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CHALLENGES FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS IN ASIA: WHY HAVE SOME COUNTRIES PROGRESSED BETTER THAN OTHERS?

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MS. WINTHROP: Good afternoon, everybody. Thank you so much for coming. I am Rebecca Winthrop. I'm the director of the Center for Universal Education here at Brookings. I'm really pleased to have you all join us and I'm especially pleased to have wonderful colleagues as fellow panelists.

We are here today, as you well know, to talk about the global women's movement, but particularly the global women's movement in Asia. And probably not all of you got a copy, but the centerpiece for this discussion is this wonderful book that Ellen and her partner in crime, Terry McGovern, co-edited called *Women and Girls Rising: Progress and Resistance around the World*. I was very happy and fortunate to be a part and contribute a chapter. It was a fun project, but for those of you who want a pretty fresh and interesting and controversial, in some cases, look at the global women's movement and where things have really excelled and where there's been real resistance and what is the path forward, it's a great read.

And so I'm really pleased, first, just to do brief intros of our panelists. I've already mentioned Ellen, Ellen Chesler, who's a senior fellow and director of Women and Girls Rising Initiative at the Roosevelt Institute. And I'm not going to go into the full wonders of everything everybody on this panel has done because you actually have it in front of you in great detail and you can read for yourself.

And the Dileni Gunewardena, who is a professor of economics at the University of Peradeniya in Sri Lanka, and she's also, I'm very happy to say, a visiting scholar here with us at the Center for Universal Education.

And then next to Ellen, I'm going completely out of order, so you're going to have to kind of wave so people know who you are, Tanvi Madan is the director of The India Project, who's a fellow here at Brookings in our Foreign Policy Program. And she

works, also, on the Project on International Order and Strategy -- or rather, The India Project is within the Project on International Order and Strategy, a project within a project.

Also very happy to welcome a friend, Rachel Vogelstein, who's senior fellow and director of Women and Foreign Policy Program at the Council on Foreign Relations.

So thanks to all of you for being here. I also want to say that we'll have a good discussion, we'll turn it over to you for Q&A, and then we will have a reception afterwards right across the hall. And that's in many thanks to the U.N. Foundation, who has a long and supportive role in the global women's movement and also in this book project. So many thanks to our co-sponsors there for the reception, particularly Kathy Calvin, who's the president, and Daniela Ligiero, who's the VP of Girls and Women, so thanks to them.

So with all of that, all introduction and thanks underway, I think we should kick off. And I think the best thing to do really is turn it over to you, Ellen, and tell us a little bit about why you and Terry thought this was an important thing to do, what motivated you, what were the key themes coming out of the book.

MS. CHESLER: Well, first, let me say thank you to you, Rebecca, for organizing this panel. And to you and Eileen (phonetic) to give me your associate here who wrote a lovely chapter on girls' education for the book and spoke at the conference from which the book derives. And it was a particularly generous contribution from Rebecca because she was in the middle of her own book and we were just asking for a chapter.

The origin of the project is really in my training as a historian 40 years ago, where I was one of the first generation of women who entered Ph.D. programs with the intent of understanding that history did not have to be only his story, but quite literally

needed to have narratives that valorized the contributions of women; and interrogated the past with a gender perspective, not to valorize, but really to really change the way we think about history by introducing half of the population, which, in those years, you know, was unaccounted for in large measure. By the time I finished my Ph.D. in the last '70s, there was hardly a tenurable job for an American historian anywhere on the East Coast, where my family was. So I made a life with a day job, first in government and then in philanthropy, global philanthropy.

But along the way, I plied the trade for which I was trained and wrote a biography of Margaret Sanger and a number of other projects that I edited like this one to give voice to the extraordinary agency of women around the world that I was witnessing, not with rose-colored glasses by any means because the struggle continues. But we often, I think, fall victim to the habit of overemphasizing conflict and forgetting about progress and change.

This book was generously supported by the Ford Foundation, the U.N. Foundation, the Open Society Foundation to mark the 20th anniversary of the historic Beijing Women's Conference, which we celebrated this September. It really is an effort to assess progress, but to look at really the agenda for future policy and programmatic investment.

The book is organized in five sections. The first examines the top-down approaches to change norms and laws at an international level, and the extraordinary contributions that the U.N. has made to this effort. We have chapters from pioneers in the movement, like Charlotte Bunch, the woman who first heard the language, "Women's rights are human rights, and human rights are the rights of every woman," on the ground from Philippine activists. That obviously was the line that Hillary Clinton made a global mantra and transformed really this whole conversation in doing so.

We have contributions from the women who helped introduce gender in a strong and powerful and really revolutionary way to the population, a development agenda at Cairo. Some of the major economic theorists who introduced a gender perspective to development and to investment and jobs for women and into more inclusive development, like Devaki Jain of India.

When then look bottom-up at a number of case studies from countries like Brazil, where we have Jacqueline Pitanguy, the first woman's minister of a country, assessing the role that gender played in the revolutionary and democratic movements of Brazil. We go to Pakistan. There are numbers of chapters that are relevant to today's conversation. Because India, Nepal, Asian countries, we look at culture and at the tremendous backlash that progress for women has engendered, particularly around the issues of child marriage, the education of girls, and sexuality in places as far flung as Uganda in Africa and the United States, where, as we well know, we're having quite an unhealthy discussion of these issues again this year in our own politics.

There are some common themes in the book, I would say, although by no means was it meant to be a curated project. It really bubbled up kind of organically. The common themes, though, however, are striking.

I mean, there has been enormous progress in some respects in the 20 years since Beijing. We see it particularly in, I think, a recognition in the mainstream foreign policy and development community of gender that simply wasn't there 20 years ago. It's hard to remember. Hillary Clinton has a wonderful contribution to the book that forms an afterward. We simply reprinted the interview she did the conference, and she reminds us of not only the conservative resistance to her going to Beijing, but the skepticism among many of her husband's mainstream foreign policy advisors, who were very skeptical of whether this was worth time, whether it was giving too much credibility to

China, a human rights abuser, et cetera, et cetera. Today, I think, everyone agrees that investment in women and girls is not only the moral, the right thing to do, but it's the smart thing to do if we hope to achieve our development and economic goals, development and democracy goals, security goals around the world.

That normative change has also -- there's been some real progress in girls' education at the primary level. We need, obviously, much more investment at the secondary level and much more investment in the quality of education, so thanks to Rebecca for sticking with the issue.

There's been some dramatic change and improvement in maternal health statistics, closing the gap between the developed and developing world in that respect. There has been some progress in reproductive health, particularly in addressing the needs of adolescents. I don't know that it was only the good will of nations and the good policy of women's movements, but probably the tragedy of HIV/AIDS that hastened that and broke the logjam that religion had placed on adolescent sexuality for so long. There's even, I think, some progress because of the pledging conferences in London two years ago, in mobilizing resources for the tremendous unmet need that still exists for contraception. But clearly, there's also been a great backlash around reproductive rights that the book addresses.

