studies and policy initiatives—undertaking them with the support of corporate sponsors.

In 2006, WEF began publishing its Global Gender Gap Report⁵⁴ to capture the magnitude and scale of gender-based disparities around the world. WEF also helped launch Girl Effect⁵⁵ in 2008, sponsored by the Nike Foundation, in collaboration with the NoVo Foundation, the United Nations Foundation and Coalition for Adolescent Girls. Girl Effect produces materials to illustrate the role girls can play in socio-economic development. The thesis, and facts are that when girls are educated, healthy and provided with economic opportunities, the cycle of poverty can be broken along with the incidence of domestic violence, rape, child marriage, teen pregnancy and HIV/AIDS.

Nike has drawn together major sponsors and donors such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and has linked up with the Half the Sky Movement, UN Women, Save the Children, UNICEF, US AID and the Grameen Foundation, the world's micro-finance pioneer. Girl Effect funds the Girl Hub that helps girls in poor regions to start their own networks, find partners and training, run businesses and become activists.

Like the WEF, The Clinton Foundation stages a summit every year to encourage philanthropy and support for major causes. After leaving office in 2001, President Bill Clinton was asked to help build a health care system to address the pandemic of HIV/AIDS. At the urging of Nelson Mandela, he launched the Clinton HIV/AIDS Initiative that has since become the Clinton Health Access Initiative.⁵⁶ In 2005, the first Clinton Global Initiative (CGI) summit was held—bringing together leaders, CEOs and philanthropists to commit funds to meet global challenges. In the eight years since, the Initiative has raised \$87.9 billion and impacted millions of lives.

The Foundation concentrates on nine areas, including its Girls & Women Track⁵⁷ that strives to better address the needs of women. CGI members are active in a range of tasks such as helping women along the corporate value chain, increasing development solutions to address violence against women in urban areas and addressing income and legal gaps. In 2012, the organization embarked on an ambitious project to be completed in 2015 called “No Ceilings: The Full Participation Project.”⁵⁸ Hillary Clinton is bringing together partner organizations to evaluate and quantify the progress women and girls have made globally in the 20 years since the UN Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing. The “No Ceilings” document will serve as a call to action and blueprint for the future.

The significance of networked institutions is that they can achieve two goals at once. They involve celebrities, global political figures and media influencers that raise awareness, but they also can raise major donations for causes. The ability to draw attention and cash to the issue of VAWG will continue to be important. These groups also spin off other networks like Girl Effect. Three of the world's wealthiest individuals—Bill and Melinda Gates and Warren Buffett—in June 2010 launched their Giving Pledge to convince



“...when girls are educated, healthy and provided with economic opportunities, the cycle of poverty can be broken along with practices such as domestic violence, rape, child marriage, teen pregnancy and HIV/AIDs. ”

America's 400 billionaires to sign a pledge to give away half their wealth.⁵⁹ By 2014, 91 had signed the pledge.

Governance Networks

Tau Investment Management⁶⁰ is building a governance network that will provide incentives for corporations to eliminate abusive labor practices and create more progressive working environments for women. The plan is to raise \$1 billion to finance a pioneering scheme to eliminate slave or forced labor supply chains that mostly exploit women and children. Its motto is to provide “Capitalist Solutions to Capitalism’s Failures”.

One of the founders, Jean Baderschneider, has been involved in the cause of eradicating forced labor and trafficking for years while an executive with ExxonMobil Corp. She is involved with Made in A Free World (that has a provocative website called Slavery Footprint⁶¹ that quantifies the number of slave workers that produce the products you buy based on a questionnaire), Human Trafficking Awareness and the Polarisproject.org. She has worked with NGOs that employ women survivors of trafficking in making crafts and goods and worked with governments to effect legislative change.

“But governments, laws and NGOs don’t make a dent,” she said in an interview at the Milken Institute Conference in 2014.⁶² “Laws are passed that have no teeth. There is legislation against forced labor in 190 countries. The solution is that business must be engaged in human rights issues, just as it has become involved in health and safety issues. Companies must buy into the cause and make money from it.”

Tau has been initially supported by the Soros family and hopes to raise \$1 billion by 2015 from importers and investors. The US Federal Government estimates that there are \$35 billion in profits made by forced or slave labor, but Baderschneider estimates the number to be as high as \$250 billion. Tau's target countries are Bangladesh and then others in Asia and their supply chain companies in the garment sector with revenues of more than \$70 million a year. Baderschneider says the goal is to partner with a handful of these companies, identify a replicable model, scale-up the model, and then measure the result in 18 months. “We want to prove that companies can make money and achieve scale by creating an ethical workplace,” she said.

