

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

WEBINAR

WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP:  
A CONVERSATION WITH JULIA GILLARD AND NGOZI OKONJO-IWEALA

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

MS. VEGAS: Good morning, good afternoon, or good evening wherever you are. My name is Emiliana Vegas and I am senior fellow and co-director with my colleague, Rebecca Winthrop, of the Center for Universal Education of the Brookings Institution.

It is truly an honor to welcome you today to what I know will be an illuminating conversation on women and leadership as we prepare to celebrate International Women's Day on March 8th, it couldn't be a better time to welcome two extraordinary women leaders. Julia Gillard and Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, to discuss their recently published book "Women and Leadership, Real Lives, Real Lessons."

Julia Gillard was sworn in as the 27th Prime Minister of Australia in 2010 and was the first woman to ever serve as her country's prime minister or deputy prime minister. She has devoted her career to advocate for girls' education and equal rights for women in professional and public life.

We're also so delighted that she is a distinguished nonresident fellow with the Center for Universal Education here at Brookings. And she closely worked with us to advance girls' education around the globe with our Flagship Echidna Global Scholars Program.

And it has been widely shared in the news, Ngozi is now the director-general of the World Trade Organization. She's the first female and first African to head the organization. She served twice as Nigeria's finance minister, as well as Nigeria's foreign minister, having been the first woman to hold both positions in her country.

Ngozi has also spent 25 years at the World Bank as a development economist, rising to the position of managing director. We are also so delighted that she is a distinguished nonresident fellow with the Africa Growth Initiative here at Brookings.

As you can see from this very brief summary of Julia's and Ngozi's accomplishments, we all can learn a great deal from the two of them about the gender treatment of leaders. In their book they reflect on conversations with many other powerful and interesting women, including Jacinda Ardern, Rodham Clinton, Christine Lagarde, Michelle Bachelet, and Theresa May. And analyze current research

to reveal vividly how gender and sexism affect perceptions of women as leaders.

We have another extraordinary leader who is here with us today, our own Brookings President, John Allen, who has graciously agreed to moderate the conversation with Julia and Ngozi. Before I turn it over to him, please note that you can submit your own questions to these leaders by emailing [events@Brookings.edu](mailto:events@Brookings.edu) or on Twitter by using the hashtag #WomenAndLeadership.

I am now so pleased to turn it over to John.

GENERAL ALLEN: Great, Emiliana. Thank you for that terrific introduction. And you set the stage very well for our interview today. And for those of you who I have not met, I'm John Allen, I'm the president of the Brookings Institution, and I hope to meet you all at some point.

Now in honor of Women's History Month it is truly a great pleasure for us today to have the former Prime Minister of Australia Julia Gillard, and the current Director-General of the World Trade Organization Dr. Ngozi Okon-Iweala. Two towering leadership figures on the world stage. And we're very proud that they're nonresident distinguished fellows at the Brookings Institution as well.

But they're also authors. And they've authored a wonderful new book "Women and Leadership, Real Lives and Real Lessons." And we're going to have a conversation and then we have some questions that will come in from our audience that we want to pose to these great leaders to help us to understand at this moment in history issues associated with women's leadership. And I can't imagine two better individuals to teach us today, which is why I asked to do this, because I wanted to learn.

So thank you both for being here with us this morning. Here in the United States it's this morning, it's this afternoon for Ngozi, and I'm sorry former Prime Minister, for the hours that you were awakened earlier. But we're so grateful that you could all join us.

So, Julia, let me ask you first, and Ngozi can come in behind you. What gave you the idea to write this book? You know, were you ultimately hoping to inform and inspire future women leaders or convey the hard realities of just how much progress is needed for women in leadership today?

MS. GILLARD: Thank you, John, for this opportunity for this conversation. We were trying to do both. I think Ngozi and I had our own motivations and some shared motivations in putting this

book together.

For me really the book is part of a journey since I finished being prime minister, where I left office with a series of questions whirling through my head. How much of my experience was about the political times in Australia, how much was because of decisions I and the government made, and how much was simply because I was a woman?

And in answering those questions I worked with Kings College, London to create a Global Institute for Women's Leadership where we collaborate with Brookings trying to work out what are the gender barriers to leadership and how best to clear them out of the way.