On the other hand, we haven't seen much progress in terms of inclusive economic growth. Though women have entered the labor force, it's been at a time when neoliberal policies overall, macroeconomic policies, have sort of swamped good intentions. Countries simply don't have the resources to enforce the human rights provisions that will be necessary for inclusive growth. We need more investment in the twin size of what are really the central pillars of the United Nations' Global Development Program, the marshalling of resources and the protection of human rights. One without

the other won't work. You can go back to the very founding documents of the U.N. and see that language, but we still haven't realized the right balance.

In addition to the fact that even in countries where there is economic growth, women aren't doing well. It's not simply because of overall policies, but also because of structures of constraint, the traditional biases that women confront, stereotypes about their labor. You know, women remain in segregated places in the workforce, low paying, without mobility. But also the work-family balance issues, whether in the United States where we have yet to have national paid leave policies, although the book does mark enormous progress which very few people know about at the state level with now 16 states having passed policies and other private sector advances in terms of leave and work-family balance. But we have a long way to go.

We also look, I think, at the important role, and I think this is, just in closing, briefly, I think the most important thematic takeaway of the book is that while there now is in place an international agreement signed by every country in the world but the United States and one or two other small nations the convention to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women, it still remains honored in the breach often. But it is there, a robust human rights agreement that is informing constitutions and case law around the world every day. We need in this country to sign it. We need to be party to the conversation that goes on around the world around enforcing rights for women.

And mostly, we need, in addition to investment in women and girls, it's great to have the bank and other international institutions, as well as national governments, more focused on that issue, but we will continue to need investments in women's movements. Because what we know to be true and what this book does beautifully, it marshals some quantitative evidence to make this point, but also some qualitative stories, without women's movements well-resourced on the ground to invest in

changing policies and also enforcing those policies, particularly at the judicial, as well as at the legislative level, progress simply doesn't happen. We know that from our own history in this country. We're fortunate to have a robust civil society, but investments continue to be needed, in the developing world particularly, in civil society movements that have at their center justice, inclusive justice, justice for women and girls. And that's really, for me, having spent many, many years in this field, the part of the book and sort of general theme of the book that gives me the most pleasure.

MS. WINTHROP: Are you optimistic about what the women's movement holds for the future?

MS. CHESLER: You know, I have a 40-year career behind me. If I weren't optimistic, I couldn't keep working, so yes. I mean, you know, I'm a realist, but I'm most optimistic.

I think we stand at a transformational moment because the one thing I didn't mention is that a consistent theme is also the need for more women's leadership. And we're at a moment, at a juncture where we may have the first woman -- actually there's a lot of rumors spilling out of New York -- the first woman secretary-general of the United Nations and the first woman President of the United States. And that will be a game-changer, I think.

There's no question that we're just at a different level of consciousness about gender. For so long, women of my generation talked to each other and now we're talking to everybody. And we have Hillary Clinton to thank for that in this country in large measure because she really, as Secretary of State, not only spoke about these issues -- it wasn't just a rhetorical commitment, though. We have with us one of her former staff people and they left institutional changes in the State Department that really are changing the way that Foreign Service officers are educated, the kinds of things they look at. Their

knowledge base is really, really very different. And so that gives me hope.

Is the pace of change fast enough? Of course not. Are there larger ways in which women who have become signifiers of complaints far greater than gender, particularly in the Middle East and North Africa? You know, our bodies remain battlegrounds, as the artist Barbara Kruger reminds us.

But somehow, I just think we're in a very, very different place, so yes, I am optimistic.

MS. WINTHROP: Okay, good. I wanted to pick up -- actually, there's a lot of things you said I wanted to pick up. Dileni, I'll come back to you in a minute because Ellen talked a lot about although progress in education, women are still not necessarily making the transition to the labor force, so hold that.

But on the topic of Hillary Clinton, since you brought it up, Rachel, you worked in the State Department under Secretary Clinton. And I know because we were talking right before this that you just recently listened to the speech that Michelle Obama gave in Doha at this big global education conference called The World Innovation Seminar on Education. And I was attending the conference and listened to her speech, and she has taken up girls' education as a theme. And I was planning to -- I was prepared to hear a girls' education speech. And what I heard was a women's movement, gender equality speech.

And I just thought, wow, I heard -- it was exactly 20 years later from when Hillary Clinton made a very famous speech at Beijing. And, of course, Beijing was the fourth -- there had been four international conferences on women, but everyone remembers Beijing. Nobody remembers 1975 in Mexico, et cetera. I mean, the people who were there do and the people who were on the ground in the women's movement do, but that one really broke through. So it was interesting to see sort of, you know, 20

years later, another American First Lady bringing the cause of gender equality, really speaking out very strongly for it.

So I wanted to just get your insights on, you know, are you optimistic? You've worked in the field, you worked for Secretary Clinton, you just did a big report with the No Ceilings Initiative on sort of progress and challenges. What is your sort of big picture take?

MS. VOGELSTEIN: Thank you and thank you, first of all, for hosting this important conversation and to Ellen for the important contribution that you've made with the volume. I encourage all of you to read it. And thanks to my fellow co-panelists, as well.

I am optimistic. I share Ellen's optimism. And, Rebecca, I think that the parallel you drew is quite interesting. And I've spent a lot of time this year thinking about that 20th anniversary. We've done a lot of that at the Council on Foreign Relations.

Certainly in my prior role at The Clinton Foundation we spent two years looking at progress for women and girls around the world. And I think that we found that on a global level there actually has been a remarkable amount of progress. Ellen touched on many of the key indicators that we've seen. Certainly improvements in health, as Ellen mentioned, and in education. And the pace of change in just 20 years, I think, is particularly notable.

As you well know, Rebecca, from the work that you lead, the closing of the global gender gap in education at the primary level in just that time period is incredible progress. We know that there are a lot of challenges that still remain and there are a few areas that I would mention in addition to what Ellen highlighted.

Women's participation in the economy. We've actually seen a slight decrease in women's labor force participation over this time period from 57 percent to 55

percent.

MS. WINTHROP: Globally, around the world.

MS. VOGELSTEIN: Globally, on the global level. So certainly differences in particular regions or countries, but that is concerning. That's a trend that actually we see here in this country. So there, I think, we can also look to the leadership in the economic sphere. You know, two decades after Beijing, the highest echelons of the economic sphere are almost entirely male. And we're starting to see changes, but not the pace of change that one would hope.

Political leadership. I think Ellen's right that we hope there will be the first secretary-general who's a woman of the United Nations soon. But when we look at the numbers across the board, women comprise still under -- or just about 25 percent of parliamentary seats around the world.

MS. WINTHROP: Although that's double what it was 20 years ago.