Tau and other governance networks contribute to the cause by bringing in corporate partners, by setting industry standards and furthering global social responsibility in a profit-making way. Recent legislation in the US and California has provided momentum by making American corporations responsible for any exploitation or slavery within their supply chains. Tau's unique launch may pave the way for others to create a virtuous network of capitalists that will do well by doing good. “We hope to create a race to the top among suppliers,” said Tau's President Oliver Niedermayer.⁶³



Vigilante Networks

In cases where security forces and/or legislation are insufficient to protect women, individuals and organizations have at times filled the vacuum by breaking laws to correct injustices. Sometimes, the intention is strictly mischief and aimed at commonly reviled targets. Others operate clandestinely as hackers, or hactivists and still others operate as citizen police, armed with cellphones and cyber weapons. While such vigilante networks are not part of the GSN taxonomy, they do operate as networks and they are having an impact on violence against women and girls, even if their legitimacy is often questioned.

The most famous, and most digitally savvy, of these vigilante groups is Anonymous⁶⁴ which leaks information or inflicts damage on entities it believes to be guilty of wrongdoing. Its tactics include publicity stunts, hacking frenzies and denial-of-service attacks. Anonymous has its own news site that includes current campaigns, alerting members about future projects and providing a means of making donations... anonymously of course.⁶⁵ Another website that features stories about Anonymous' actions or future plans is Political Blindsight, which featured an article about Anonymous Tunisia's hundreds of attacks against Israel.⁶⁶

Targets are mostly pet causes (a regulated Internet, marijuana legalization, fighting white supremacists and child pornographers) but also government, religious and corporate websites. It picks its spots and has waded into the issue of violence against women and girls here and there. Anonymous surfaced in 2003 on a site that espoused anarchy and creation of a digitized global brain. Its members are called "Anons" and when appearing in public don masks depicting Guy Fawkes, an infamous British terrorist who unsuccessfully plotted to blow up Parliament in 1605.

A recent case that made headlines involved Deric Lostutter of Ohio and the Steubenville Rape Case. Lostutter released a video made of the attack that showed that the victim was unconscious and unable to consent. He then posted the video on the high school football team website and also obtained tweets and social media posts by others that contained details of the rape. The evidence helped convict two perpetrators—seemingly untouchable members of the high school football team. However, the methods he used to obtain that information ran afoul of the law and he ended up facing a longer prison sentence than did the two convicted men.⁶⁷





Members of Anonymous join protesters in 2013⁶⁸

In Canada, a similar high school gang rape occurred in 2011 in Nova Scotia. The school and police did not take action, and ultimately the victim, Rehtaeh Parsons, committed suicide. Anonymous obtained the names of the four rapists, and threatened to release their names (something not allowed under Canadian law protecting minors) unless police and prosecutors pursued punishment.⁶⁹ The police have since arrested two individuals in the case.⁷⁰

But operating outside the law can lead to recklessness and in another case Anonymous publicly announced the identity of a Vancouver man that they believed to be responsible for the death of Amanda Todd, a teenager who committed suicide after being sexually exploited online.⁷¹ The man was then subjected to threats and harassment, although the police subsequently determined that he was not involved in the case. Months later, a man from The Netherlands was arrested in connection with Todd's death⁷² and the possible sexual exploitation of other children.

The difficulty in analyzing the effectiveness of this organization is that thousands of individuals may claim to be members of Anonymous but may not be. They are like a criminal gang that swells in size, but also ebbs depending on the fear of detection by authorities. But the group is powerful and in January 2012 launched a damaging attack against the anti-digital piracy campaign waged by Hollywood and music industry associations. Like WikiLeaks, "Anons" regard themselves as "freedom fighters" while critics consider them "a cyber lynch-mob" or "terrorists." Even so, in 2012 *Time* magazine listed Anonymous as one of the "100 most influential people" in the world.

In February 2013, Anonymous hactivists swarmed around the VAWG issue by publishing online maps tracking missing and murdered aboriginal women in Canada. This was meant to raise public awareness and embarrass police and the courts. The maps, based on police data and reports from citizen-



police, aimed to demonstrate the excessive amount of violence against aboriginal women in Canada compared to incidents in the United States.