But another way I tried to answer that set of questions was in conversation with Ngozi. We got to know each other particularly in my years post-politics and I think both of us were looking around the world and scratching our heads and trying to work out what was happening with women leaders. So we wanted to try and answer those questions, bring the research, and leave the experience into one book in the hope that it would generate some insights for change.

GENERAL ALLEN: Terrific. Ngozi?

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Well, yes, thank you so much, John. I mean it's really a pleasure and we're proud to be, well actually say I am proud to be distinguished, but I'm sure that Julia is as well, of Brookings. It's been a wonderful experience.

Julia has articulated some of the reasons but, you know, it's true that as we went to various meetings and conferences internationally, you know, we each have had our experiences being the first woman to be in public service in a very perhaps difficult position. And we were talking to each other about the experiences we had had and thought it would be good to capture this in some kind of formal paper. And then we thought, no, there are a lot of women around the world who seem to be having some problems. There was Dilma Rousseff in Brazil, there was Madam Park in Korea, there was Hillary. And then we were asking ourselves, why are all these things happening, what is the experience of these women with being women leaders in such front end positions, and how did they get there, what did they have to deal with?

So we thought well perhaps it would be good to talk to them and we should add their experience, the experience of these wonderful woman and share with other women that leadership journey, what it is like and what happens when you actually get there. Are all your problems solved or do you still have a string of doubts and challenges? What is the gender atmosphere for you as you become a leader?

So we wanted to use the research that you just talked about with set hypothesis that would explore some of this experience. And for me a personal reason. It's just that as you rise you mentor a lot of people, both with women and men. And I have so many requests for mentorship to talk about my experience, I'm no different than some being a leader, managing work and life. We'll come to that later. You know, people call it a work-life balance, how did you do it all. And you can only mentor so many people at a time. It takes a lot of time the way I do it.

So I thought well if I capture my experience in a book, then that could be the handbook, you know when people ask me I'll just say read this. That was a bit of self-defense when they read it. So that's some of the reasons.

GENERAL ALLEN: We should all remember that that's a good reason to write a book. But, Ngozi, let me come back to you because you both, in the book, very usefully talk about 10 tips for aspiring women leaders of all ages. Let me just ask Ngozi first and then, Julia, do you have some favorites in that list of 10?

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Yeah, I think I have some favorites, you know, tied to the hypothesis that we put also. Because from those hypothesis we built a taste of what to do.

I think one of my favorites is, there are two actually. The beginning one You Go Girl. And the other one It's All About the Hair. So let me talk quickly about You Go Girl is just a cry to women to, you know, go for it. Leadership is difficult, you know, but at the end of the day very rewarding when you're talking about serving others and not yourself.

But what then creates the environment or the atmosphere that makes women leaders. And we sort of had this hypothesis of looking at the atmosphere in which the women leaders grew up to

see if there was anything in particular in terms of how they were raised that led them into the leadership journey later on in their lives.

And what we found was that across all these eight leaders, and including the two of us, there was something common, and that is that their parents never told them that as young girls that there were things that they could not do. It was the opposite. They were always made to feel they could do everything. You know, it's not that they were hot housed as to their opportunity to be leader, but they were told there was nothing they couldn't do. They could do all things boys could do.

And so this gives a kind of environment for the young girls to grow up thinking well, you know, leadership is also part of what I can achieve. So You Go Girl is a reference to that.

The other one that I -- so the lesson from that is for parents, you're raising daughters, the one thing that you need to pay attention to is the environment you create, either not to put up circles in their mind, let them feel they can do whatever comes before them.

Another one quickly is It's All About the Hair. And this conduct of, you know, this observation, which is real, about the gender approach to women leaders and their appearance. So we say that men, when men are prime ministers and leaders and ministers, nobody really even looks at their appearance unless of course it's really out of the way. And they have a uniform, a suit. So every day they appear looking the same, their tie may be different but people are used to the way they look. They hardly draw any comments for their appearance.