MS. VOGELSTEIN: It's double what it was. It's double what it was.

MS. WINTHROP: You're starting at a low base.

MS. VOGELSTEIN: Exactly, exactly. And there are obviously important advances that have been made. In particular regions of Latin America, for example, we've seen I think slightly more progress, particularly at the head of state level, but there's still a long way to go. There's still a long way to go.

And then I would point to security. Women's participation in peace and security issues and processes, that's still illusive. Fifteen years after U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325, women continue to be excluded. We've only had one woman who's ever served as the chief negotiator in a peace process representing a government in the Philippines over that time period, so there's a lot of work to be done there.

And then personal security, you know, freedom from violence. We still

have an epidemic of violence against women around the world, and that's including in Asia, which is one of the regions that we'll talk about today. We've seen mass demonstrations in India in response to the horrific gang rape that took place there in 2012 and in other countries, as well.

But that said, I do think that the frameworks that have been put into place over this time period are incredibly important. The Beijing Platform for Action is something that 189 countries have endorsed and certainly CEDAW, as Ellen mentioned, continues to be used as an important tool. But we've also seen changes in legal frameworks at the national and local level as well, so we have more countries than ever before that have laws prohibiting discrimination against women or violence against women on the books.

And the big challenge, I think, now is implementation. There are still places where we need better laws and there are still places where we have more to do to reform policy. But the real gap is in making these laws and policies real for individual women and girls and communities on the ground. And part of that certainly goes to this question of supporting indigenous civil society movements.

And part of what Beijing was about was not only the official government conference in which this platform for action was negotiated, but also there was a parallel convening about an hour outside of Beijing in Huairou, where civil society advocates from around the world gathered. And that was an important moment when I think a lot of connections were made and important work was done there. And yet, we still have insufficient resources for civil society organizations. And to change the social norms and the hearts and minds that need to be changed and to make the laws on the books real, you need to have those civil society organizations calling governments to task.

And the last thing I will say is, you know, we also need greater political

will. I am optimistic, but I also think there is a danger that now that we have world leaders talking about the importance of these issues at the U.N., at the World Bank, at the IMF, certainly the Security Council at the U.N., that's incredible progress. And yet, if we are saying the words, but we're not seeing the results, we're in danger of declaring a victory before we're actually seeing a change on the ground.

MS. WINTHROP: Rachel, I'll come back to you because I think I'd like to deep-dive onto some of these themes that you both have raised into sort of the context of Asia, women in Asia.

And, Tanvi, let's go to you because Rachel raised the point about violence and security. And certainly there's been quite a lot of media and activism over the last year or so in India around that topic. So I'm curious, you know, from a political standpoint, how are women in Asia -- you know, from your vantage point, how are the women's and girls' rights doing in India? What do you think?

MS. MADAN: I think one of the interesting -- I always go back to Cambridge economist Joan Robinson said whatever you say about India, the opposite is true. And this is true in this realm, as well. I mean, this is a country that unlike including Western nations, including the U.S., has had a female prime minister, perhaps India's strongest prime minister to date. It has had powerful political leaders, continues to have powerful political leaders, Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, head of the Congress Party. It has had heads of Indian states, companies, ministries, including prominent ones like the Foreign Ministry and the Commerce Ministry are run by women. So you see that side of it.

You've seen something in the area you work on, literacy rates for women go up in 10 years from kind of 53 percent to 64, 65 percent. You've seen in local government half of representatives are women, partly because of the reservations put in place. And you've also see very active grassroots movements in India.

And you've seen women be part of the political process and there's now clear evidence that they shape the outcome of elections. Most recently, over the last few weeks, the elections in the Indian state of Bihar, one of India's largest, with an electorate of about 67 million, where the turnout for women was higher than it was for men. And they have shown in that particular state, which is identified often as somewhere where women's rights perhaps are not as strong as some of the other states in India, where they do show up. And in this case, politicians have had to actively court them because they realize that they do shape outcomes.

But that state election was also a good example of how it's very easy to also, while there's this kind of glass half-full picture and progress, where there's a lot that's left to be done, there continue to be a number of problems. In that state, for example, only 38 percent of women who are eligible to register to vote have actually registered to vote. You have only 11 percent of India's parliamentarians who are women; only 20 percent of India's cabinet are women. In that education/literacy rate there's a 16 percent gap between women's and men's literacy rates. The good news is it's close from before, which it used to be even wider. But it is a problem.

Labor force participation, India has amongst the lowest rates in the world. It's a major problem.

And then I think, overall, you still continue to have serious problems in terms of violence against women, but across the board, not just kind of what we saw with the gang rape, but starting from birth and perhaps even before. So I think that you can tell very different stories.

I think overall we've seen a significant -- I'm optimistic because every time -- I think this is true of India in general, it's very easy to get depressed about any particular issue, but there has been progress. And I think you can cite stories and

statistics to show that.

But for me I think what's also important, and it goes from what Rachel's point about the 2012 gang rape, horrific gang rape of this young woman in Delhi, to me the change after that in terms of having become now a mainstream conversation in India, which is not just happening amongst small sections of society or specialist groups, it is now something politicians feel the need to address. It is something, for example, the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in his first Independence Day speech, which I guess is the equivalent of the State of the Union, he spent a significant amount of time talking about women's rights not just in terms of structural issues and safety issues, but cultural issues. And I think that has kind of -- that mainstreaming of the conversation has made a difference.

Having said that, and I think starting from that conversation of women's safety, it has become a broader issue, where you do see discussions in India now about women's role in not just society, but the economy and polity. You have politicians talking about how much not just it's a question -- it is a key question in terms of human rights, but also how this is actually affecting the Indian economy, as well, and this kind of vision of India moving forward, that growth story would be totally incomplete without progress in terms of women's rights.

But I will say there are huge challenges that remain and I'd say they come down to kind of the two which I think are across the board in many areas. I think one is structural, where implementation is key. You have a number of initiatives, you have laws on the books, but getting those implemented have been a serious issue. There are capacity issues.

But the other key kind of issue beyond the structural one is something Ellen mentioned, the cultural constraints. And I think that is something that is a longer

term project. It has to start today, but starting from education for both boys and girls. But other programs that the government has put in place now, it's going to be a much tougher issue to sort out.

MS. WINTHROP: If you had to give a report card to the Modi administration what would you give so far? Early days, I know, but on this topic.

MS. MADAN: I think in terms of -- I'd separate it out in terms of rhetoric and reality. And I think in terms of rhetoric, I would actually give them maybe even an A- or a B+. In terms of reality, a C or a B- partly -- and this is not true of their government. It has been a problem across governments, which is I think they have identified many of the issues. I'll give you two examples in terms of good intentions, but kind of the follow-through.