Most controversial was that the map highlighted Thunder Bay, Ontario following the questionable investigation into the abduction and sexual assault of a First Nations woman there.⁷³ “[It will] create that visual force to bring evidence to the scope of the problem in a way that will break the silence and in a way that will hopefully get all of Canada aware,” said Christi Belcourt a friend of the victim.

Vigilante networks exist everywhere but operate in secrecy because their activities are illegal. However, recently two other vigilante networks have come to public attention, one in India and another in Mexico. In 2010, Sampat Pal Davi founded the Gulabi (Hindu for Pink Sari) Gang⁷⁴ A mother of five, child bride and former government health worker, she decided to organize a network to put an end to widespread domestic abuse. Gulabis, wearing their pink saris, visit abusive husbands and threaten to beat them with laathis (sticks) unless they promise to stop harming their wives.

In 2008, vigilante networks attacked corruption by occupying an electricity office until officials restored power to people they were extorting. They have also targeted, and prevented, child marriages; campaigned to end dowries; and demanded education for females. They have been romanticized and featured in documentaries in India and claim to have 20,000 members, including a chapter in Paris, France.

In Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, another vigilante network developed following 100 murders and dozens of assaults of female passengers on buses travelling in isolated portions of the city. In 2013, a woman calling herself Diane the Huntress shot several bus driver suspects who drove the route where the crimes occurred. She published messages online about her activities, but has never been caught.

Her revenge shootings resulted in a plainclothes police presence on these bus routes. Until she stalked drivers, on behalf of their victims, police had ignored the murders and made a few arrests that never led to jail sentences. An email written by her stated: “I myself and other women have suffered in silence but we can’t stay quiet anymore. We were victims of sexual violence by the drivers on the night shift on the routes to the maquilas [border factories]. I am the instrument of vengeance for women.”⁷⁵

In Egypt, some anti-harassment activists have formed⁷⁶ vigilante groups, swarming around perpetrators or beating them before taking them to police stations. Others prowl the city in fluorescent green vests with “combating harassment” written on their backs and they spray paint a message on the backs of assailants: “I’m a harasser.” They also publish pictures on social media. Sherine Badr el-Din began her activism by asking men to get off the women-only cars on the Cairo subway, set up as a safe zone for females. When they refused, she videotaped them and posted their pictures on the Internet. “Violence is not our method, but the pressure was tremendous,” she told *The New York Times*.



Vigilante networks are borne of frustration at the inability or unwillingness of conventional law enforcement to address perceived injustices. While understandable, their efforts can be undesirable and unsustainable. Their secrecy and ruthlessness can lead to irresponsible behavior and damage to innocent persons. Their targets are often unjustifiable and their efforts intermittent. On the other hand, in the absence of real progress in many countries, such grassroots efforts may be the only pressure, deterrents or justice available and the several cases above prove this assertion. But revenge is in the eye of the beholder and, lest we forget, the Taliban, Boko Haram (Taliban-style extremists who kidnapped 270 Nigerian schoolgirls in 2014) and Al Qaeda are generally assumed to be *de facto* revenge networks.

Implications for Network Leaders

Global outrage follows every atrocity that generates world headlines. But widespread repulsion has failed to transform itself into a powerful global movement yet, as happened with slavery decades ago. One of the reasons is that those involved in combatting VAWG operate in silos and their efforts are Balkanized. Unable to achieve scale by merging, players squander their resources by duplicating one another's efforts or by competing against one another for funds, resources and attention rather than uniting into an unstoppable force for change.

Ideally, Vital Voices and others should be placing hundreds of thousands—not tens of thousands—of women leaders, activists and advocates in the field to deliver grassroots services, resources, information and political clout. Financial support is woefully inadequate, given the extent of the problem and the degree of global sympathy among females and males alike.

A global issue like gender violence will require stakeholders from all sectors and regions to work together to achieve success. Domestic violence was not criminalized until the 1930s in the US and universal suffrage was granted by a handful of regions in the late 19th century. These causes became laws in democratic jurisdictions after a great deal of hard work and expenditure.

The lesson to be drawn here is that even after laws against domestic violence passed, leaders of America's VAWG organizations in the 1970s realized they had to join forces to bring about truly national change as opposed to fighting dozens of skirmishes at local levels. Conferences were held so organizations could meet and form alliances. Enduring relationships resulted and led to a national network capable of successfully lobbying for reforms that included, among other changes, courts and police specializing in domestic violence cases.