But one thing we found that first of women leader is universally all of them experience this judgment of women being judged differently on their appearance, what they look like, their weight, whether they were fat or thin, what they were wearing day after day was a cause of discussion. And sometimes, you know, when they would give a talk of substance what would appear, let's say in the paper somewhere else, so it's not what they spoke about but what they were wearing and how their hair looked. You know, Hillary Clinton she made a joke. She said, "I could face 124 trips and it's still about the hair." She spent more time on her hair, she counted it in months of time during the campaign and during that time as secretary of state.

So it's this issue of women looking at, worrying about what they look like and wanting to shift attention to the substance of what they're saying. And I use myself as an example. I decided early on that I was going to evolve a look so when people think about me it might be a different color but it's the same looks. I have my headscarf, which is my African traditional wear, which is what to wear at home and I love, and I have my head tie. And Hillary was saying she was very jealous, she said I don't have to worry about my hair.

But on a serious note, the issue is how do women leaders get through the issue that it's not about the appearance but about the substance of what they say.

So let me stop there and, you know, turn over to you.

GENERAL ALLEN: Marvelous. Julia, please.

MS. GILLARD: We do lay out a series of lessons I think the ones I would point to as favorites. We spend a lot of time in the book talking about the psychological research which reveals the way in which we see women leaders. So the fact that all of us still have sexist stereotypes buried in the back of our brain and they unconsciously shape how we see female leaders, women leaders.

And so our tip for aspiring women is not to act a particular way, we don't say you must lead like this or you must appear like this, but we do say be aware of these gendered stereotypes. So for example a man climbing ambition that he definitely wants to win that thing, president of the United States, that would be accepted as the statement of a go getter who's, you know, going to aim high and do his best. From a woman the sexist stereotypes in the back of their brains would whisper that she wasn't very likeable, that she wasn't empathetic, she wasn't nurturing, she was offending against the usual attributes that we see or we believe women ought to have. And we would be quite rejecting of that ownership of ambition.

And so we say in our lessons, don't, you know, therefore shape your behavior. You can make any choice. You can own ambition if you want to, but be aware that it is going to generate that reaction.

And so the whole thesis of the lesson is be aware. Not aware, but be aware so that you

can get ready for the reactions when they come.

In our lessons we also shared some tips for men and for the media. And very briefly for men who still disproportionately have their hands on the levers of power, our lesson is that they need to be vocal allies in this journey of change. The research actually shows that if a man points out sexism he will be listened to more seriously than a woman doing it because he is not seen to have any inherent conflict of interest. A woman calling out sexism people will think to themselves, well is it really sexist or is she trying to get some advantage for herself or perhaps distract attention from something she's not doing well. If a man calls it out people accept that as him pointing to a genuine wrong.

So if men choose to use their voice in support of gender equality they can have an outsized impact. As a woman in some ways that's a bit of galling finding, but that is what the research shows. So men have a very important role here. And we think the media does too.

We asked journalists, people writing for public facing communications to from time to time go through the exercise of taking out the woman's name in the piece that they're writing and inserting a generic man's name, and then asking themselves would I have written it the same way. And so if your leading paragraph is, you know, "Suzie, mother of two, wearing a purple jacket, today spoke on foreign policy." If you do the exercise would you really have put, you know, "John, wearing a suit, father of however many, and today spoke on foreign policy?" No, you wouldn't. You wouldn't have done either the reference to appearance or his state as a father. So intellectually run that exercise and get the gender bias out.

GENERAL ALLEN: You have raised a point of a question that I was going to ask a little bit later. I'd like to do it right now if we could, please. I'll stay with you and then come to Ngozi.

The whole issue about, and there's about 2,000 people who are watching this right now. And a whole lot of them are men and they need to hear I think about how men can be allies in this process and your view of what that actually means when we use that term, and how they can be helpful to be supportive and helpful in the workplace and in building leadership in up and coming women leaders?



MS. GILLARD: Sure, I'm happy to talk about that. And let me give a blunt message up first. Think about how much you talk as a man. Research shows that if a group of five people are trying to make a decision, it's not until four of the five are women that women will get a fair share of the talking time. Or put another way, if more than one of the five are men, men will disproportionately take the time. What changes that? Potentially more women or the other thing that changes it is at the outset saying we are going to make this decision by consensus rather than the loudest voices. And then that restructures the group's behavior so everybody gets invited into the conversation. So simple tricks like that when you're convening a meeting to make sure that women aren't being excluded, their voices aren't being marginalized.