One is one of the Prime Minister Modi's key initiatives, which he talks about a lot, is this program called Swachh Bharat, Clean India, which is about improving access to sanitation. And there's a particular women's right dimension to it, which they see it as connected, including things, you know, he talks about toilets a lot. And people found this really odd, but connecting it through women's labor force participation rates, as well as girls' education, and so this has been a major drive.

But one of the things that people have notices is while there has been the kind of rhetoric about it, it's been made a majority priority, in terms of actual follow-through, where is the money going? A lot of money in terms of setting up, for example, constructing toilets, but not enough, only about 8 to 10 percent, to changing behavior and culture in terms of actually using them.

Another good example in this regard has been after the gang rape, the previous government and then this government created a fund called the Nirbhaya Fund, which was supposed to help education, try to reduce violence against women. But the

problem has been, again, follow-through. It's not quite clear what the action plan was. And this is, again, not just this government, it's been a previous government going into this one, which is trying to actually have implementable action plans and somebody actually tracking what's happening.

But I think also involving local voices a lot more rather than it just being, you know, kind of a top-down driven plan from Delhi.

MS. WINTHROP: Yeah, that's a theme that everyone's mentioned. We should return to it.

But, Dileni, I wanted to bring you in on this theme that actually all three have mentioned about economic participation, women's labor force participation. What are you seeing in Sri Lanka? What are your insights?

MS. GUNEWARDENA: First, let me thank you before I start and, Ellen, for this very exciting book and my colleagues for their insights.

I think Sri Lanka is actually a very useful country to consider not just for Sri Lankans, but in the current discourse because we have education. Girls' education has been improving in that country for a very long time. And we now have female secondary completion that's very high and higher than male. At tertiary level, we have more women than men, but we only have one-third of women in the labor force. And I think that's sort of pointing the sign. You know, if India's education, girls' education, must improve what would happen to girls' labor force participation?

And then we see that this is not just an isolated case. We see it in MENA, we see it in East Asia, we see it in the rest of South Asia. And what is very interesting there, really, is that there are several things that are happening.

There is, as Ellen mentioned -- and I would highly recommend the chapter by Naila Kabeer in this book. She deals with, I think, sort of everything important

that we have learned in gender economics in the last so many years, and development. And I think this whole idea of the structures of constraint, the idea that you can equip women, you can equip girls, but they're operating in a framework, in a culture -- and I'll come back to that in a minute -- but in a culture that within the home gives them the double burden. Without, in the workplace, also has many constraints.

But I think what is very interesting is that, in a sense, when it comes to gender there is so much similarity between developed Western and developing global South. So I think that is really sort of this issue of the fact that everybody's asking this question. We have two things happening: we have people asking the question, girls are educated, but they're not in the labor force; and, on the other side, you have people saying this is the last -- I think this new, that maybe in the last maybe five years that we have numbers being crunched, the instrumental value, if you like, of having women in the workforce. Of the loss to GDP, the McKinsey report talks about it being the size of the economies of China and the U.S. put together, I think, which is stupendous.

And I think that's an opportunity because, you know, as Ellen mentioned, the conversation is now beyond us. The conversation is not just among feminists, among women's movement, between gender economists. It's out in the mainstream. But, you know, there's still so much to be done. You didn't ask me if I'm optimistic.

MS. WINTHROP: Are you optimistic? (Laughter)

MS. GUNEWARDENA: I'm cautiously optimistic. (Laughter) And I think the reason is that there's also, as we have seen in our part of the world, while there is progress, there can also be retrogression. And I think that is something that we have to be very careful about.

Coming back to structures of constraints, I want to emphasize that when you look at the global South or you think, okay, this is a problem in the Arab world, this is

a problem in South Asia, it's to do with the culture, it's to do with keeping women at home, it's to do with the (inaudible) or whatever, but I think it's more than that. And that is where I come from, from Sri Lanka, where we culturally -- I like to call patriarchy in Sri Lanka "patriarchy lite." (Laughter) Because it really is patriarchy lite compared to India or compared to Pakistan.

And yet, we have only one-third of the women in the workforce. So what is going on there? And I think that is something that is important to consider.

I have two more things to say, actually, thank you very much. Coming from the fact that I'm an economist and so the way I think about answers is like an economist. And also, that coming from being a data person, and that is that if you think about Sri Lanka, people ask me how did Sri Lanka have these achievements in girls' education? And I think when policymakers -- you know, we were fortunate that policymakers didn't have to set out to sort of focus on girls' education. What happened?

Some historians have actually traced this to pre-independent Sri Lanka, you know, with the missionary schools that set up girls' schools, which were, of course, initially elitist. But in the 1940s, what we had was free education for everyone in Sri Lanka. And as it reduced the cost of sending your children to school, as the cost came down, then girls also went to school.

Along with free education we had this sort of vast network of schools, so the statistic that we talk about now is that within three kilometers of every home there is a primary school, so, you know, you can walk to school We have a reasonably good rural road network that people can actually walk to school, reasonably good. So basically all the social and actually populist policies that were implemented since independence in the '50s and the '60s worked for women.

And so I think that there are things we can do at this point, also, of doing

things that make economic sense which will then break or reduce those cultural barriers. I'm not pinning all my hopes on that and I don't think that when we focus on the instrumental we should forget the intrinsic value to be made of working is far more than how much they're going to contribute to the GDP.

About data.

MS. WINTHROP: Last point.

MS. GUNEWARDENA: Okay.

MS. WINTHROP: Another theme in the book, data. (Laughter)

MS. GUNEWARDENA: So I think we've come along with so much of gender disaggregated data, just at the click of a button, that wasn't there maybe even five years ago, I think. But there is still so much to go.

I work in a lot of sort of econometric analysis and when gender disaggregated analysis can be done, I'm not even talking about gender analysis or looking at something from a gender perspective, but simply just breaking the sample between men and women and doing the numbers to see if there's a difference, it doesn't happen. And I think this is a message that just needs to go out there.

This book has a really great example, the chapter on MENA, of the kinds of data that can be collected. The whole thing of asking people, social attitudes, you know, do you think a man -- do you think a woman can be just as happy staying at home as going out? And that gives you a sense of where the culture is and what could be changed and how men and women answer the questions differently. And those are things that, you know, again, in terms of collecting data, we've gone such a long way. I think the World Bank collects more and more interesting data sets every year.

But I would love to see the day when this kind of question is asked in a sort of standard format in the regular household survey or labor force survey or DHS or

something like that. That would be data mainstreaming for me.

MS. WINTHROP: Thank you, Dileni. And it reminds me, I mean, how long have we been calling as a community for gender disaggregated data? I mean, years and years and years, so that's part of the problem of everybody sort of knows it, but why isn't it happening?

MS. VOGELSTEIN: Right.

MS. WINTHROP: Rachel, you want to weigh in on that?

MS. VOGELSTEIN: I just want to weigh in --

MS. WINTHROP: And then I wanted to ask you about China.

MS. VOGELSTEIN: -- really, really quickly on that.

