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WOMEN CAN LEAD, WILL WE LET THEM?

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LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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Moderator

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Secretary-general of the Council of Women World
Leaders at the Aspen Institute;
Senior advisor at Goldman Sachs

NANCY AOSSEY
President and CEO of International Medical Corps

JUDITH RODIN
Former executive director of UNICEF

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and Surveillance panel of the US Strategic Command's
Strategic Advisory Committee.

1 P R O C E E D I N G S

2 (Tape begins abruptly)

3 MS. SELLERS: -- the *Fortune* magazine and we're
4 just going to briefly explain, briefly, no more than 2
5 minutes each, why each of us is up here just to give you
6 some context. We want this to be really interactive so
7 I'm going to open it up to the audience early. So think
8 of questions and comments, please keep those brief but we
9 really want your feedback.

10 And so I've been at *Fortune* for 26 years. And
11 when I came in 1984 and for about 10 years I was writing
12 about -- basically about white men with -- without facial
13 hair --

14 (Laughter)

15 MS. SELLERS: -- because that's what the
16 business world was back then.

17 (Laughter)

18 MS. SELLERS: And in the mid '90s I started
19 writing about powerful women, for lack of a better term,
20 and we found these women to be really interesting and not
21 like the women of old who were 60. They were just, you
22 know, really dynamic and interesting.

1 And so we decided to do this package every year
2 called "Most Powerful Women" and so it's a rank list of
3 the 50 most powerful women in business in the United
4 States and outside the United States. And now we do a
5 Washington list and we're expanding it in many ways.

6 But it's now the second biggest franchise for
7 *Fortune* after the Fortune 500 which is completely
8 unintentional and completely a surprise to us but I think
9 that speaks to the power of women and the power of the
10 attraction of CEOs and headhunters. And you know they
11 look to our list as, kind of, like a, you know, a
12 guidebook for how to diversify their companies. And it's
13 been very satisfying, and the fact that it's been
14 inspiring to young women, is personally really gratifying
15 to me.

16 So I'd like to just, you know, give a few
17 comments as we talk about how I found women define power
18 which I think is very differently from the way men define
19 power. So next to me Ann Veneman, who I've known for a
20 few years and haven't seen for a long time

21 But Ann, why are you here?

22 MS. VENEMAN: Well, I'm delighted to be here and

1 delighted to be on the panel with all of these terrific
2 women. I am a lawyer by training. I spent some time in
3 government in the Department of Agriculture, primarily in
4 the international trade area and then ended up as deputy
5 secretary of Agriculture. And then I led three
6 organizations in about the last 15 or 16 years. I was the
7 secretary of Agriculture in California, the largest
8 agriculture producing state in the country, the only woman
9 ever to lead that department.

10 I was the secretary of Agriculture for the
11 United States, the only woman ever in that position and I
12 just finished a 5-year term as the executive director of
13 UNICEF. So I've had leadership experience at state,
14 federal, and international levels.

15 MS. SELLERS: Great.

16 Laura Liswood, why are you here?

17 MS. LISWOOD: Why am I here?

18 SPEAKER: Yeah.

19 MS. LISWOOD: That was more like, how did I get
20 here.

21 (Laughter)

22 MS. LISWOOD: Well, just for brief background,

1 I'm also a lawyer by trade although I went into law school
2 as chuck steak came out as hamburger meat so I decided
3 that maybe I didn't want to practice law. So I went on to
4 business school and then worked in the corporate world for
5 a number of years. And then there's -- my own particular
6 journey around women's leadership itself started with, as
7 I call it, one of those "in-the-shower" questions that we
8 all have most of which would stay in the shower.

9 (Laughter)

10 MS. LISWOOD: But this was what would it be like
11 if we had a woman president in the United States. And
12 that had actually come off of some research I had read
13 from the Center for American Women in Politics that said
14 that women state legislators actually legislated
15 differently from men.

16 And so I thought well, perhaps I can meet one
17 woman leader who is president or prime minister of her
18 country to sort of ask what that would be like. And it
19 turned out when I was doing this there were 15 living
20 women presidents and prime ministers. So I just went
21 about asking for these interviews with these world
22 leaders. Now I have no idea why I thought I could get an

1 interview with a world leader. I'm not from CNN. I'm not
2 Barbara Walters, you know, I've never asked anyone what
3 kind of a tree they would be if they were a tree.

4 (Laughter)

5 MS. LISWOOD: So I could have that -- my
6 interview skills were limited. But anyway, sort of cut to
7 the chase, after 18 months actually I had met all 15 of
8 the world leaders and presidents and prime ministers. Not
9 one of the world leaders turned me down for the interview,
10 albeit Margaret Thatcher said come back after you've met
11 everyone else.

12 (Laughter)

13 MS. LISWOOD: Anyway, so sort of from that I
14 learned a tremendous amount about leadership and ended up
15 creating a council of these women leaders and now I have
16 been for a number of years the secretary general of it.
17 In addition, on a separate parallel track I became the
18 managing director for global leadership and diversity for
19 a nameless investment bank.

20 (Laughter)

21 MS. SELLERS: Come on, it's not that bad.

22 (Laughter)

1 MS. LISWOOD: All right, Goldman Sachs, right
2 and so I'm still a senior advisor for them on global
3 leadership and diversity.

4 MS. SELLERS: Nancy Aosse, why are you here?

5 MS. AOSSEY: Well, I head up a humanitarian
6 organization called International Medical Corps but I
7 started in Iowa working right out of college, right out of
8 business school with AT&T in an entry level position. And
9 I remember one of my first experiences there -- there were
10 lots nice people -- was to be in a room, a small room,
11 with about say, it was 10 people. And we are all new to
12 the job.

13 And our new boss said, you know, we need some
14 copies. I was the only female in the room. He turned and
15 handed me the documents and asked me to go make copies.
16 And that was a little bit of my first introduction at that
17 time to what I thought it might be like for women, at
18 least for me, in this kind of corporate environment at
19 that time.

20 But luckily, I then learned about the work of
21 our founder Bob Simon and this group of really energetic
22 people who had this vision about delivering health care to

1 people who live in conflict areas, places like
2 Afghanistan. And it was a start-up organization. I loved
3 the people. I loved the founder. I loved, you know, the
4 energy of this group and the mission and I thought I can
5 really make something happen here.

6 So I started on the ground floor and it was very
7 much a grassroots level effort. I was 27 at that time.
8 It was 1986. I was making copies my first week because we
9 had no staff really. But it really since then has really
10 turned into for me, you know, a life's calling and a great
11 opportunity to really shape things for one, for myself
12 within the organization and also for women who live in
13 developing countries around the world.

14 MS. SELLERS: And you were just telling me you
15 now have 4,000 people and you had what was it, 10, when
16 you joined?

17 MS. AOSSEY: Yes. We had 10 people when we
18 joined. It was very, very grassroots, very start-up, lot
19 of really great volunteers who were the energy behind it.

20 MS. SELLERS: And you've basically given away or
21 provided, is probably the better word, a \$1 billion --

22 MS. AOSSEY: Yes.

1 MS. SELLERS: -- in medical supplies and
2 services --

3 MS. AOSSEY: That's right. And our focus is on
4 health care training. So a lot of what we do goes on for
5 many years afterwards because we train, say, Afghan women
6 doctors who are still practicing today so --

7 MS. SELLERS: That's great.

8 Judy Rodin, tell us about why you're here.

9 MS. RODIN: I'm here because as a graduate
10 student at Columbia in psychology my advisor who had never
11 taken a woman asked me whether I was taking birth control
12 pills. He otherwise -- this was in the early 1970s,
13 otherwise did not want to waste his time on me.

14 And so I was the only woman in my department and
15 I vowed then that I was going to succeed, just to show
16 him. And it was a wonderful journey. It started a little
17 bit out of spite but it ended up, I think, very
18 successfully out of love.

19 I had a phenomenal career at Yale as a research
20 psychologist and taught for many years, was the dean of
21 the graduate school and then the provost at Yale. I feel
22 -- and the first woman dean, not the first woman provost,

1 that was Hannah Gray. And then was asked to have the
2 privilege of leading my alma mater, the University of
3 Pennsylvania where I was the first woman Ivy League
4 president and the first alum to be president and Penn was
5 in an amazing place at that time.

6 So it was a real opportunity to demonstrate
7 significant leadership in the city. The city was almost
8 bankrupt. The university was really struggling with a
9 number of issues as well. And it was pretty extraordinary
10 to be and feel that a woman leader in higher education and
11 at that time, and still the largest private employer in
12 Philadelphia, could take over and really show what women's
13 leadership is all about.

14 MS. SELLERS: And now you run the Rockefeller
15 Foundation.

16 MS. RODIN: And now -- I'm sorry. And now I run
17 the Rockefeller Foundation.

18 MS. SELLERS: Don't forget about that.

19 MS. RODIN: Where I'm also the first woman to
20 have been president in 97 years.

21 MS. SELLERS: Wow.

22 MS. RODIN: And the Rockefeller Foundation, as

1 many of you know, is a global philanthropy giving more aid
2 to places around the world than the U.S. government until
3 the Marshall Plan. So it's had an extraordinary footprint
4 and Ann and I have had the privilege of working together
5 in many instances in her UNICEF role. And Rockefeller is
6 really exploring some very immediate and very compelling
7 global issues that I hope we'll have time to get back to,
8 many of which have to do with women not surprisingly in
9 the developing world.

10 MS. SELLERS: Joan Dempsey, tell us why you are
11 here.

12 MS. DEMPSEY: I'd be delighted to and hopefully
13 you'll agree with me after I explain why I'm here. I am
14 not an expert on women and leadership but I am a woman
15 leader. I spent 25 years in the government in leadership
16 positions. I left the government out of the White House
17 but prior to that I had -- still believe have the record
18 as the most senior woman in the U.S. intelligence system,
19 intelligence community and was the only woman so far whose
20 been confirmed by the Senate for an intelligence position.