Thinking about merit and how you define that. If you as a leader in your workplace, you're attempting to find merit around presentism, obviously I'm talking about non-COVID days here, but the person who can be in the office at 7 a.m. in the morning and still be there at 9 p.m. at night. If that's your definition of merit then it's gotta be a chain askew in it. Particularly if the people in your team are likely to be in the family formation stage and women still disproportionately do domestic labor. So think very deeply about how you define merit.

And I think there's a special add on to that as we take some of this virtual working with us even beyond the days of the pandemic unless we make very thoughtful interventions as to how we will weigh merit when we're using this technology, I think the risk is the men will return to the office, the women will disproportionately choose to work from home because it's more flexible. The men will be more visible, and they will be the ones on the promotion track and the training opportunities track. So think about how you define merit.

Think about who you can mentor and sponsor. And the difference between those words, mentoring is obviously a supportive relationship, but sponsoring is one when you put your brand in service of a woman. You are the one who says the next opportunity should definitely go to this woman, I am endorsing her, she is right for it. That obviously means if you make a bad selection that will rebound on you so it's, you know, really putting some skin in the game but it is sponsorship that has the biggest

results for women in terms of coming through for promotion.

GENERAL ALLEN: That's really terrific. Thank you for that. Ngozi, please, your thoughts.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Well thank you, I'll come to I think Julia with respect to what men can do has really outlined the main things we say in the book.

But there's one more thing that I think one can add, and that is that men should think of how they raise their boy, and women should too. Because you need to start at an early age to instill into boys and young men that they can actually be an actor in terms of making sure that women get their fair share of attention and opportunities. When you start young that is the best thing.

I have three boys and in practical terms we raised, my husband and I raised them to understand that nobody, no woman is going to be there cooking and cleaning and running after their children. They have to be full partners. These women are going to be most likely full professionals so they need to learn how to share and be a good partner. And they also need to create opportunities for girls and women as they move along. So it starts early. You as a man can bring your boys up to share in this.

And before I hand back to you, John, I want to say one thing I told you I was going to say about the issue of stereotype and what the media can do. Because I think it was remiss and I've just been living that experience literally.

So when I became DG of the WTO, I didn't know there was an argument raging. A couple of German-Swiss papers had the title "66-Year-Old Grandmother Takes Over Leadership of the WTO." I mean I wasn't aware of what was going on until a few days after when people took them on and called them out. Men and women called them out and said if it was a male leader would you have 70-year-old grandfather takes over the leadership of some institution?

And I was so proud because this is what we are talking about in our book. But people called them out. I didn't even have to do anything. So what we are talking about is real because we are living the experience day by day, the stereotypes are there, both racist and sexist. And I want to say for

everything that a woman feels, a white woman feels in terms of sexist, women of color sometimes go through much more than that. And we have a pecking order in the book. You have white males then Black males, then white females, and then Black females in the terms of the way people perceive their right to be a leader.

So it's even more so for women of color. And we also want them to see themselves as leaders and use this book to know that they are not alone.

GENERAL ALLEN: Extraordinary answers. I can't thank you enough for the answer to that question. That was really an incredible experience for me to hear that from you.

Julia, you've been very helpful to us at Brookings, both of you have, in the Africa Growth Initiative or the Center for Universal Education. And you'll hear us say in many respects I know that you've lived it, that there are a few things where we spend a dollar around the world that can be a greater return than woman's education. It is extraordinary to make that investment, and very, very important. And the Echidna Scholars is one of the great programs for that.

Could I ask you, please, how did education play in making you the leaders that you are today?

MS. GILLARD: Thank you, that's a really important question. And it points actually to a difference between U.S. politics and Australian politics. In Australia you can end up prime minister whether or not you were born in the country, as long as you're a citizen. We find it saves a lot of arguments, let me recommend it to you as a possible structure. But my family are Welsh, I was born in Wales in the United Kingdom. And we migrated out to Australia when I was four years old in 1966. And I went to the local government schools, you know, the infant school, the primary school, the high school, which were within walking distance of my family home.

And fortunately for me, each of them was a great school. If my parents who, you know, didn't know much about Australia, they'd never been here before. If my parents had bought a house in a different suburb then my entire life could have been different because the local government schools might have been poor quality schools. I was lucky, they picked a suburb where the schools were good.