MS. WINTHROP: Okay.

MS. VOGELSTEIN: Because one of the things Secretary Clinton did when she was at the State Department was take on this issue of gender data. And she held a conference on it and there she said that data not only measures progress, it inspires it, and called for closing the gender data gap. And it actually led to the creation of an initiative called Data 2X, which is now spun off from the State Department. It's actually at the U.N. Foundation thanks to our host today, our sponsor. And there's a really wonderful report that they've put together at Data 2X which really is a comprehensive survey of all of the areas in which we still don't have answers to how women perform versus men, where we don't disaggregate.

I think there's 23 key areas that they highlight in this report and it's an agenda, I think, for all of us. Because when we get to this implementation question, data is a really big piece of that. And it's only when we start to make some of those investments and really put our money where our mouths are, particularly the leadership, that we're going to hopefully be able to measure the progress and then reform policies to

spur it on.

MS. WINTHROP: Before we go to the Q&A, which we'll do so in a moment, we can't really talk about women's movement in Asia without talking about China, at least a little bit. Rachel, do you want to -- do you have some insights? I know you've been writing about it recently.

MS. VOGELSTEIN: Well, I think China is really interesting to think about. You know, the conference in 1995 was in Beijing. And there's actually a wonderful film that is coming out called *Once and For All*, which will premier next week, which goes back and uses historical footage and looks at what happened in the lead-up to and then actually at the conference in Beijing. And the government at the time was incredibly difficult with not granting visas, so people couldn't travel, and made it incredibly onerous for the civil society advocates who wanted to participate to actually do that.

The speech, now famous, that then First Lady Hillary Clinton gave was not heard everywhere. And when we reflect on where China is 20 years later, and there's a great anecdote that I'll share, which is that former staff member of Secretary Clinton was traveling in Beijing, I think it was last year, and piped over the sound system at a bookstore, you know, the Muzak was her speech. And just the sea change that now that was just completely non-controversial, that the speech was just playing in the background. You know, that speaks to change.

The recent law, the domestic violence law that the government has introduce there, speaks to change.

MS. WINTHROP: What is that law, for people who don't know?

MS. VOGELSTEIN: That would essentially increase and stiffen penalties in response to a really horrific series of incidents that took place and kind of captured the national attention. And yet, I think we also saw in this year in particular, this anniversary

year, where China was leading the celebration at the United Nations that took place in September and convened a global summit in New York with 70 world leaders. At the same time that they were doing that and pledging a major contribution to U.N. women, the government around International Women's Day earlier in the year detained and then arrested five Chinese feminists who were advocating for rights for women. And so I think that shows you what we've been talking about here, which is we've seen steps forward and yet there's still a lot of work to do.

You know, the recent change in China's one-child policy, now the two-child policy, I think is emblematic of that. It is not the case that women in China can now have as many children as they want. They can have two.

MS. WINTHROP: They have to be able to afford them.

MS. VOGELSTEIN: And they have to be able to afford them. And I think that a lot of the reaction in the wake of that change, while certainly very important to people in China, and we've been reading stories about the reactions there, you know, many are skeptical that this change came about for any reason other than demographics and economics, so not necessarily an endorsement of women's reproductive rights or the ability to plan one's family.

So I think it's really emblematic of the discussion we've had, that we've seen steps forward, but there's a lot of work still.

MS. WINTHROP: Yeah, go ahead, Ellen.

MS. CHESLER: Well, and yes, another shameless self-promotion for the book, I just do want to say that, happily, we were able to get the women who chaired the Chinese delegation, Liu Bohong, and a younger colleague, Yiping Cai, to write for this volume. And as a result, between our several essays on India and this one essay on China, the volume at least accounts for a third of the world's women.

And the China essay is not only a beautiful essay in terms of its structure and its coherence, but also a very courageous one. Because these two women who, obviously, are well established in the country and Yiping Cai or Cai Yiping, I never know which to say because I'm not a China person, is in this fill that Rachel just mentioned and very articulate in it, as well. And so we were delighted about that because the filmmakers met her at our conference.

But they make the point that over the 20 years in China, this country that had really not wanted many of its own people to really hear the messages out of the Beijing meeting has gone a long way to implement the norms of gender into its laws. In other words, it has integrated gender, mainstream gender, throughout its public policies and its laws. But at the same time, it has unleashed a neoliberal economic revolution that has provided jobs and opportunity for women, but not in an inclusive way. I mean, so that you have oppression, labor oppression, class oppression, the emergence of elites in China, but rising inequality that makes it simply impossible for women to exercise the rights that they now have a right to exercise. And the best examples, of course, is in the two-child policy, the constraints on housing, the absence of work-family policies, the absence of innovation in terms of freeing women from gender stereotypes in the workplace mean that life isn't necessarily improving for women and certainly they're not being able to realize the rights that they are now accorded.

I would say, though, because I'm trained as a historian and I do want to make this relevant to Sri Lanka, too, and to another wonderful chapter by Isobel Coleman, formerly of the Council on Foreign Relations and now is part of the U.S.-U.N. mission, she's an undersecretary in New York, which makes the same points about high education levels for women in the MENA region, but low economic participation rates. The West experienced a similar lag. Women began to be educated universally in high

school and even in secondary education college, tertiary education college level, at the beginning of the 20th century. But it took a whole century for women to move from episodic engagement in the labor force.

A third of the labor force remained women until the 1980s. Until the 1980s in this country more women self-identified as homemakers than workers. And we then had a big spurt of growth, driven by economic necessity. Shrinking incomes for the middle class meant that people needed two incomes to support a family, but also driven by cultural changes, the second wave of feminism. Gloria Steinem is much in the news because of her new book or Betty Friedan's, you know, that was my generation coming of age with a tremendous desire to just shatter ceilings in terms of gender equality.

We're now stagnant in terms of labor force participation because, again, while we made enormous changes in laws and had a robust civil society here in Washington and around the country helping us to implement those laws around discrimination and violence, we haven't addressed the structures of constraint. We need to better work out work-family balance. Women simply rise in the labor force till the age of 35 and then there's an absolute plateau and they don't go further.

So I suspect that it may be historically some integration of colonial norms in a place like Sri Lanka or India, some simply historical lag, but we're moving in the right direction.

And I just want to say finally, in relationship to what you said in terms of data, that the day that we had our conference in September of 2014 at the Ford Foundation, the same weekend Prime Minister Abe in Japan had put together a big conference on labor force participation of women there. And out of that came data where he really predicted that Japan, with its long-time stagnation in terms of economic growth, could change and perhaps raise economic growth by as much as 9 percent if it simply

eliminated some of the discriminatory practices that were still on the books there against women and also really shattered the ceiling culturally in terms of -- I don't know what the Japanese equivalent of machismo is, but there is a word. So this is a change.