21 I also had the senior civilian intelligence
22 position in the Department of Defense in the mid '90s.

1 But I started as an enlisted Navy woman in 1974 and it's
2 been a really interesting journey. And I've seen
3 leadership and been in leadership positions all the way
4 from E2 up to the most senior positions in government.
5 And I am delighted to be here on this panel and learn from
6 these very accomplished women what makes a good leader and
7 also to hear your comments and questions about the same
8 topic.

9 Patty?

10 MS. SELLERS: Great, good. Thank you. Good.

11 So let me just share a few, you know, you may
12 know from reading, you know, this as how convenient is
13 this so the *Atlantic* does the "The End of Men" just, you
14 know, our sort of primer for the panel which is wonderful
15 and it's a really interesting story and we should talk
16 about that, the story a little bit. Have you all read it?

17 SPEAKER: Uh-huh.

18 MS. SELLERS: Okay. But earlier this year women
19 became the majority of the American workforce, the
20 recession has hit the male population a whole lot harder
21 than it's hit the female population. Women earn 60
22 percent of master's degrees. Women own just about 60

1 percent of bachelor's degrees. You know there's a view
2 and that's sort of the idea of this story that the new
3 economy is more suited to women because women are better
4 at, I mean, I think it's fairly proven that's not a
5 correct term, "fairly proven" but I mean, I believe that
6 women in general are better collaborators and sort of
7 connectors than men in general. And if you disagree let's
8 talk about that.

9 And yet here I sit at *Fortune* and on the Fortune
10 500 there are only 13 female Fortune 500 CEOs and there
11 are 76 women in the House of Representatives out of 435.
12 And there are 17 female U.S. senators and there are 5
13 female governors. So that's not so great. And we need to
14 figure out why that is and I think the first question that
15 I'm going to ask is, in a sentence, just one sentence
16 what's the barrier?

17 MS. VENEMAN: You're asking me first?

18 MS. SELLERS: Sure, go ahead. We don't have to
19 go the line but anybody who is ready.

20 MS. VENEMAN: Well, if -- yeah. I think if
21 we're looking at in politics I think one of the barriers
22 is the way political campaigns today are conducted. I

1 think women are elected --

2 MS. SELLERS: Okay, a sentence.

3 MS. VENEMAN: Okay.

4 MS. SELLERS: Yeah, okay, the way political --
5 we'll talk about that.

6 SPEAKER: Okay.

7 MS. SELLERS: We'll talk about that.

8 Laura?

9 MS. LISWOOD: Okay, three points within one
10 sentence subtle inequities.

11 MS. SELLERS: Subtle inequities?

12 MS. LISWOOD: Subtle inequities.

13 MS. SELLERS: Uh-huh.

14 MS. LISWOOD: Unconscious behaviors and for the
15 dominant group, lots of centrality.

16 MS. SELLERS: Lots of centrality. Well, I don't
17 know what that means.

18 MS. LISWOOD: All right.

19 MS. SELLERS: We'll get into it later.

20 MS. LISWOOD: We'll talk about that.

21 MS. SELLERS: Okay.

22 Nancy?

1 MS. AOSSEY: Appearances and political
2 correctness.

3 MS. SELLERS: Okay.
4 Judy?

5 MS. RODIN: Still seen as too much of a risk.

6 MS. SELLERS: Nancy -- I mean, --

7 MS. DEMPSEY: Joan.

8 MS. SELLERS: Joan.

9 MS. DEMPSEY: I don't like being the odd woman
10 out but I saw both in the government and since I've been
11 in the corporate world that the pipeline of women shrinks
12 at the point where they are entering really the journeyman
13 level of professionalism because it becomes too hard to
14 have families and stay on a leadership track within the
15 government or industry. And so the pipeline gets so small
16 we don't have enough women to choose from.

17 MS. SELLERS: Okay. I actually think that it
18 has to do, most of all, with the way women think about
19 power and what kind of power is important to women. So
20 let's talk about this.

21 What about Ann, the way political campaigns
22 work?

1 MS. VENEMAN: Well, I was responding actually to
2 your issue of how many women are in the Senate and House.
3 And I think you see many more women in appointed positions
4 partly because they don't want to go through the
5 negativity of a campaign, and I think that women by nature
6 many times do not want to engage in that kind of battle.

7 As you said, Patty, women are more
8 collaborative, they want to work together more they want
9 to forge solutions, and the kind of campaign strategies
10 that are apparent today, I think, are an impediment to
11 women coming in to elective political positions, although
12 I must say this year we are seeing women on the tickets in
13 both parties I think in ways that we have not seen in the
14 past.

15 MS. SELLERS: So you've held these very high
16 positions in government. Have you ever thought of running
17 for elective office?

18 MS. VENEMAN: I will say that I have many times
19 been asked to run for elective office and because of this
20 very thing it is not something I ever wanted to do. But I
21 -- I mean, I am much more a public policy person than I am
22 a political person. I've not wanted to run for office,

1 but I have really felt privileged to serve at government
2 and help to shape good public policy.

3 MS. SELLERS: So Laura, you founded this
4 organization that basically seeks to encourage women to
5 seek high office in government. Do you think this is as
6 big an issue as Ann believes it is?

7 MS. LISWOOD: I think that it is a big issue. I
8 think that there's a, still a great deal of as I was
9 calling "settlement equities," over-scrutiny of women who
10 are running political office, perception of risk that
11 you're describing, you know, the assumption, and as
12 Benazir Bhutto said this to me, you know, the assumption
13 that women -- men are considered competent till they prove
14 their incompetence, women are considered incompetent till
15 they prove their competence, which is a "settlement
16 equity" going on --

17 MS. SELLERS: Yes.

18 MS. LISWOOD: -- and an unconscious thought
19 process going on. In addition (inaudible) you asked the
20 question, I told you it was going to RIF (phonetic) off
21 the cover. Okay, now, given what Patty described as what
22 was internal to this article which was about how women

1 were graduating more and how that they were more in the
2 economy, et cetera, so you think of what the cover could
3 have looked like. It could have had a presidential emblem
4 with a woman sitting behind the presidents of -- you know,
5 as the president; it could have a woman valedictorian with
6 60 percent of the class being women. What does it have?

7 SPEAKER: (Off mike.)

8 MS. LISWOOD: Yeah. I think we all know what it
9 has.

10 (Laughter)

11 MS. LISWOOD: It has what is a central theme or
12 concern, which is loss of centrality, loss of my
13 definition of masculinity, loss of my ability to retain my
14 power, anything -- I thought that was, you know, I couldn't
15 find out --

16 MS. SELLERS: So what's loss of centrality?

17 MS. LISWOOD: Okay, that the world is, like -- I
18 get to go to the Naval Academy but you don't, you know. I
19 get to have a central positioning and then everyone else
20 is sort of around me, but you know I'm the one who has
21 this sort of the power dynamic within my --

22 MS. SELLERS: You're saying men have a --

1 MS. LISWOOD: Yeah, men, or dominant groups. I
2 hate to get into this, you know, men -- male-female so some
3 ways, I like to call it --

4 MS. SELLERS: We're in it.

5 MS. LISWOOD: Yeah, well, we are.

6 (Laughter)

7 MS. LISWOOD: Historically overrepresented,
8 historically underrepresented, you know, because I think a
9 lot of stuff applies to other nondominant groups,, so I
10 really want to be a little bit with that, but we can stay
11 in the gender realm. You know, that -- we say, well, you
12 know, we want all this change for good, you know, because
13 we think it's going to be good, but there may be a group
14 of people who think it's a loss, you know, and, so you've
15 got to accept and think about that.

16 MS. SELLERS: Yeah. And that's what this here
17 about --

18 MS. LISWOOD: And this is exactly what this
19 cover is illustrating.

20 MS. SELLERS: Yeah, very, very, good point.

21 MS. LISWOOD: I got to RIF.

22 MS. SELLERS: Yeah. I mean I don't mean to keep

1 going down the line. Let's talk about -- let's talk about
2 those --

3 MS. RODIN: Can I jump in on that?

4 MS. SELLERS: Yeah, it's a little --

5 MS. RODIN: I think it's an excellent point, and
6 why is it that for women to lead and for women to achieve,
7 why does that have to be viewed as hurting men? Why can't
8 this be a good thing for both genders? Why does it have
9 to be portrayed as we succeed and it's at the expense of
10 men?

11 MS. RODIN: Well, because we live in a zero-sum
12 game, everything is you-win-I-lose. That's not only true
13 about gender roles, it's true about so many of the things
14 that we really hold important in society and so part of
15 the challenge, I think of moving on from all of this is to
16 embolden ourselves to really think that we are expanding
17 the pie that if-you-win-I-win, if-you-lose-I-lose, which
18 is not the philosophy that we follow.

19 You talked -- I mention risk, because the Glass
20 Ceiling Commission last year, looking at corporate CEOs
21 found that only 1 percent of male corporate CEOs believe
22 that mentoring high potential women is part of their role.

1 MS. SELLERS: Really.

2 MS. RODIN: Now, I think that's truly
3 astonishing, against these data which are really talking
4 about so many women really in the corporate sector,
5 succeeding and moving up and yet why is it that it still
6 is seen as either not-my-job or a really high-risk.

7 When I was at Penn as the first women president,
8 the next university, the next Ivy that was looking for --
9 looking at a woman and it looked like they were coming
10 down to a woman at the end, the search committee actually
11 called me and they talked to my board to figure out
12 whether they should take the risk, what did my board think
13 about having had me given that they were about to now take
14 the same risk.