Now it's that kind of lottery that I find so offensive that happenstance, where you're born, which country, which city, which suburb, the impact of poverty on your life, the impact of racism on your life, of gender. That those things can pre-determine life's chances in terms of whether or not a child gets access to a good quality education. I know for me it was the foundation stone, neither of my parents finished secondary school, but I got to go on to university and the rest, as they say, is history.

It was at university of course I got my professional qualifications as a lawyer, but it was also at university that I found my cause and got involved in fighting education funding cutbacks, and that was what interested me in public policy and politics.

So, you know, from that background it was precious to me across my years in Australian politics to make a contribution to a better quality education for every child. And in the years since, through the Center for Universal Education at Brookings and also my work chairing the Global Partnership for Education, I've sought to make additional contributions at a different level on that cause. And I'm deeply concerned about how much more we have to do to make sure every child, particularly every girl, gets a great education.

And the impact of the pandemic is to make that challenge bigger, not smaller. So we have to redouble efforts, not get distracted and say let's focus on the economy or focus on the health challenge. If we move our eyes away from education then we will be creating a COVID generation that bears particular ongoing disadvantages because they lost their chance at schooling.

GENERAL ALLEN: Thank you. Ngozi, what did education do in shaping you as a leader, please?

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Thank you, John. Wow. I come from a country, developing country, and also from my primary these two things where education is so important. So if you come from a developing country, education means even more. Because it could mean the difference between your family surviving and everyone else going to school. If you get a good education and a good job and can help your family out. So education is so vital to the survival not only of yourself, of your family, of whole villages.

And that's why my father, my mother taught us that education is not a right but a privilege. And when you get it it's not just for you, it is for you to do something different with the lives of others around you. So that is the way that we were brought up. My parents, both of whom were university professors, retired, really made us understand as children that this was an extraordinary gift. And they educated 19 people to secondary university level in addition to their seven children. They paid for 19 people to go through school. So that is an extraordinary example.

So I would say that it played a huge part both academically and practically. Practically my level but also as you go through and look at the literature and see all the studies that show that so much econometric studies that have been done that for every year of education you can give to a woman, the difference it makes in terms of the education of their own children, the health of their children, the contribution to the household and the nation is extraordinary. So I can't say how much more important it is that educating girls is the way to move a country forward.

GENERAL ALLEN: There's no question. My comments to Hamid Karzai, frequently, in Afghanistan, Prime Minister Gillard, was that if you ever want to move this country from being a conflict ridden society to a genuine developing society, you must move women into the mainstream of every dimension of the society, you must.

And, Ngozi, let me come back to you. Now the book is terrific in many ways but it's terrific because you share many candid views of your own experiences in the book. But you also had the chance in the course of writing this book of interviewing a number of heads of state.

For you and Ngozi was there a particular interview or a particular experience in that process that is prominent for you? And then I'll come to Julia and ask for your thoughts. And then we'll go to the audience for questions. So, please.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Okay. Let me try to be succinct. Because really, John, each woman had an extraordinary story or experience that mattered so much. But let me take perhaps on two.

One is Jacinda Ardern. And the bit I want to talk about is her story about so-called work/life balance. So she's the second head of state ever to have a baby while in office with her partner.

And many things that women want to know about succeeding in their careers is how do you manage what is called a work-life balance. How do you manage your family and your career?

So we put that question to Jacinda Ardern. And she said, "I don't talk about balance because I don't balance anything, I just make it work." And I think that's the answer for many women. You never really achieve that balance, you don't, it's always askew one way or the other, either its work or the family, and you just make it work.

And then the other example is Ellen Johnson Sirleaf from the extraordinary story of her have been married at a young age, having to leave her four children behind to go to school abroad when her husband go to the U.S. for his education, and just the guilt she felt at taking the time to go and get an education because she had to leave her young children behind. And how that guilt followed her throughout her life. And you know this tells you what women have to go through sometimes.

And I could relate because my own parents left me when I was a year old to go and study abroad in Germany. And I was left with my grandmother, which was a wonderful experience by the way, lots of love and discipline combined. But I know that my mother wondered all the time, you know, was it the right call or not. So women struggle with a lot of things. So those were my two impressions

GENERAL ALLEN: Terrific stories. Julia, please.