MS. WINTHROP: Thanks, Ellen. It's a very interesting parallel with the United States. And the book also points out that this topic we're talking about Asia, but these are all issues that practically every country in the world struggles with.

Let's go to the floor. Let's take some questions. There's a mic. Raise your hands high so I can see you and there's a mic roving around.

One, let's take this. We'll take a couple right one after another. Please introduce yourself.

SPEAKER: Hi. I'm Sirtaj (phonetic). I work in advocacy at the Malala Fund. And my question, Ellen, is for you. You mentioned that the base of change in the women's movement has been phenomenal in the past 20 years. And I was wondering how much of that had to do with the Millennium Development Goals or if, at all, it had anything to do with the Millennium Development Goals. And how would you see the Sustainable Development Goals helping this movement as we go forward?

MS. WINTHROP: Great. So, Ellen, remember that one. I'm jotting it down. There are some others on this side. Raise your hands. Yes, the gentleman with the purple tie.

SPEAKER: Thank you. Thank you all for talking today. My question was about I guess we've talked a lot about the intersection of the economy and the women's movement. What other sectors or movements do you see to be an intersection? Maybe the gay rights movement or the climate change movement? Where else can we see the women's movement kind of taking power and taking a lead and moving forward?

MS. WINTHROP: Great question. Others here? We have one right in front. Go ahead.

MS. TALLEY: Hi. My name is Neg Talley (phonetic) and I used to work with BRAC and I just moved to DC. So my question is also for Ellen.

And I haven't read your book. I know you mentioned Naila Kabeer contributed a chapter, so I'm guessing there is something about labor force in Bangladesh, women in labor force in Bangladesh. But my question is that when talking about women's movement in Asia, and especially in South Asia, I know that India, Pakistan have been represented, but Bangladesh has seen so many changes. And in terms of social indicators it has done so well in terms of India and Pakistan. I was just wondering whether that has been addressed in the book.

MS. WINTHROP: Okay, great. We have a couple more. Go ahead.

MS. BIBI: Okay. So I'm Ann Bibi (phonetic). I worked for a very (inaudible) NGOs in China for a couple of years. So my question is about the effectiveness of the women's movement in different countries because I think if you want to make effective movements you have to rely on local people. So what I observed is like the five young ladies who were captured this year, they are very famous on Western countries, but I believe not too many Chinese people know this news.

And another example was an NGO who promoted anti-domestic violence law and which was published this year by our government. And that NGO was considered as a very traditional NGO in some (inaudible) in China. So it's like (inaudible) from my country how are very popular in Western countries, actually the real results for affecting policymakers probably not so effective.

So what do you guys think about that approach, I mean, smart or effective approach for women's movements? Thank you.

MS. WINTHROP: Great question, thanks. There was a couple of questions on this side, all the way on this side.

MS. CHESLER: Yeah, because I'm going to lose track here.

MS. WINTHROP: That's all right. I'm writing them all down here. No question forgotten. All right, go ahead.

MS. BASU: Good evening. My name is Diya Basu (phonetic) from India. And my question is I was at Brookings possibly three or four days back at a panel discussion on new media and the redefining of democracy. And the audience participation was mixed to more men than women. And in an important issue like today, I see all our panelists are women and I would say at least 90 percent of the audience are women.

So my question to the panel is are you having these -- are the conversations really happening within these silos? And are we ghettoizing the women's movement and women's issues by just talking amongst ourselves or are we talking to people who really affect policy?

MS. WINTHROP: Great, thanks. So we'll go one by one on answering the questions. Not all of you need to answer all of the questions. So, Ellen, let's go with you first. You had a direct question about the MDGs and the SDGs.

MS. CHESLER: Ironically, the MDGs did help focus global attention. And I say ironically because actually I was part of the history then. I was working at the Open Society Foundation and helping support civic engagement around the MDGs. And they came three or four months after the fifth anniversary of Beijing, where we actually did quite a bit to publicize Beijing and women's issues in New York, largely because so much of the press in the United States around Beijing had been about the government crackdown on rights and the bad weather, and they hadn't really been covered

substantively. So by the time they got the MDGs, they really were tired of hearing from women and quite deliberately didn't integrate women into all aspects of the MDGs. And there was quite a flack, also. Remember, we were transitioning from the Clinton years to the Bush Administration in 2000, also. There was quite a flack about not expressly having an indicator around reproductive health and rights.

But ironically, despite that, and once there were not only goals, but indicators that did spell out reproductive rights, I think absolutely, and everybody would agree with me at the U.N., that it was very useful to have this kind of organized, structured global conversation. And I think there's some concern that the SDGs are not as easily articulated and also perhaps not as easily achieved for a variety of reasons, because they're more ambitious in many ways.

On the other hand, the engagement of civil society in the production of the SDGs was quite robust, with a women's major group comprising 300 organizations from around the world, really going toe-to-toe in the negotiations and coming away quite satisfied with what has been achieved in terms of not only a standalone gender objective, but mainstreaming of gender into all of the intersectionality that needs to be addressed. And I would add to your list healthcare. Margaret Sanger's biography, reproductive healthcare, particularly which I think is a valence issue. For women everything kind of revolves around fertility and there's quite a bit in taboo, on that subject.

But I think the jury's out on the SDGs until you do have indicators. And indicators are being negotiated on a national level. And my concern about the SDGs, which I think is generally shared, is will there be resources at the national level to implement this? I mean, it's just going to be more talk unless we can somewhere find resources, and there's quite a bit of talk about partnerships with the private sector. Corporations are, in some measure, understanding. They have the biggest stake as they

globalize in women's equality because they need an educated labor force. And as has been mentioned here, in many parts of the world women are outpacing men in terms of education. But there's still a lot that is unknowable.

I just want to quickly answer the question on Bangladesh because I forgot to mention Kalpona Akter, who participated in our conference and in our volume. Some of our essays are longer academic things, like Naila's. We have 15 of those, but we have 15 rather personal testimonies. We call them reflections. Naila is one of the -- I'm sorry, Kalpona's is one of the most personally inspiring to me. Kalpona Akter is the head of the women's unions, you know, the textile workers in Bangladesh, and tells her how story having started as a textile worker at age 14.

I mean, actually, if you were to compare -- this is way above my pay grade, I'm not a specialist in this area, but if you were to compare Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, I mean, a lot of what's happened in Bangladesh has happened because of the garment industry in the course of 20 years. It took 100 years in the United States for women to move into manufacturing. It took 20 years in Bangladesh. And along with it, because of BRAC and a fairly robust civil society, there has been a component of the building of institutions, I always thought of them when I traveled there almost similar to the settlement house movement of this country 100 years ago, I mean, not quite an exact historical analogy, but a little bit, where there are efforts -- the women originally thought they were coming to work as unmarried women. Of course, they stayed in the labor force. And there is a fairly robust social welfare movement that's grown out of civil society and now has some government support and I think a lot of investment of Western institutions.