15 MS. SELLERS: And did they take the risk?

16 MS. RODIN: So -- they did. Shirley Tilghman's
17 (phonetic) interested.

18 MS. SELLERS: Wow, oh, how interesting. And
19 then Amy -- how do you say your name -- Gutmann?

20 MS. RODIN: Amy Gutmann's the one.

21 MS. SELLERS: She came -- she replaced you at
22 Penn, right?

1 MS. RODIN: But this is the only Ivy -- that had
2 a woman replace a woman, the only university, I'm sorry,
3 in the research universities --

4 MS. SELLERS: Really.

5 MS. RODIN: -- that's had a woman replace a
6 woman.

7 MS. SELLERS: Wow, that's interesting. So you
8 did a good enough job that they felt that that was worth
9 it.

10 (Laughter)

11 SPEAKER: (Off mike.) -- That says a lot about
12 you.

13 SPEAKER: I thought I'd jump in for a second.
14 In the humanitarian sector sometimes there's a -- I believe
15 that we're much more progressive on women's issues,
16 especially because we work so much on women's issues and
17 developing countries.

18 And going back to the '80s, at least when I
19 first started on the ground floor, because it was a
20 startup and there were no barriers to me, I was brought on
21 and everyone who'd hired me knew I was a female when I was
22 hired, I didn't face those things internally, which was

1 the benefit of being involved with this group at the
2 beginning.

3 But there weren't a lot of female heads of
4 humanitarian organizations at the time, and in fact if
5 there were, they were traditionally say just women's
6 organizations, very important but they were focused only
7 around women's work and not around women and general
8 humanitarian assistance.

9 And one of the eyeopeners for me was to go to
10 some of these different forums externally with my other
11 colleagues and it wasn't that I was, you know, surprised
12 perhaps to be the only female CEO in the room. What
13 surprised me and it got to -- gets to my point that I made
14 earlier was how often it would be said in front of me, and
15 maybe this is the part where people don't really fully
16 understand what they're saying, well, you know, we've got
17 a woman in the room, we're covered on gender. You know?
18 Or, you know, it looks bad, you know, there are not enough
19 women, we need another one; the idea that that what women
20 bring is a check-in of the box. That's what I call the
21 political correctness. I think that there are, as you
22 mentioned there are inequities or, you know, without

1 realizing it that people sometimes shut down
2 opportunities, because they think they're covered when it
3 comes to women.

4 And this happens a lot today. I wish I could
5 say that there's been tremendous change. But I was at a
6 meeting about a year ago, it was a very high-level meeting
7 and there were two women in the room and the rest were
8 men. And someone said, oh, this is embarrassing, this
9 looks bad, there's only two women in this room.

10 And I remember thinking to myself, you know, I
11 understand at the end of the day the appearance was more
12 of a concern than whether or not we are missing maybe
13 important quality people who happen to be women. Quality
14 not just quantity, and I think unfortunately we've run up
15 against that.

16 MS. SELLERS: Yeah, I agree. Filling the slot.
17 Judy, your career has always fascinated me, because you
18 have gotten to the top in academia in the not-for-profit
19 world and what you didn't talk about here is you're on a
20 number of really big boards. Just tick off your boards,
21 your corporate boards?

22 MS. RODIN: Right now?

1 MS. SELLERS: Yeah.

2 MS. RODIN: Comcast Corporation, which as you
3 know is about to buy NBC, American Airlines, AMR, and
4 Citigroup.

5 SPEAKER: Wow.

6 SPEAKER: (Off mike.) -- Very good.

7 MS. SELLERS: Yeah? I mean, wow. So that's -- I
8 find -- so I've been studying women leaders for the last 15
9 years, 12, 15 years, and I'm -- this is leading back to you
10 -- I'm fascinated that two of the three women who have been
11 number one on Fortune's Most Powerful Women list, which is
12 a corporate list, two of them are running for office in
13 California -- Meg Whitman for governor and Carly Fiorina
14 for the Senate.

15 How weird is that, you know, two out of the
16 three. The third one is Indra Nooyi who is the CEO of
17 PepsiCo, but Carly was number one on our list from 1998 to
18 2002 or 2003, to 2003, I think and then Meg Whitman was
19 number one on our list for a few years and then Indra
20 Nooyi.

21 So what that means to me is something that I
22 talk a lot about when I speak about women in leadership.

1 I really do believe that women think about power a whole
2 lot more horizontally and much less than men about the
3 ladder and, okay, I'm starting here and I'm going to get
4 there some day.

5 So Judy how have you thought about power over
6 the years and does it limit -- does what I'm saying do you
7 agree, and if you agree does that limit the number of
8 Fortune 500 female CEOs that we will ever have even if
9 there's a level playing field?

10 MS. RODIN: I honestly don't think that women
11 who achieve the highest positions think about power
12 differently.

13 MS. SELLERS: Okay.

14 MS. RODIN: But I do think that women fall out
15 of the pipeline at a faster rate, because in general women
16 think about power as a negative rather than as a positive.
17 And women who aspire to power are called "aggressive" and
18 other unflattering terms that men are admired for. And
19 for a lot of women planning careers or coming up on
20 careers that's daunting, and they are either explicitly or
21 implicitly punished for it and so they fall out of the
22 pipeline.

1 A lot of that which is attributed to the desire
2 to have families, the work-life balance, all of those
3 things which sound much more sympathetic than the real
4 idea that I think women are punished for aspiring to power
5 and a lot of women therefore back many, many, many times.

6 MS. SELLERS: Have you been punished?

7 MS. RODIN: Many times.

8 MS. SELLERS: Give an example.

9 MS. RODIN: Well, not, obviously, not in what I
10 finally achieved but there were roles that I aspire to in
11 my career that I didn't get. I've been really fortunate
12 to get those, but because I was called "aggressive" and
13 "ambitious" and because I enjoyed power and I utilized it
14 effectively, that was a negative. So I don't think it's
15 how women think, I think it's how women are perceived when
16 they successfully use power in ways that are threatening,
17 and that's why I agree with Laura about the cover, that it
18 still is threatening and it still is seen as "if she wins
19 I lose."

20 MS. SELLERS: I think the zero-sum game idea is
21 absolutely true and as you're talking about that I'm
22 thinking you were a psychology major and you were more

1 than a psychology major, you were a research psychologist,
2 right? A lot of what you --

3 SPEAKER: Did you have time for family, did you
4 have --

5 MS. RODIN: Yes, I have children and so --

6 MS. SELLERS: How many children do you have?

7 MS. RODIN: I have one, and now two step
8 children, and grandchildren and -- but that's what I say,
9 it's not about the work-family balance so much. I think
10 that that is held up as an excuse and often for women who
11 drop out of the pipeline it's their psychological
12 attribution, because some of the other things that I
13 talked about are more painful to admit.

14 MS. SELLERS: Wow. Okay, let's open it up.
15 Unless anybody has a comment on that, that particular
16 point --

17 MS. LISWOOD: Well, I was just going to, you
18 know, on the Meg Whitman-Carly theory and I'll stop. You
19 know I'm actually just happened to see it, because I've
20 seen so many self-indulgent male millionaires run for
21 office.

22 (Laughter)

1 MS. LISWOOD: So I'm perfectly content to see
2 self-indulgent females go there. That's my frame of it.

3 (Laughter)

4 (Applause)

5 SPEAKER: I just want to add one thing.

6 MS. SELLERS: Sure.

7 SPEAKER: When you look at like Meg Whitman's
8 created eBay is a startup or I think of Sheryl Sandberg,
9 Google and Facebook, she is a friend. I mean a lot of the
10 really successful women were involved in startups or ground-
11 floor kinds of opportunities. And sometimes I think they
12 had an opportunity to rise in ways they wouldn't have had
13 they joined a structure where they just couldn't do that.

14 And I've always felt like that was my opportunity
15 too. I don't know what would have happened, but I didn't
16 have a structure, I really had to live with how --
17 underneath I got a chance to create, you know, my own path
18 and the path for others and this is --

19 MS. SELLERS: Although the *New York Times* did a
20 front-page business story about 2 months ago about the
21 dearth of women in Silicon Valley running startups largely
22 because the VC -- I mean, one of the issues is the VC

1 community is predominantly male.

2 And one of the issues, I think is, Sheryl Sandberg
3 actually wrote a guest post for my blog which is called
4 "Postcards" and she called me one day about a year ago, and
5 she said I really want to -- she said I feel so strongly
6 about this, I want to write a piece, this is Sheryl Sandberg
7 who's the COO of Facebook, I want to write a piece said I'm
8 calling "Don't leave before you leave."

9 And she said I'm coming to you first, I can put it
10 somewhere else but she said it really seems to be in your
11 sweet spot, and she said I -- it drives me crazy. These
12 young women who, you know, work at Facebook or wherever, she
13 used to be at Google, and she said they don't take the
14 promotion or they're leery of the next step, you know I hate
15 to use on the "ladder," it's a time I really don't like. I
16 like thinking of a career as a Jungle Jim, but anyway --

17 (Laughter)

18 SPEAKER: It's true.

19 MS. SELLERS: I do, I do -- swing to the
20 opportunity over here or here, but take the next good job,
21 because I want to have a baby in a couple of years.

22 And she just -- she has two kids and she went for

1 it, and she feels strongly that a lot of women just, you
2 know set themselves back by not taking the risk personally.
3 Yes? Mike -- we have mikes here. Oh, actually, let's do
4 this one first, and then you, second, okay? Uh-huh. Well,
5 okay, whichever.

6 SPEAKER: Hi. So my question's exactly about
7 that. I work in women's health and rights globally, and
8 several of my peers and I have had the experience of having
9 tremendous female and male mentors, and also experience in
10 having women who are bosses who are not interested in
11 mentoring younger women and are not interested in sharing
12 power and looking for ways to, like you mentioned, with
13 mentorship, but also find opportunities and help share those
14 opportunities with younger women. So I was interested in
15 your own personal experiences, how you've done that and what
16 you see as important about doing that.

17 MS. SELLERS: Judy, go ahead.

18 MS. RODIN: I think that's where the gender
19 expectations have really let us down. I think your role
20 models are gender-specific, but your mentors can be either
21 male or female and the fact that males in general may not
22 consider it their responsibility and that many women have

1 shirked that responsibility and actually pulled the ladder
2 up after them is one of the reasons that we still have fewer
3 women than we ought to, and that's certainly true in
4 politics and it is certainly true in the corporate sector.