Vital Voice's Cindy Dyer was involved in this process and believes that the same collaboration must be undertaken globally. "We need a grassroots global advocacy network for VAWG to really attack this," she said.⁷⁷ "This was achieved in the US [in the 1970s and 1980s] by annual meetings and a great deal of effort by leaders involved in the movement over many years."



“ Vigilante Networks are borne of frustration at the inability or unwillingness of conventional law enforcement to address perceived injustices. While understandable, their efforts are undesirable and unsustainable. ”

Collaborations work because best practices are adopted, resources and ideas are shared and competition leads to innovations. It's a form of open source for organizations and individuals. A regional example was the collaborative Convention of Belém do Pará adopted in 1994⁷⁸ which was a success and created a network of policy and political champions for the cause across Latin America, resulting in better laws, social stigmatization toward violence and lower incidences of violence in participating countries, said the UN Women's spokesperson Mingeiro.

Network leaders must optimize their use of technology and training to advance the cause. By 2015, there will be more mobile phones than people in the world and this revolution will provide the infrastructure to bring about more rapid reforms. Cellphones "arm" young persons with the ability to quickly organize protests, obtain help or aid, recruit volunteers or provide alerts, and to transmit news and warnings to others. They replace the media, they function as police, and they deliver justice by providing audio and video evidence of abuses that can be widely disseminated to authorities, the media and the public. VAWG organizations must embrace and master this tool by training their staff and victims, then deploying mobile technology in the field.

Google Maps could make an enormous contribution by crisis mapping the world in real time for women. Metrics could include high crime areas, reported incidences of sexual harassment or abuse and poorly lit or poorly policed areas. Currently, rape or harassment mapping projects occur during crises, on an *ad hoc* basis, by volunteers. But danger mapping for the world's females would serve as a desirable geopolitical utility that could provide females with more security. Google's involvement would bring immediate scale so that police statistics and real-time reports could be synthesized quickly for posting on a world crisis map that anyone could monitor. It would also serve to embarrass regimes that don't protect their females.

Anti-VAWG networks should share data and research to improve trust, transparency and collaboration among diverse stakeholders. Successful members should share best practices information as well as data and resources as long as the privacy and safety of victims, activists and whistleblowers is not compromised. Sharing will generate new ideas and strategies and reconcile disagreements that now exist. For instance, Transparency International (that measures corruption by country) could be formed that would annually rank, and embarrass, the world's governments based on a number of meaningful metrics.

Information that is already gathered and compiled could be included in this global effort. The UNESCO World Atlas on Education annual monitoring reports or the info-graphic mapping published by the Woman Stats Project,⁷⁹ a comprehensive research task undertaken by academics at nine universities in four countries would be a source of facts. The Woman Stats Project publishes maps that display, at a glance, how countries treat their females according to criteria such as assaults, educational opportunities or private property rights.



Another helpful tool would be to create a VAWG Wikipedia that would cull, curate and reconcile information drawn from all the world's databases. This would be a source for discussion, policy formulation and research. Distilled and accurate facts would become useful guides to agencies, grant giving organizations, political and business leaders, donors, governments, institutions, websites and support networks. Wikipedia's editors, who are volunteers, could be recruited for this cause. Currently, the UN Women's effort in this task is laudable but under-funded.

Network leaders should harness online crowd funding to bring about more accountability and, therefore, attract more dollars to support initiatives. One of the impediments to more quickly improve outcomes is the lack of funding. Vital Voices, Amnesty International and others have developed this expertise in order to extend their reach dramatically. To raise funds, they also disclose audited financial statements as well as sources of funds, board representations, mission statements, supporters and project descriptions. They also have prominent and credible leaders involved in their cause. These are essential factors needed in order to attract donors. But such transparency costs money.

Technology can provide a means for individuals to make small contributions to small or large groups. What is needed is a VAWG "Kickstarter," a successful crowd funding website, launched to raise money for women's rights groups, specific initiatives, micro-finance loans to women, and projects. Crowd funding sites eliminate expensive fundraising costs, no matter how small the contributions, and provide accountability, and credibility to the equation, thus enabling even more funds to be raised.

A VAWG crowd funding website would impose discipline and eliminate fraud by screening requests for funds and rejecting frivolous or suspicious ones. It would also require complete disclosure of financial statements, backers and projects and then follow up, on behalf of donors, by publishing whether deliverables were realized on budget and on time. Currently, fundraising is impossible for startups and it is also often unfair to donors because execution and results are not transparent. For example, the website for the Malala Fund asks for donations but does not provide the names of management, directors or partners nor audited financial statements or details as to where the money will be spent, when and by whom.