Is it perfect? Obviously not. And most important, what's imperfect in the country is the regulation of labor standards for men and women. But as we know from

the headlines about building collapses and fires and so forth, there's a long way to go in the country.

But the movement of that industry, I don't think there's a comparable industry in Sri Lanka which has allowed for a quick transition in terms of labor force participation, so maybe what you need is garment works.

MS. WINTHROP: That's an interesting thought. Do you have a comment on that, Dileni?

MS. GUNEWARDENA: Yes, I think perhaps what we have missed that Bangladesh has had has been the strong civil society relative to size of labor force perhaps, you know, civil society in Sri Lanka on women's issues, perhaps because we sort of rest on our laurels and think we've come this far.

I also wonder to what extent, taking from that same point, to what extent, you know, Sri Lanka's slightly higher wages are now working against expanding that (inaudible) within Sri Lanka. So some of the things we've gained for ourselves are actually working against women, I think.

MS. WINTHROP: Interesting. What about the comment, there were two comments that I thought were rather related about sort of reaching out, both the comment about are there other -- has the women's movement been very important in other movements, health or climate change or other, as well as, I think, the question about are we just talking to ourselves?

Tanvi or Rachel, do you have insights on that?

MS. MADAN: I think the point is, I mean, in the Indian context, as you know, it's not just men who are part of the problem. It is also women. The solution has to involve not just women, but men, as well. And that means both, as you said, making sure and engaging in conversations with people who are in a position to effect change,

but also making sure to do -- for both men and women to make sure that those people effecting change involve a lot more women than exist.

I work, for example, in a very traditionally kind of male-dominated field of foreign and security policies, especially in the Indian context. I often find myself one of the only women in the room, but that means it is especially incumbent upon me, but also my male colleagues, who I have to say have done a good job, of sort of mentoring younger women into the field. So I think, again, it involves both those conversations.

I think in the Indian context in terms of you've seen some overlap, but I think it's involved more things like health, education, environment broadly, not necessarily climate change in particular. And with the LGBT movement it's actually -- I think where it overlaps is often a discussion about legal rights. Homosexuality, for example, still considered illegal formally in India. But what you have seen is in terms of a broader conversation, so, for example, when there's a conversation about changing laws, it involves both that, but also things in terms of women's right where, for example, spousal rape still cannot be considered illegal in India. So those kinds of conversations have overlapped. You've seen a lot more movement on that front and kind of collaboration.

I will just say I think the point about whether it is civil society movements on the ground or kind of more prominent feminists, I don't think there's a one-size-fits-all. I think it both involves people working on the ground in civil society groups, but I think it definitely helps to have people bringing attention to this issue who are prominent. Sometimes, yes, women leaders, but also men talking about these issues are considered within certain countries as kind of somehow spoiling the image. We've seen this conversation in India. Why are you going and talking about these issues? But it also, in some ways, highlights the issue and brings it to even national policymakers' agendas.

MS. WINTHROP: Rachel, did you want to add anything?

MS. VOGELSTEIN: I would just add with respect to involving men and boys in the conversation, I mean, I think the point has been made already how important that is. You know, I would not say, notwithstanding the makeup of the room, that it's only women talking to women. I think one of the really big changes we've seen over this 20-year period is that when you have the male secretary-general of the United Nations and the male head of the World Bank and when you have world leaders like Prime Minister Abe in Japan, an incredibly conservative society, when you have figures like that, all men, not only talking about these issues, but taking concrete steps, you know, Prime Minister Abe made increasing women's labor force participation a pillar of his economic growth strategy, that is a sea change.

Does that mean that we've pulled in all the men and boys we need? No. There's a lot of work to do in communities and even in rooms like these to make sure that everyone sees why advancing the status of women and girls redounds to all of our benefit. But I do think there's been a lot of progress there, even if more needs to be done.

And on overlapping movements, you know, I would agree that in some cases we've seen that. I think in the run-up to the conference in Paris later this year, the COP process, there are a lot of women who have been agitating and working to increase recognition about the effects that climate change have on women in particular. I think in some cases there's been receptivity in other movements to the claims that women are attempting to stake and others less so.

I think that's been true in our own country when we think about, in some cases, common cause between the women's movement and the LGBT movement and, in other cases, where we've seen those movements are not always in exactly the same place. If we think of an example like religious refusals to provide healthcare, we've seen

a lot of sympathy for the folks in LGBT movement. And the Supreme Court here has said that there can be refusals, religious refusals, to provide women's healthcare.

So I think the answer is in some cases, yes, and in others, no. But those intersections will be, I think, really important to progress going forward.

MS. WINTHROP: There was one more question that was asked about support for indigenous women activists that I want to bring in. We have one or two more questions and we'll come back to your question because I think it's really important.

One here and then one here. Yeah. Raise your hand so she sees you. Yes, right there.

SPEAKER: Hi. My name is Daniela (inaudible). I'm originally from Bangalore, but I go to university here. My question is mainly about how an average Indian woman, because I'm from India, are portrayed by the Western media. Like we know the (inaudible) happened because of the British lady who made a documentary about the rape victim.

On my part, I agree with the Indian government because living abroad I see the negative -- I see the way women are portrayed and I'm not very happy about that because it's mainly the negative stories that make the way to the international media. The positive stories are never really mentioned. So I'm just concerned about this and what is your response, your opinion?

MS. WINTHROP: Good question. Last question here. Yeah.

MR. DISSANAYAKE: Hi. My name is Manjula Dissanayake. I'm a social entrepreneur, founder of an organization named Educate Lanka, addressing education access issues and skills and employment gap in Sri Lanka. So my question is for everyone, but more for a specific question. And I think all the data sort of leads towards a higher or increasing participation in education, even up to tertiary level, but

lower participation in labor force. I wanted to see what are some of the practical solutions that you've come across in your research or your work or some of the recommendations that you can share with us?

MS. WINTHROP: That's a question right for you, Dileni.

So let's go back to the question that I think was really important. The question was about China, but I think the issue is actually pertinent across countries and it was one of the big cross-cutting issues that came out in the book, Ellen, was this idea of how do you support indigenous women activists? And just a reflection, again, when I was reading the book, two things that we work on at the Center for Universal Education and the Education Space is, you know, in the girls' education movement what are the sort of next big agenda items that countries have to tackle? And one of them is absolutely getting local developing country girls' leaders to be supported and to help scale their work.

And the other that rang a strong bell for me when I was reading the book and your introduction, Ellen, was a project that we're doing, again in the Education Space, about scaling innovations that improve learning, especially for marginalized communities, and it's called the Millions Learning Initiative. And one of the things that we found, amongst many things, was that one important reason that initiatives don't scale and, of course, a necessary ingredient to make sure that they scale is core funding for operational support for organizations; that there's been such a trend in funding and investors to really get sort of results at the ground in things like Charity Navigator where, you know, you're given stars and awards for not having high overhead, which, in some ways, you don't want to be bloated administration. But that trend it seems to have reduced the ability of organizations to grow in scale because they can't invest in things that are really necessary for scaling, like a more sophisticated HR department or some

technological advances that's seen as sort of bad or overhead or taking out from the bottom line. And I think that that is a really important message and a concrete thing we could change, particularly in relation to supporting sort of indigenous women's rights advocates.