5 MS. SELLERS: Don't you think -- I mean, I
6 remember when we started doing our Most Powerful Women
7 package, it was 1998, and the so-called "queen bee" thing
8 was still going on, you know, there's only so much room
9 there in the hive or in the -- you know for so many women.
10 So there was -- women were sabotaging other women. Don't
11 you think we've come a long way in the decade though?

12 MS. RODIN: No, I don't think we're sabotaging
13 anymore at all, I think "mentoring" is a much more
14 proactive, much more generous kind of activity. So the
15 question is are many women struggling still in ways that
16 prevent them from feeling that they are able to really
17 mentor other women or feel that they're necessarily
18 responsible to do that. I do see that changing, so I think
19 we've moved from the queen bee pulling the ladder up, which
20 was certainly the women before me, to the, you know, I'm so
21 strung out I can hardly have time to have my kids and my
22 career and whatever, how can I possibly mentor someone, to

1 what I hope is now the next iteration, which is an ability
2 to be able to do that.

3 But women are strung out, you know the data still
4 about the degree of stress, the degree of anxiety, there was
5 a wonderful study, if I can just take a minute, it hasn't
6 changed in 25 years, a study which monitored with
7 physiological measures, men and women both in the workplace
8 and then through the evening as they came home, and the data
9 showed physiologically that there was no difference between
10 men and women in the workplace and then after they came home
11 from work, women's stress went up for the rest of the
12 evening and men's stress went down. This is a biological
13 measure.

14 MS. SELLERS: Wow.

15 MS. RODIN: And so with those things going on,
16 those are the realities still that women are feeling and the
17 outcomes I think are yet to be seen.

18 MS. SELLERS: Ann?

19 MS. VENEMAN: But I think it's really important to
20 recognize what has happened in our lifetimes in terms of
21 women. I think Gail Collins' recent book about what's
22 happened to women in America in the last 50 years is very

1 instructive. We've come a long way.

2 You talked about your university experience and
3 one of my first jobs was working for the Office for Civil
4 Rights investigating colleges and universities for
5 discrimination. And at that time what you were seeing was
6 that women were not allowed on the tenure track. Today
7 they're university presidents.

8 I mean, it is phenomenal when you think about
9 what's happened in our lifetimes and I do think, you know
10 whether it's the queen bee or the -- you know, how women had
11 to get there, I think that's changing. I think that there
12 are so many more women today that become role models that --
13 and you know as Gloria Steinem says -- she said a long time
14 ago, we need to open doors wide enough for others to get
15 through, I think in many ways our generation has done that.
16 Women today have choices. But a lot of times they are
17 making the choice do they not want to take the promotion, or
18 are we even moving backwards as men get threatened more and
19 more by lack of jobs. And I think these are issues that are
20 confronting us today that are sort of the next generation of
21 women's opportunity issues.

22 MS. SELLERS: Uh-huh. There's a question back

1 here, and lots over here. That's great. Yes, Kavita.

2 MS. RAMDAS: Hi, I'm Kavita Ramdas with the Global
3 Fund for Women, and I want to speak about something that I
4 was concerned about both in the article as well as in the
5 conversation so far, which is, this conversation is very
6 much focused on a very highly privileged set of women, not
7 just privileged in the context of the world as a whole where
8 women are far from being in a position where there are about
9 to kind of overtake men, women are still the majority of
10 those who don't have access to an education, they're still
11 by far the majority of people who live with violence as a
12 real and ever-present threat in their lives.

13 But unfortunately that's actually also true in the
14 so-called developed West and that conversation is also not
15 being had here, so I think that it's important -- it wasn't
16 had in the article either by the way, so the fact that women
17 are 65 percent of who's, you know, being educated in the
18 United States doesn't seem to make a difference in the
19 numbers that show one in every three women has been abused
20 or sexually assaulted in her lifetime. It doesn't make a
21 difference for my 16-year-old who stands up and says, you
22 know why do girls who take honors classes in the middle of

1 the day dumb themselves down at night and it doesn't make a
2 difference in the fact that girls are more likely to be
3 raped by somebody who they know. So I just want to put that
4 on the table.

5 And I want to ask whether in fact the question
6 we're asking about being let into these systems is the wrong
7 question. Is it not time at this point to be asking
8 ourselves about the entire game, both men and women
9 together, what is the game that we are playing, not can we
10 be let on to the playing field, and can it be an equal-level
11 playing field, but what is the game that we're playing,
12 where Laura's point about those who have been less
13 privileged in so many ways, whether because of their color
14 because of being colonized or whatever it is or their
15 gender, and until we ask that question as women, the whole
16 conversation about, you know this being a zero-sum game,
17 remains unanswered. And I think that's what we have as
18 women leaders to bring to the table, is a different vision
19 of the world we want to create together.

20 (Applause)

21 MS. LISWOOD: I'd like to --

22 MS. SELLERS: Uh-huh.

1 MS. LISWOOD: So thank you for that. I'd like to
2 make a comment. So much of our work, and my work over the
3 last 25 years has been focused like yours on women in the
4 developing world and one of the -- I have a number of
5 observations and not a lot time so let me just make a couple
6 of broad statements.

7 A lot of the work that we do at International
8 Medical Corps and, I know, UNICEF and other groups as well,
9 has been in really tough, tough spots, places like Darfur,
10 the Congo, Afghanistan. When you look at these conflict
11 areas and you look at the crises and you look at the impact
12 on their population, you know, you see the statistics, you
13 read about them, the disproportionate burden is really borne
14 by women.

15 Over and over again it bears out statistically.
16 For a long, long time that was denied by lots of people.
17 Except, the statistics are coming in, we now have
18 longitudinal data, and suddenly it's starting to bear out.
19 And it goes to something, you know, that we were talking
20 about earlier. A lot of it is -- and many -- and I'm making
21 a broad statement here, but in many of the countries that
22 we're working who controls the resources, who controls them?

1 It's typically the warlords, the militia, the whatever, and
2 usually these are men, not always but most of the time. And
3 who has the power.

4 So a lot of it comes down to, you know, our work
5 in large part has been around empowering people locally and
6 many of them or most of them women, because they're so much
7 a part, a big part of the solution in these societies and we
8 all know that. But a lot of that then comes down to how do
9 you help a woman gain power, so that she can go see a
10 doctor, or to -- be taken care of by a midwife and not die
11 in pregnancy. I mean basic, basic things that we take for
12 granted, you know. One in twenty-two women in sub-Saharan
13 Africa die in childbirth. And it's 1 in 8000 worldwide.
14 One in twenty-two. Midwife, a basic program.

15 And so how do you help educate or give women
16 access to the knowledge. But a lot of that does come down
17 to some power-sharing as, you know, how to get access to
18 resource, economic opportunities, and so it's tough, it is a
19 major, major issue and I do think, I think progress has been
20 made. But when you look at the statistics, not enough
21 progress has really been made and made in these conflict
22 areas.

1 MS. SELLERS: Joan?

2 MS. DEMPSEY: I want to address one thing that you
3 brought up, which I think is really important. Before I do
4 that though, speaking to your "privilege" comment, I'd note
5 from first grade through graduate school, I am a sole
6 product of the Arkansas public school system. So privilege
7 was not part of my background or how I got to be up here on
8 this panel. But your point about young girls who are --
9 girls who dumb down themselves in a social setting I think
10 is an extremely serious issue.

11 Women have as Ann said made tremendous strides in
12 this country across the board really. In my professional
13 lifetime it is astounding to me to look back and see even
14 where I started and what the expectations were for my
15 professional development and where I have come to. And yet
16 there is a crisis of confidence among young women in this
17 country that doesn't -- that is -- that can't be explained
18 based on what we're able to do and where we got to. There's
19 an insecurity that I think is really a serious issue. I
20 don't know how to address it, but I see it all the time
21 among the children and young women that I interact with. So
22 maybe the panelists who are much smarter and more privileged

1 than me will have an idea on --

2 (Laughter)

3 MS. SELLERS: How important --

4 MS. DEMPSEY: -- going back to the question. But
5 I think it's a serious, serious, question.

6 MS. SELLERS: How important is the media here?
7 How important is the media portrayals of --

8 MS. DEMPSEY: I think it's valued.

9 MS. RAMDAS: I think -- (cross talk) -- privilege
10 is in many different areas and I was -- I'm privileged by --

11 MS. DEMPSEY: No, I know, I was just being wise.

12 MS. RAMDAS: -- virtue of an education, I'm
13 privileged as an upper-caste Indian. We're privileged by
14 being white, by being educated, there's so many different
15 ways --

16 MS. DEMPSEY: Yeah.

17 MS. RAMDAS: I didn't mean to assume --

18 MS. DEMPSEY: Yeah, yeah, yeah, no, I was being a
19 wise --

20 MS. SELLERS: You know, that's just being cute.

21 MS. DEMPSEY: -- a wise guy.

22 (Laughter)

1 MS. DEMPSEY: Or gal --

2 (Laughter)

3 SPEAKER: Another question --

4 MS. SELLERS: Okay, question here, yes?

5 SPEAKER: So I think that the statistic that 90
6 percent of the unpaid labor in this country which is taking
7 care of children, old people, and sick people, is all done
8 by women, all the free work. So if we could just address
9 that, then I think women would have more time and more
10 energy to go out and be leaders. But because that work is
11 not seen as valuable in any way except when you're sick or
12 elderly or a child, then we can't fix anything until we
13 handle that, because there's just way too much time.

14 (Applause)

15 SPEAKER: Absolutely.

16 MS. SELLERS: Yeah, but, but --

17 SPEAKER: I would challenge that --

18 MS. SELLERS: I would too.

19

20 MS. DEMPSEY: -- 90 percent statistic. Maria
21 Shriver looked at this question and there was a large-scale
22 poll that was reported last October and her conclusion,

1 which is an interesting one given this cover is that the
2 battle of the sexes has shifted to negotiation between the
3 sexes.