Without such auditing and disclosure, incompetents and fraudsters can and possibly do enter this space. This impedes money-raising efforts for everyone and prevents access to the gigantic potential donor base of women and others interested in eradicating VAWG.

Network leaders must realize that scale is essential. Ideally, Vital Voices, and others involved in leadership development, should be training and supporting hundreds of thousands of female leaders around the world, not merely a few thousand. They must join forces, form partnerships and forge joint ventures.

The International Diaspora Engagement Alliance (IDEA),⁸⁰ promotes diaspora-centered initiatives aimed at economic and social development.



IDEA describes itself as a non-partisan, non-profit organization and a public-private partnership between the US Department of State, US AID and the Calvert Foundation. Diaspora networks are an untapped resource for the cause. One need only consider the success of Israel, in light of support from its diaspora, as well as support from expatriate Tamils, Mexicans or Ismaili diaspora.

The ideologies and theologies that underpin gender violence must be challenged forcefully through new advocacy networks. One example is Women Living Under Muslim Laws who challenge the beliefs that victimize women and girls or condemn them to second-class status. Besides Islam, other religions that need to be challenged include Roman Catholicism, Protestant fundamentalism and the Hindu Caste system. Islamic Extremists⁸¹ allegedly advocate wife beating while conservatives in the Roman Catholic Church demote females theologically by requiring obedience to their husbands and marriage for life even when in cases where husbands are abusive.⁸²

There is much work to be done and efforts will require years to bear fruit. But progress, in historical terms, has been made and the adoption by organizations, and their workers, of new tools and digital templates could truly globalize and accelerate the creation of powerful Global Solution Networks. It is said that it takes a village to raise a child, but it will take a global transformation of collaborative networks to save our girls.



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- ⁷⁵ The New York Times, http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/11/04/crowdfunding-citizen-journalism-in-cairo/?_php=true&_type=blogs&_php=true&_type=blogs&ref=middleeast&_r=1&
- ⁷⁶ Phone interview in 2014
- ⁷⁷ Organization of American States, About the Belem do Para Convention, <https://www.oas.org/en/mesecvi/convention.asp>
- ⁷⁸ Women Stats Project, <http://www.womanstats.org/>
- ⁷⁹ International Diaspora Engagement Alliance, <http://diasporaalliance.org/>
- ⁸⁰ The Religion of Peace, <http://www.thereligionofpeace.com/Quran/003-wife-beating.htm>



⁸¹ Citations from the Church on a range of issues, <https://www.ewtn.com/library/PROLENC/APPENDA.HTM>



About the Author



Diane Francis is an award-winning columnist, bestselling author, investigative journalist, and television commentator. She has written for the *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Daily Beast*, *Politico*, *Miami Herald* and is a regular contributor to the *New York Post*. She is Editor-at-Large at Canada's *National Post* and writes for *Huffington Post*. In addition she is a Distinguished Professor at Ryerson University's Ted Rogers School of Management and has been a Visiting Fellow at Harvard University's Joan Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy. In 1991, she became Editor of Canada's *Financial Post*, the first woman editor of a national daily newspaper in Canada, a position she held until the paper was sold in 1998.

Her 10 books cover government corruption, business fraud, money laundering, politics, immigration and economics. Her most recent book, *Merger of the Century: Why Canada and America Should Become One Country*, posits that both countries should combine—economically and politically—in order to combat China and the Asian Tigers's emerging economies. *The New Yorker* called it “shrewd” and *The Toronto Star* “meticulously documented.”



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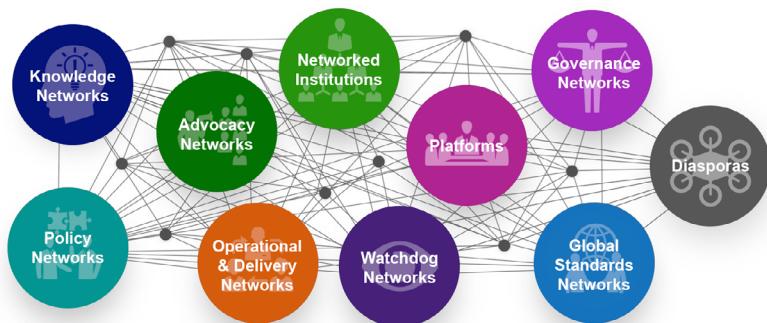
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