So I don't know if anybody has a comment on that.

MS. CHESLER: Just really quickly, some good news from the front lines. The Ford Foundation announced a new strategy just two days ago, where Darren Walker has decided to attach to every programmatic grant a 20 percent overhead as opposed to 10 percent, recognizing that that's what it costs to run a project. And, you know, Ford is a leader, at least in Western philanthropy, but also around the world if that same model is then adopted elsewhere, and particularly if organizations like the Bank, which, as was mentioned here earlier, has on its cover now, you know, gender and development. That's the mantra. If that translates not only into discrete projects of the Bank, you know, but also into support of civil society engagement in countries to help bring about policy change and that will provide resources.

There probably needs also to be a pitch to corporate philanthropy. And we know women -- again, as Margaret Sanger's biographer and we've been living through the debate over Planned Parenthood for years, you know, so many people wouldn't touch an organization like Planned Parenthood because it was too morally controversial, but some of the controversy, despite what's gone on in this country and where the institution's become a political football, some of the controversy about addressing adolescents, the need to engage with young people online on these issues, you know, we're kind of over all that and we're doing it. And so maybe it will be less controversial and major institutions will be more supportive and also understand that the cost of being a contractor is actually greater than the 10 percent overhead that used to be

supported.

MS. WINTHROP: Right, right. Dileni, what about the question on Sri Lanka in particular?

MS. GUNEWARDENA: Sure.

MS. WINTHROP: And then, Tanvi, maybe you can answer the question about the Western media. Yeah, go ahead.

MS. GUNEWARDENA: Thanks, Manjula, for asking that question. My immediate response to you is come back on the 9th of December to this room.

MS. WINTHROP: She'll be presenting.

MS. GUNEWARDENA: When I'll be presenting my --

MS. WINTHROP: Answering that question.

MS. GUNEWARDENA: But, you know, in sort of a broader sense there's actually three areas in which policy can work. One of which is education, and I'll come to that last actually, but there's also looking at -- you know, I was thinking I don't know, and I didn't see this in this book, but maybe I didn't look well enough, whether any country in the global South has an affirmative action kind of policy. I mean, we're not --

MS. CHESLER: I mean, India's the best example. I mean, both at the national level and the local level there is one in place. Obviously, it's not being met completely if you still have 20 percent representation, but there are more and more countries now. The most significant one that everybody always talks about is Rwanda, which has more than 50 percent of its legislature is women, along with France. So they're the global South leader in political representation.

And, you know, again, I've worked in government, as well, with women. It just changes -- it's not all women. I mean, there's always a Maggie Thatcher, you know, but most women, even across partisan lines, when they get to positions of

authority either at an executive level or in the legislature do change the nature of what public investment is all about. There is more interest in care-giving, human rights, I mean, across the board, and there are studies that show that.

MS. WINTHROP: Thanks. Go ahead and finish, Dileni.

MS. GUNEWARDENA: Okay.

MS. CHESLER: Sorry, yeah, I interrupted you.

MS. GUNEWARDENA: I was actually thinking more in terms of labor force participation rather than political representation.

But going to education I want to share, actually, you know, I think there's an untapped area in education where we can change minds and that perhaps it's been untapped because it's such a hard thing to do. You have to change the minds of teachers and you have to change the minds of education department officials and so on. But one of the scholars (inaudible) scholar here at Brookings and one of the scholars from last year, I think, looked at the curriculum of Jordan and how it was so gender-biased. I know that from personal experience, not as textbooks would say that, you know, the father goes to work, subject, predicate, father goes to work, mother cooks the rice. So there's a lot that can be done in that area and I think especially movements working with education can do a lot in that area.

Just --

MS. WINTHROP: Briefly.

MS. GUNEWARDENA: Yeah. In terms of linking that to what men can do, you know, I think there's also sort of maybe flashy, what (inaudible) did, half the cabinet are women. And I love the answer he gave, because it's 2015. (Laughter)

MS. WINTHROP: Yeah, that's a good answer. We have two minutes left. Tanvi, one minute for you. Rachel, one minute closing thoughts for you. Go for it.

MS. MADAN: I will say I don't worry about that so much. The media rarely, whether it's Western or Indian, the idea of -- good news is rarely covered. You know, it's a weird context to say this in, but the phrase, "If it bleeds, it leads." So I see it as slightly different, which is to me it's not about the image, it's about the reality. There are enough positive portrayals of India, the fastest growing economy in the world today, including highlighting women's leadership, et cetera. The fact that that mass movement got as much attention as it did, to me it actually showed -- I'm glad that it's been talked about. If it's been covered in the Western media a certain way, I would encourage you to highlight other aspects.

But for me, I'm actually glad this conversation is now happening openly because earlier one of the problems was nobody talked about it. It's not like suddenly India's become -- it's unsafe for women. It's just that now people are talking about it. Rates of reporting violence have gone up. That's a good thing in my book. So I don't worry about it.

I have to say I was a little surprised by the reaction of the Indian government to the documentary. To me it actually brought interesting attention. Whatever the merits of the legal part of the access the documentary makers got, if you watch the documentary I did, to me it's not what the rapists said or not. To me the focus was on this young woman, who was full of life, as well as on the reaction, to me, which it actually portrayed India's strength, that this could happen and there were men and women both of all classes coming out on the streets and protesting.

So I thought the reaction of vibrant democracy of banning things or kind of having that reaction, to me the banning actually portrayed India worse than the actual movement itself or what's been happening. The conversation to me actually reflects well in India.

MS. VOGELSTEIN: And I would just close, getting back, Rebecca, to your question about whether the glass if half empty or half full, and to build on what you just said, I think what's really changed is that the silence has been broken. That is true in India when you see rates of reporting going up and protest in the streets. And that's really what the Beijing conference was able to accomplish, that finally these issues were being talked about by all of us. And seeing that at the head of state level, world leaders, and, increasingly, the changes we're seeing in communities, I think we can say, even with a bit of caution, that progress is on the march.

MS. WINTHROP: A great way to end. Well, join me giving them a hand. (Applause)

Thank you, everybody. And please do join us next door for some food and drinks.

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CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC

I, Carleton J. Anderson, III do hereby certify that the forgoing electronic file when originally transmitted was reduced to text at my direction; that said transcript is a true record of the proceedings therein referenced; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which these proceedings were taken; and, furthermore, that I am neither a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action.

Carleton J. Anderson, III

(Signature and Seal on File)

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