4 And she has a lot of evidence that -- on these
5 issues between men and women at home, elder care, child
6 care, who does the food shopping, which night he's doing
7 what preparation, is actually really becoming if not more
8 equal, at least more equitable and that it is a topic of
9 conversation and a subject of negotiation among couples,
10 particularly -- between couples, particularly younger
11 couples.

12 Her conclusion is that the government policies and
13 the work force practices don't support what is already going
14 on at home, a nuance which I just -- again, we're talking
15 not only what's wrong but how much progress has been made
16 and these surveys are actually showing that at home in
17 couples the progress is much more significant and that work
18 force and government policies are really lagging far behind
19 and we need to have them catch up.

20 MS. SELLERS: That's really interesting. And you
21 know one of the reasons that women are 52 -- or not 52, a
22 little over 50 percent of the work force now and they --

1 it's -- the story talks about this, but it's the women's
2 jobs that are growing, and health care and you know, so, you
3 know, day care, child care, elder care, I mean those -- that
4 is primarily women's work, sometimes done for free but often
5 done in this -- in more and more today. It's employing --
6 those categories are employing women, so, you know, I think
7 your point is good, but there are -- there's a sunny side to
8 some of this as well.

9 Yes, over here.

10 SPEAKER: Well, I've been in a situation before,
11 and several situations where I've been the woman who is not
12 sure if they should take the position, or is not sure if
13 they should negotiate a higher salary. What is it -- what
14 do you do, what is the perseverance, what is that key, how
15 do you stand up in board room and say, you know, it's the
16 tipping point and we're there, and how do you advice that?

17 SPEAKER: Women are supposed to negotiate for
18 themselves.

19 SPEAKER: It's negotiation, you know --

20 MS. SELLERS: Are there any of you good
21 negotiators for you yourself?

22 MS. LISWOOD: Now, I've actually come up with a

1 new approach.

2 SPEAKER: (Off mike.) -- for yourself

3 MS. LISWOOD: -- because you're absolutely right,
4 I mean -- of course we know from the research, it shows you
5 a lot of research that men have a tendency to have, it's a
6 great trait, known as "positive illusion."

7 (Laughter)

8 MS. LISWOOD: It's a great trait and I really
9 admire the guys for having it. You know, but women who have
10 a tendency of "negative illusion," you know, all sorts of
11 research around that, you know. Men feel like they're fully
12 prepared for something when they have 25 percent of the
13 knowledge. Women feel like they're fully are prepared when
14 they have 75 percent of the knowledge, which is why women
15 often say oh, I'm not quite prepared for that job, whereas
16 men will say I'm ready to be vice-president after they've
17 just started in the company.

18 But, you know, and so we could have -- I think men
19 could probably want to up their percentage of knowledge, and
20 women might want to lower their percentage of knowledge.
21 But with reference to the negotiating thing, you know, I've
22 decided that you shouldn't think about it as negotiating for

1 yourself, okay. You should now think a bit on this is that
2 you are negotiating for all women, because women are
3 perfectly happy to negotiate something, I'm happy to
4 negotiate your salary, you're happy to negotiate my salary,
5 right, we're happy to take care of each other.

6 So what you should really think about now is to
7 say to yourself, I will really be letting the women of the
8 world down, if I don't negotiate a higher salary.

9 (Laughter)

10 (Applause)

11 MS. SELLERS: That's a great idea.

12 (Cross talk)

13 MS. LISWOOD: -- framing, it might help you a
14 little bit.

15 MS. SELLERS: It's real good.

16 MS. RODIN: I want to jump in now, because you
17 asked about the media. The *New York Times* as you know does
18 the ranking survey every year of the highest paying
19 university presidents, and in my 4th year at Penn, I became
20 the highest-paid university president in the United States.

21 SPEAKER: All right.

22 (Applause)

1 SPEAKER: And the *New York Times* called and they
2 were berating me and asking me really nasty, tough,
3 questions, you know how do you justify that, blah, blah,
4 blah, you know and I said, you cannot have it both ways.
5 You cannot mourn as the media about women not making it and
6 the Glass Ceiling and whatever, and then really be horrible
7 to a woman when she gets to that position. So I said the
8 same thing that Laura did -- I'm doing it for all the women,
9 it's really not about me.

10 SPEAKER: All right.

11 SPEAKER: All right, yeah. Good for you, good for
12 you.

13 SPEAKER: (Off mike.) Was the reporter a man or a
14 woman?

15 MS. RODIN: The reporter was a woman.

16 (Laughter)

17 SPEAKER: How very interesting.

18 MS. SELLERS: Good question. Yes?

19 SPEAKER: I want to thank you for being here; this
20 is really getting my juices going so --

21 (Laughter)

22 SPEAKER: And I'm 67, so, you know it takes a lot

1 these days to get my juices going.

2 (Laughter)

3 SPEAKER: I'm a psychologist, sort of semi-retired
4 who worked in the field for a long time. So my research and
5 stuff I did was back in this -- in the early '80s, late
6 '70s. And my dissertation was about women's roles and
7 that's been my main interest in working with women for
8 pretty much my whole career.

9 Then the research and I want to know from you as
10 women who are very on top of their game in this 2010 versus,
11 you know, 1980, which, you know, it's a long way off. One
12 of the research that was shown over and over and over for
13 women on college campuses, it was always on early
14 undergraduate campuses for women, they were afraid of
15 success. Fear of success came out over and men are afraid
16 of failure. That's their dynamic from day one. What I want
17 to know is in 2010 is that any better, are women more open
18 to being successful or are we still battling with them?
19 Thanks.

20 MS. SELLERS: It's a great question.

21 MS. LISWOOD: On a sample size of one, I have
22 never been afraid of success, and have always been driven to

1 succeed, sometimes to my own detriment, but it's just -- it
2 has never been an issue so, I don't know why, but it just
3 has never been an issue. Now, I think I don't want to tie
4 too much to this point we were talking about earlier about
5 insecurity, but I think sometimes women undermine themselves
6 because of their fear to take risks, their insecurities
7 about themselves, their fear that they don't measure up, I
8 don't know -- but I've seen it in other women that I've
9 worked with for sure.

10 SPEAKER: (Off mike.) -It really has to do with
11 objection -- (off mike) -- the consequence for women is that
12 -- the consequence for women is always, in our culture,
13 always that if I'm successful and I'm the top dog the people
14 I love are not going to approve of me.

15 SPEAKER: Then they need to learn to love
16 themselves.

17 (Laughter)

18 SPEAKER: That's right. And do it anyway, you
19 bet.

20 SPEAKER: That's a good point, yeah.

21 SPEAKER: Well, I think the other question is
22 whether or not there's a generational change in this. I was

1 on a panel recently where there were women, many of whom had
2 children and said I'm raising sons who will react
3 differently to successful women.

4 SPEAKER: Absolutely.

5 SPEAKER: And I think that this is again about the
6 generational change, are we seeing a change in the
7 attitudes? You know, one of the issues that we also haven't
8 seen brought up yet, and I'd like Patty to kind of comment
9 on it from her own perspective too was women haven't really
10 achieved much increase in terms of board of directors,
11 despite the fact that maybe it's among several, but, how
12 does that change and what kind of change would we see in the
13 way people do business, businesses do better with more women
14 on boards?

15 MS. SELLERS: Absolutely, I mean the numbers, for
16 the corporate performance of, well, of companies with women,
17 a lot of women at the top is superior to companies that lag
18 in that area and the same thing goes for boards and I did a
19 story a couple of years ago, about this. I was amazed by
20 the number of really big, famous, companies, and consumer
21 companies that didn't have a woman on their board. I mean,
22 Andrea Jung is now the lead director at Apple, but you know

1 Steve Jobs came to Avon one day and recruited her, like a
2 year-and-a-half ago or so, and until then they didn't have a
3 woman on their board, and you know what other company didn't
4 have a woman on its board? Bear Stearns didn't have a woman
5 on its board.

6 But what do you, what did Judy or anyone, what do
7 you think of the -- of that, are we making progress and is
8 it a big concern that we don't have enough women on the
9 boards of the biggest companies?

10 MS. RODIN: I think progress has stalled, so I
11 think we made accelerated progress, when it was first shown
12 when Catalyst began doing their reports of how many people
13 were on corporate boards and there were a lot of very well-
14 intentioned companies that realized that they didn't want to
15 be in that cohort every year of zero women on the boards and
16 many women were recruited, and I was certainly one of them
17 for many other companies as well. But it has really stalled
18 out --

19 MS. SELLERS: And why has it stalled?

20 MS. RODIN: Well, it refers to your point, you
21 know, been there done that; check that category; now we have
22 one or maybe two, don't have to do that anymore. And so a

1 lot of those of us who are women on boards are really
2 pushing to hire more women, to think about what women
3 contribute.

4 Part of that is who are the lead directors. I've
5 been the lead director at Comcast, I chair committees, board
6 committees on all the boards on which I sit. But until
7 women do that, there isn't that next accelerated piece, so -
8 -

9 MS. SELLERS: Is there a tipping -- I remember
10 talking to Mellody Hobson about this and Mellody is on the
11 Starbucks board and the Estee Lauder board and the
12 Dreamworks board and even one more. But anyway she I know
13 believes that there is like a tipping point in terms of
14 female membership on boards. What's the theory there?

15 MS. RODIN: Absolutely. I as on the Aetna board,
16 and there were four women, and that was a very different
17 board from any board I have sat on, and any board I'm
18 currently sitting on.

19 SPEAKER: You had how many people, how many then?

20 MS. RODIN: Six, it's a very small board, --

21 MS. SELLERS: Wow.

22 MS. RODIN: Completely different dynamics --

1 MS. SELLERS: How many -- I know Ian Mulkay
2 (phonetic), he left the Citigroup board and you're on the
3 Citigroup board. What --

4 MS. RODIN: Diana Taylor is the other one.

5 MS. SELLERS: Diana Taylor just joined, okay, and
6 that's a fairly big board.

7 MS. RODIN: Right, AMR. Ann Korologos and I --
8 Comcast, I'm the only woman.

9 MS. SELLERS: Oh boy. So what would you need on
10 those boards that you're on to hit that sort of female
11 tipping point where the women can really make a difference?

12 MS. RODIN: My own Rockefeller board is 50/50.

13 MS. SELLERS: Uh-huh.

14 MS. RODIN: I did that intentionally, and it's an
15 amazing board. There are some extraordinary men on the
16 boards on which I sit. It is not only or all about gender,
17 but I do think that the conversations in the boardroom
18 really are different when there are more women.

19 MS. SELLERS: Uh-huh, have you been --

20 SPEAKER: (Off mike.) -- percent, is the turning
21 point, it's 33 percent --

22 MS. SELLERS: Thirty -- is there a mike over here?

1 Can you explain that? Why 33 percent?

2 SPEAKER: It's just if you -- Linda Tarr-Whelan
3 had written a great book around women's leadership and she's
4 looked at all the -- everything from corporate to nonprofit
5 and the tipping point is 33 percent, because there are
6 enough women in the room that don't have to take up only the
7 women's cause and they also have enough power to be able to
8 be in different places so you don't have to be on every
9 committee, there are enough women around and that radically
10 changes the conversation. So that's the tipping point, it's
11 33 percent. Her book is great, *Women Lead* and she speaks
12 about a whole variety of different sectors and how that 33
13 percent impacts that.

14 MS. SELLERS: Well then when --

15 MS. RODIN: And when there are enough of them,
16 enough women or enough of anyone you would more listen to --
17 there's a wonderful *New Yorker* cartoon which I still keep in
18 my office, and many of you may as well who are women, but
19 they're sitting around a board table and there's only one
20 woman and the chairman who's sitting at the head of the
21 table says "That's a wonderful point, Ms. Jones. Could you
22 ask one of the men to make it?"

1 (Laughter)

2 SPEAKER: That's great.

3 SPEAKER: Patty --

4 MS. LISWOOD: What's going to be really
5 interesting coming out of this is the Norwegian experience
6 which now mandates and has for 2 years mandated 40 percent
7 women on the board, and now what's happening. And the good
8 news is, and Kavita to your point to some extent, we've got
9 to look outside the United States for some of this kind of
10 experience, what they are beginning to see, because of that
11 2 years now, so you can actually do some research around
12 this, there are beginning to see that the board meetings are
13 actually -- the board members, all of the board members, men
14 and women, are better prepared, because women are better
15 prepared.

16 MS. SELLERS: Wow.

17 MS. LISWOOD: And so it's raising the game for the
18 men and at the -- they're -- the board meetings are more
19 succinctly done, they don't sort of go on, you know, sort of
20 forever, kind of thing --

21 SPEAKER: That's interesting.

22 MS. LISWOOD: -- because women are multitasking

1 and they need to get home to do something else. And that,
2 you know, the kinds of questions that get asked -- that more
3 questions getting asked --

4 SPEAKER: Absolutely.

5 MS. LISWOOD: -- that there's not this, you know,
6 well nobody actually ever said, well, what is the CEO and
7 how does it work kind of thing. You know, men were more
8 likely to want to expose their lack of knowledge whereas a
9 woman would just go and I don't quite understand this, tell
10 me what this is about. And so they're actually, they are
11 beginning to see a change of framework and structure around
12 this and I think part of the reason that the -- that we're
13 getting stalled in our sort of diversity effort is that I
14 think we're still stuck in what I call in my new book, *The*
15 *Loudest Duck*, what I call the "Noah's Ark theory" of
16 diversity. You know the Noah's Ark theory, if you could
17 just get two of each in the ark -

18 SPEAKER: Absolutely.

19 MS. LISWOOD: -- you know, we'll have our
20 publicity.

21 SPEAKER: Absolutely.

22 MS. LISWOOD: And we're still kind of stuck with

1 that kind of mentality.

2 MS. DEMPSEY: I just want to jump in on one thing
3 going to something Kavita had said earlier, going back to
4 women in the developing world. Every once in a while within
5 our -- my organization, we'll just do a random, let's just
6 take a point -- point a picture in time and look at women in
7 leadership management positions throughout the organization.
8 Now we have 4,000 people and all but 150 are based in the
9 developing world or in the places that we work. So they're
10 -- and so I was, you know, kind of wondering what that
11 number might be. When you're able to create a culture where
12 you're able to generally speaking, remove those kinds of
13 barriers, where, you know, people because they're best
14 qualified or able to rise, regardless of their gender or
15 color, then you get a sense of what that landscape might
16 look like.

17 And recently we did a check, and it was, you know
18 more than 50 percent, it was actually over 60 percent of --
19 our leadership positions were held by women. And that was
20 women in the developing world. And I was taken a little bit
21 aback by that number because it is tougher actually I think
22 than it is here at the U.S.

1 But the flip side of that is that sometimes there
2 are these barriers that are not deliberate or they're not
3 conscious and I'm not making excuses for everyone, but I do
4 think that I sometimes find it even among women. I've been
5 on some other nonprofit boards and have been, you know, in
6 leadership positions where we had to negotiate the salary of
7 a CEO who was a female. And it was really interesting to
8 watch the dynamics of who supported jumping the females'
9 salary up to where it should be, to attract a really great
10 candidate whether that be male or female.

11 And a number of times, I hate to say it, it's
12 probably not popular, but the issues were with women. And I
13 had a chance to reach out to a couple of them. They were
14 friends of mine and I said what is -- and in the end they
15 turn out there were issues around their own compensation
16 that were unresolved about how to take care of themselves,
17 and it was a real eyeopener for me.

18 So it wasn't deliberate, but I do think there's a
19 lot of things that weigh into this that come not just from
20 men but from women as well and it's not sabotaging women,
21 it's not meant deliberately, it's not even mean-spirited, I
22 think it's -- some of these things are just subconscious, or

1 we're not even aware of them.

2 MS. SELLERS: Yes, right here. Okay, first right
3 here, first right here.

4 SPEAKER: I would like to go back to a point you
5 made in the beginning that I haven't heard answered by the
6 panel yet, and I heard this Indian woman bring up, and that
7 is, you said that men and women look at power differently.
8 And the most astounding statistic that I read of all the
9 ones that can highlight the gender gap was that woman own 1
10 percent of the land on the planet. So when we're talking
11 about power, what is it? Is it represented by as you said,
12 you know, the militia having control of the property? And
13 what is it that you're leading? Long before there were
14 corporations or universities, there was land. So this has
15 been going on a very long time. So what is it that we're
16 talking about leading and what is the power that we're
17 talking about here?

18 MS. DEMPSEY: Well, the property rights laws in
19 those places in the world disadvantage women, and so they're
20 -- women are the largest proportion by orders of magnitude
21 of farmers in Africa, for example but in most of the
22 countries on the continent if their husband dies, they're

1 kicked off the land.

2 So there's a wonderful UN commission report led by
3 Madeleine Albright and Hernando de Soto that really talks
4 about all of the fundamentals of this really need to be
5 transformed with regard to legal empowerment of women. And
6 that needs to happen both, from the ground up to your point,
7 which comes from education, it comes from all of the things
8 that we know were particularly in the developing world, but
9 it also comes from needing to change the power structures
10 and the legal rights of women in so many places in the
11 developing world.

12 We should feel very shocked and embarrassed in
13 this country that the United States is one of the last
14 countries not to be signing the convention against the
15 economic discrimination of women and so there are many
16 women, Nancy Reuben (phonetic) is here, and others who are
17 trying to get the U.S. to go the last mile on signing this
18 convention. But if we, the richest country in the world
19 aren't concerned about economic and legal discrimination
20 against women, here and in every other country of the world,
21 shame on us. What kind of leadership is that, what kind of
22 power are we expressing?

1 (Applause)

2 MS. RODIN: When you think about Afghanistan, so
3 it's taken so many twists and turns over the years, but when
4 you go back to when the Taliban was running the country and
5 we think about the sharing of resources, well, maybe you
6 could say the Taliban was doing a lot of terrible things
7 toward women for a lot of reasons.

8 But another possibility is that when you shut down
9 women, you deny them, you know, education, health care, you
10 know, forget property rights, I mean just basic, basic
11 services, you really do shut down a lot of threats to your
12 own power. I mean if you think about it, if you've got
13 power and you want to keep it, and you've got resources, and
14 you want to control population, what better way to do it
15 than shut down half of it for whatever reason.

16 And so I do think a lot of it does come down to
17 the power dynamic in the lot of the -- in the conflict
18 areas. It could be that it just so happens women don't
19 have the resources and therefore they're denied. It could
20 be that it could have been another group that doesn't have
21 those resources.

22 I think it's hard for -- in places like -- you

1 know, where there's rebel areas or in Angola where the
2 conflict diamonds fuel the war, it's hard for these
3 groups, many of them militia, to give up the amount of
4 money that they're using to fuel their war, and then the
5 kinds that they're doing with their countries' resources
6 to give it up to anyone. And usually, women don't have
7 any access to that. So they're the ones that are always
8 being denied that.

9 SPEAKER: I'd like to just add on to this
10 because I think one of the issues with women having the
11 right to own land or the right to a lot of things is
12 whether or not women are politically empowered in
13 countries. It is fascinating that today the country with
14 the largest proportion of women in a legislative body and
15 in a government at large is Rwanda.

16 They have over 50 percent women in the
17 parliament, over 50 percent. What has this meant?
18 They've passed laws prohibiting rape and sexual violence;
19 they helped to pass the laws to have the enforcement
20 mechanisms to actually do something about the laws that
21 are passed. They've passed laws on land rights for women.

22 So I think political empowerment is extremely

1 important in terms of giving women the right to own land,
2 and giving women the power to really have a lot more
3 control over what happens. But I think economic
4 empowerment is also very, very important.

5 And we've seen tremendous progress in countries
6 like Bangladesh where Grameen Bank has given women loans
7 along with BRAC. Those two organizations have really made
8 a huge difference. And you're now seeing a number of
9 programs around the world, many highlighted in the WuDunn
10 Kristof book, "Half The Sky," that really talk about what
11 happens when you truly give economic empowerment to women.

12 And I think as we look at these issues, it's
13 political and economic empowerment, combined of course
14 with education for women, which increases economic
15 empowerment, reduces the number of children, increases the
16 age of marriage. All of these things, I think, have to be
17 really combined to look at the global impact on women.

18 Women will be -- and I think it's shown in many
19 ways that to bring populations out of poverty, we have to
20 address discrimination and economic empowerment of women
21 and education of women, access to health care.

22 SPEAKER: I would like to make a point to this

1 because if you hover at 10,000 feet with this thing; the
2 World Economic Forum has consistently done the Gender Gap
3 Report and I recommend it to you. And what's interesting
4 is what they're seeing now -- Kavita (phonetic) is
5 absolutely right to say that there are some exceptions to
6 this. But about 96 percent of the health gap has closed.
7 Now, the gap is the resources allocated to men in a
8 country or boys, and the resources allocated to women.

9 So a country has a finite amount of resources,
10 but is it being resource equally. So that's the gap
11 issue. So that's why some countries can be much higher up
12 than other countries that look like they have more
13 resources with the gap. But anyway, the gap is closed and
14 about -- to the point of about 96 percent of the gap is
15 closed in health.

16 About 95 percent of the gap is being closed in
17 education. Again with a proviso that Kavita has said that
18 there is hundreds of -- you know, there's hundreds of
19 thousands of women not experiencing this. But that
20 overall in countries, that's what's happening. Now,
21 what's not happening is that the gap in economic
22 participation is at about 40 percent closed. And the gap

1 in political participation is about 17 percent closed.

2 So one of the things I think we all have the
3 thought process was, okay, get them healthy, educate them
4 and naturally these things would flow. Naturally, we'd
5 move into economic empowerment and participation,
6 naturally we'd flow into political participation. It
7 turns out there's nothing natural about it. It's not
8 happening.

9 And one of the interesting things we haven't
10 gotten to and we probably can't, but the countries that
11 have gotten to critical mass, Patricia's point and
12 Kristine's (phonetic) point, is the countries that have
13 gotten to critical mass in their parliaments, et cetera,
14 have done it only with some sort of affirmative mechanism
15 put into place.

16 (Applause)

17 SPEAKER: Right, they wrote it into their
18 constitution in Rwanda. They were --

19 SPEAKER: So it's an interesting point.

20 MS. SELLERS: So should we have that here with
21 boards, our corporate boards, what do you think? Should
22 we have quotas?

1 SPEAKER: I think corporations ought to be
2 challenged to have 50 percent women on their boards.

3 (Applause)

4 MS. SELLERS: By whom? I mean mandated, it's
5 mandated in Norway, right?

6 SPEAKER: Mandated in Norway, mandated in Spain
7 --

8 SPEAKER: It's mandated in France --

9 SPEAKER: It's mandated in France, it's mandated
10 coming next year, in Iceland.

11 MS. SELLERS: Should it be mandated here? What
12 do you think Laura, should it be mandated here?

13 MS. LISWOOD: Well, you know, you sort of get to
14 a point where you go, okay, just tell them, just mandate
15 it. You know, because we just keep waiting, you know,
16 we're not going to hurry history, you know, if we just
17 keeping waiting and waiting for this to happen. You know,
18 the National Women's Political Caucus has looked at -- at
19 the rate we're going, for women in political participation
20 in the United States, it's going to another 250 years to
21 get to 50-50. Now, just think about it. I mean, if we
22 just --

1 MS. SELLERS: So what do you think though, yes
2 or no?

3 MS. LISWOOD: I'm actually moving into the "yes"
4 column on this, yeah.

5 MS. SELLERS: Yeah. Oh, Laura.

6 (Laughter)

7 MS. SELLERS: What do you think about quotas,
8 what do you think --

9 SPEAKER: I'm not sure.

10 MS. SELLERS: You're not sure.

11 SPEAKER: I'm not sure.

12 SPEAKER: I'm not either, yeah -- I think our
13 people have generational changes that come along. I
14 really do.

15 MS. SELLERS: Okay.

16 MS. GARDELLA: I just want to take the
17 conversation back to media perceptions and how they shape
18 -- how the media shapes perceptions of women. I blog on
19 women and entrepreneurship for the newyorktimes.com and
20 I've got two very specific questions for the panel.

21 MS. SELLERS: What is your name?

22 MS. GARDELLA: Adrian Gardella. We've actually

1 e-mailed when I was at *Fortune*.

2 MS. SELLERS: I remember.

3 MS. GARDELLA: Yeah. So the first one is to
4 what extent do blogs like mine actually create part of the
5 problem by viewing women as the separate entity, in their
6 own little blog, they shouldn't be in the regular business
7 section. I mean, on the one hand, some of my stuff ends
8 up in the regular business section that would have never
9 gotten there anyways. So I'm drawing attention to it.
10 But on the other hand, it's sort of fostering this
11 perception that women are separate other -- these weird
12 little entrepreneurs.

13 And then the second thing is the constant
14 pressure that I feel that I'm under to conflate notions of
15 motherhood with womanhood. So you know, I get women
16 saying, oh, yes, please tell us when women who own
17 businesses are mothers. You know, that really encourages,
18 that makes us see that it's possible.

19 And then on the other hand, the hand that I sort
20 of believe is the more appropriate one, I have women
21 saying, I find it offensive that in a business story,
22 we've got to say "mother of two." You know, I mean it

1 doesn't seem relevant. So I'm just wondering how you guys
2 view those two issues.

3 One, sort of segregating women in this ghetto;
4 it's not like the stories would be told somewhere else.
5 So at least they're being told, but they're being told
6 separately. And then two, you know, in a story, is it
7 relevant? You don't see Warren Buffet, father of however
8 many kids -- I mean, you know that, but it's never a
9 headline as it was in a recent story of mine with a woman
10 who runs a \$124 million business. So it isn't --

11 SPEAKER: Can I give my view here?

12 MS. GARDELLA: Sure.

13 SPEAKER: Okay. So when we started the women's
14 list, it was very controversial. And there were a whole
15 lot of women who didn't want to be on it because they were
16 very uncomfortable with that word "power." We have come
17 such a long way. I mean, I actually think, you know, we -
18 - you know, I think our list is respected and it's viewed
19 to serve a certain purpose in the world, which is
20 encouraging companies to put more women on boards and in
21 powerful positions.

22 And you know, I think it does inspire young

1 women. But the argument has been made, why you are even
2 doing this. Well, my view is we are doing this until the
3 day when, you know, it's -- there is a level playing field
4 and we don't have to do it anymore.

5 And I actually think that the positive that
6 comes out of what we do -- this is my view, my biased view
7 is, it's greater than the negative. The reason I love to
8 say in stories about women CEOs who I write about, I love
9 to talk about their families because I just think -- I
10 mean, I want to humanize every bigwig I write about. And
11 I just feel the more I can humanize, especially women, and
12 show them in their whole multidimensional self, it's more
13 inspiring and it makes them more accessible to young
14 women. And if I can serve that purpose, I gladly do it.
15 So that's my view.

16 SPEAKER: That's great. That's a good answer.

17 SPEAKER: Yes.

18 SPEAKER: I was wanting to go back to a point
19 that we were talking about earlier which was women using
20 family as an excuse. And I want to take that in a bit of
21 a different direction, because -- I hope she doesn't mind
22 --but I come from a family with a single mom. And I know

1 that there are plenty of single moms around the country
2 and around the world who would love to come into high-
3 power jobs, and would love to take them, but family has to
4 be their first priority because they don't have another
5 person they can rely on. So I was wanting to hear your
6 thoughts on that.

7 (Laughter)

8 SPEAKER: I mean I was a single mom for a while
9 as well. And I think that the pressures at the time were
10 much greater than when I remarried. So I think those are
11 real. I do think as Patty said earlier that the nature of
12 the workforce changing is creating lots of other
13 opportunities for others to help in childcare, in ways
14 that might not have been available at earlier times. And
15 there are many women who are opting -- single moms who are
16 opting to be in the workforce and have someone else help
17 out at home.

18 So I'm not sure that that choice is as stark as
19 it once was. But I think the pressures are very real, and
20 I don't undersell them. To the point that we just
21 answered, I do think that that women may be misled to
22 believe that you can have it all. And maybe you can, but

1 maybe you can't have it all at the same time, all the
2 time.

3 And so I don't believe in the mommy track, but I
4 do believe that women, more than men, have to make
5 sequencing decisions as they really think about the
6 evolution of their career, if they truly want to have it
7 all.

8 SPEAKER: -- on that. I don't have children.
9 It was a conscious decision because I was heading up, you
10 know, a humanitarian organization, and I just couldn't
11 figure out a way where I felt that I could do it, frankly.
12 Go to a place like Angola, or you know, I was involved in
13 the startup in Rwanda during the genocide inside the
14 country, just leave for weeks at a time, and figure out a
15 way to raise children. Not because there isn't a way,
16 just because I personally couldn't figure it out.

17 So I made a personal decision for myself that
18 was best for me. I think that when you look -- you know,
19 so often people say to me, oh, you don't have children,
20 I'm so sorry. And I really never know how to answer that.

21 (Laughter)

22 SPEAKER: But I always view it as -- it's very

1 much an individual decision what's right for the person.
2 Someone else might be able to figure out, and maybe
3 someone else just can't. And that there's no right or
4 wrong way, you know, there's -- everyone finds their own
5 path and everyone makes their own way, and whatever works
6 for them is really the right way.

7 I think there is a lot of pressure to fit in
8 these different boxes. And we just have to make our
9 personal choices and not feel the pressure to be anything
10 other than who we are and what we want to be. And I just
11 have always felt very strongly about that, personally and
12 professionally.

13 MS. SELLERS: I think -- well, I was going to
14 say one more question. But we're going to take two more
15 questions, and this is so great. Yes.

16 SPEAKER: Going back to some other points that
17 were in the earlier conversation that we were having, when
18 we were talking about the fact that women should support
19 other women. And I feel that everywhere in the world,
20 women today are working, whether you are in India or in
21 America or anywhere, because you need dual incomes. It
22 doesn't matter where it is because life has become tough.

1 But it is important to see that how much
2 importance do women give to the person who's taking care
3 of their child. How willing -- they are willing to pay
4 \$100 for a hair set, hair blow dry. But they will not pay
5 \$100 for a nanny, for one hour. There is -- I mean, when
6 you are negotiating, when we as women here, when we go out
7 there, we have to commit ourselves. That's what's lacking
8 I feel that we say, okay, what's our priority. Are we
9 going to spend our \$100 on our hair, or are we going to
10 spend \$100 on fabulous nanny that you have for that one
11 hour.

12 After all, the future generation, anywhere, is
13 dependent on how much time and effort people put into
14 their children. And as far as I'm concerned -- I come
15 from India, I'm very blessed that I have, you know, I had
16 great parents and I had a lot of time. And we lived in a
17 home where we had four generations.

18 So when people say they come from single-parent
19 homes, it happens all over the world. The question is, we
20 are willing to trust a nanny to take care and we are
21 willing to pay them only \$10 -- if you are lucky,
22 sometimes \$6 for an hour's daycare or taking care of your

1 child. But we won't take the help --

2 MS. SELLERS: Okay, so what's the question?

3 SPEAKER: -- of grandparents or family who are
4 there. So these are the choices that we take. So what I
5 am trying to say is that we have to make the choices as
6 women to say that we are willing to help the people who
7 are supporting or bringing up our children --

8 MS. SELLERS: Okay.

9 SPEAKER: And raise their level, and we can only
10 do that. Only women can do it to other women and --

11 MS. SELLERS: Right, I understand.

12 SPEAKER: -- and bring that level up. That's
13 what I say.

14 MS. SELLERS: Okay, that's fine. Thank you --
15 thank you for that. I hate to do this, but one more
16 question. And we're going to over --

17 SPEAKER: A man.

18 SPEAKER: You're going to go at a man.

19 MS. SELLERS: Oh, a man.

20 (Laughter)

21 MS. SELLERS: Yes.

22 SPEAKER: So I'm a fairly senior executive in a

1 large well-known professional service firm. I have a
2 quick insight and then a question.

3 MS. SELLERS: Okay.

4 SPEAKER: The quick insight is I have about
5 3,000 people that report to me. I went to a women's
6 forum. I asked them if they felt they had to compete with
7 the other people in the office to get ahead. Half of them
8 said no; so I agree with you, that's a problem. Because I
9 told them, if you don't think you have to compete to win,
10 you're not going to do the little things that it takes to
11 succeed.

12 My question for the panel is, do you think that
13 women, in the corporate workforce especially, have a
14 different view about formation of friendships? And how
15 does that play a role in their success? Because I think
16 that the reason men volunteer for that promotion before
17 they're ready is because they know that if their friends
18 put them in the job, their friends will make sure they
19 look like they've succeeded, even if they haven't.

20 (Laughter)

21 So do you think women have a different view
22 about the formation of friendships and how that plays?

1 Are they still thinking it's all about doing a great job?

2 SPEAKER: Some of the research -- it's a very
3 good question. Some of the research shows that men's
4 networks -- and I think that's kind of what you're talking
5 about here. Men's networks are wide and shallow. Women's
6 networks are narrow and deep. So when a man says, I don't
7 know something but I'll find out, it's because he knows so
8 many people.

9 Now, we're talking about within this division,
10 let's say, within the organization, outside of the
11 organization. So, you just get these very large
12 transactional set of people that he is transacting with,
13 whereas women are probably creating more of a relational
14 kind of thing.

15 You know, I'm constantly in awe of men; you're
16 in a meeting and you kind of like go at it with each
17 other. And then 30 minutes later, we find you down in the
18 bar having a beer together. You know, two women doing
19 that with each other in a meeting -- that's six months,

20 (Laughter)

21 SPEAKER: That's funny.

22 SPEAKER: It's funny and so true.

1 SPEAKER: Yes.

2 SPEAKER: Hey, well, go ahead Joan, can you top
3 that?

4 MS. DEMPSEY: My relationships, my friendships
5 around work changed dramatically when I made the
6 transition from government into industry. And I would say
7 that -- and maybe because Booz Allen is a very
8 collaborative organization, and we only have one profit
9 and loss line. So we're all motivated to help each other
10 succeed. But our friendships are very deep across the
11 board; men and women. Those friendships are critical to
12 our ultimate business success and we're very supportive of
13 each other.

14 So again, it may just be that the model is so
15 unusual that it creates those friendships. And we do go
16 at it. I mean, we compete with each other within our
17 teams, particularly for talent, but ultimately we want to
18 see each other succeed. And that's been a very powerful
19 model for us.

20 SPEAKER: I'm going to ask one last question and
21 I want -- and this is so hard, but I want everyone to
22 limit their answer to a sentence. Okay? So the corporate

1 world's academia, the not-for-profit world, government,
2 I'm missing one --

3 SPEAKER: Media.

4 SPEAKER: Well, no, that's sort of the business
5 world. Where do have the most momentum right now in terms
6 of women making progress toward the top? And you can in
7 one sentence explain why.

8 MS. VENEMAN: You're looking to me first.

9 SPEAKER: I'm looking to you, Ann.

10 MS. VENEMAN: A very difficult question. And
11 it's a difficult one to answer probably because, you know,
12 our exposures are so different. But I would say that I
13 think in the nonprofit world, as Nancy said earlier, there
14 were almost no women. That's beginning to change
15 tremendously, and I think for the better.

16 There's many more women now around the table and
17 yet, still in the leadership positions, often because --
18 particularly in international positions -- because women
19 don't have the same flexibility to make the international
20 transitions that need to be made. So I think there has
21 been progress made.

22 MS. SELLERS: Okay. Okay, Laura.

1 MS. LISWOOD: You know, I think that this
2 question is always a tough one. But I think you know,
3 each one of the fields that you're describing have pockets
4 of progress, in each one of those. And perhaps, we -- and
5 of course, if we're just looking at United States, I can
6 see pockets of progress in all of the areas. So I can't
7 answer directly to that. I can just remember a
8 conversation that I heard John Major explain, talk about -
9 - John Major, former prime minister of Great Britain.

10 He said he was talking to Boris Yeltsin. And he
11 said to Yeltsin, well, tell me in one word how it's going
12 in Russia. And Yeltsin responds, good. And that kind of
13 was surprising. So he says, okay, Boris, tell me two
14 words how it's going in Russia. And Yeltsin responds, not
15 good.

16 (Laughter)

17 MS. LISWOOD: When you ask me that kind of
18 question, I kind of go there, Pat.

19 (Laughter)

20 MS. SELLERS: Yeah, that's good, okay. Nancy.

21 MS. AOSSEY: Well, again it's based on your
22 exposure. But I agree with Ann. I think a lot of -- I

1 look at my 25 years at this point in humanitarian
2 assistance, or 24. I've seen a lot of progress when it
3 comes to women CEOs, women in executive and leadership
4 positions.

5 And I also would think it goes to the point made
6 earlier, perhaps, maybe more because it is a nonprofit. I
7 mean, you have this at Booz Allen, but we have a very
8 collaborative atmosphere. We've had that from day one.
9 So that wasn't just created by me. It was really by our
10 founding board -- our founder. You know, we're trying to
11 help people who are in humanitarian services. And we can
12 go further if we work together. So we haven't -- we
13 haven't had these competitiveness against each other, but
14 we've had very -- and I think that's true in a number of
15 nonprofits. It's certainly my --

16 MS. SELLERS: Okay.

17 MS. AOSSEY: It's a great thing I wish I sort of
18 --

19 MS. SELLERS: Okay, just one more sentence.

20 MS. AOSSEY: The lifting power -- you see that
21 there's a poster, I wish I had the same of -- of birds
22 when they fly in formation always go further, farther,

1 faster than any individual alone. And I think that a
2 number of nonprofits in some corporations follow that, and
3 as a result women have probably risen more than they would
4 in other sectors.

5 MS. SELLERS: Judith.

6 MS. RODIN: And I agree that the nonprofit
7 sector -- universities are very competitive among the
8 faculty. So I don't think it's only a collaborative
9 environment. I would take a more cynical view, I think,
10 that the places where there is no bottom line have made
11 faster progress, whether that bottom line is winning an
12 election or the next quarter of corporate earnings. And
13 that's why universities and the nonprofit sector and civil
14 society have made more progress.

15 And that's why I worry about the risk aversion
16 when the deliverables are more transparent. So that's the
17 barrier that I think we still need to break to continue to
18 make progress in these other sectors.

19 MS. SELLERS: That's great. Joan.

20 MS. DEMPSEY: Contrarian view. I actually think
21 that government has made a lot of progress in promoting
22 women into senior positions. But it's been according to a

1 model that doesn't take advantage of what women have to
2 offer and it encourages women to act like male leaders and
3 a male-dominated environment. So to some degree, I think
4 it's wasted empowerment because the government is not
5 getting the benefit of what it's doing.

6 MS. SELLERS: Interesting. Thank you so much.
7 This was fabulous. Thank you everyone.

8 SPEAKER: Thank you.

9 (Applause)

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