MS. GILLARD: Thank you, John. For me stories that made a big impact. One in a tragic way, one in a funny way. The one in a tragic way was from Michelle Bachelet who was the first, and to date only woman to be president of Chile. Her father was a general, he was in the military so she grew up in the elite in her society. But of course all of that changed when there was the military coup and Pinera came to power. Their father was imprisoned, he was tortured until his heart gave out, he died. Michelle and her mother were also briefly imprisoned, they were tortured. They fled into exile and they actually came to Australia to find safety.

And all these years later Chile had returned to democratic structures, Michelle had served as minister for health, and then she was being sworn in as minister for defense. And what a moment, when you think about that, her father, a general, lost his life, there she is in her democratic

nation becoming the minister for defense.

And people have asked her, what did you feel in that moment? And she said to us, "What I actually felt was I was saying to myself in my head, don't speak in too soft a voice, don't speak in too soft a voice, don't speak in too soft a voice." Because she thought she wouldn't be taken seriously by the military community if she came across as too gentle.

And it just, it's such a powerful story about what gender stereotyping and our internal concerns about it, what it robs us of, that that should have been the thing that she was thinking about in that moment.

Then at the other end of the world, when Ngozi and I met Erna Solberg who is the Prime Minister of Norway. She came in saying, and Ngozi actually didn't know this expression, we had to talk about it afterwards. She came in saying, "I heard from my media advisor that there's this thing called resting bitch face, so now I make sure to smile as much as I can." So we had a very big laugh about that. We and Erna Solberg and then Ngozi and I laughing afterwards because Ngozi had not heard the expression "resting bitch face."

But at the other end of the spectrum there it is again, stereotyping of women, trying to put women in pigeon holes, put license and categorizations. So both those names really stay with me.

GENERAL ALLEN: What wonderful stories, what great commentary. We just can't thank you enough for that.

Let me, if I may, go to some audience questions. This one I'm really interested in your answer. And let me come back to you, Ngozi. Currently, who are you inspired by and why? And I'm paying close attention to this for you.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: I'm inspired by so many people, some of them are not alive, to be honest with you. I just have to say I'm really inspired by my father. He was a fantastic example and he set me on the -- he made no difference between his boys and girls. With five boys, two girls, actually I think he was more demanding of the girls, he thought we had to do everything and we could do anything. So he gave us that freedom to feel we could reach for the sky.

And he was a very principled man, full of integrity and honesty. And he taught us that being materialistic is not the way to go. He was not against being comfortable but he said you could lose everything and still be rich. And he lost everything during the war, the Nigeria Biafra War in 1970. We had nothing and he was a very happy person. And he said to me when I asked, as long as you have your head on your shoulders you have everything. So that's one.

Martin Luther King inspires every day today. Of course Mandala inspires me every day today. And I could no, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Bachelet, Michelle, these are women who've been through a lot and are so graceful and they're wonderful examples. Let me stop it there.

GENERAL ALLEN: That's terrific. Thank you so much. Julia, please.

MS. GILLARD: I am certainly inspired watching the Vice President Harris. It was a wonderful moment to see her give that acceptance speech where she referred to girls, and particularly girls of color, and then the camera go to young girls, girls of color in the audience. And what an important nation changing event that was to see the first woman, a woman of color come through to the Office of Vice President. And I hope that that does help shape views in the U.S. for the future about leadership and because of the status of the U.S. views around the world. So I found that very inspiring.

I also find Jacinda Ardern's leadership of New Zealand inspiring. I think she is showing what can be achieved when a nation gets to the stage that it is having its third woman leader. Only New Zealand and Iceland in the whole world have had three women leaders. And in a country that has had women leaders before, the question, can a woman do this, has already been asked and answered. You don't have to reprove that a woman can do it.

And I think Jacinda is showing us that that means that a woman at that stage has more space to ask profound questions about what leadership is. And so she's got the space to say well, you already know a woman can lead, I'm going to talk to you about leading in a different style, I'm going to talk to you as a nation about leading with kindness and empathy at the foreground. And I think that is very inspiring to watch too.

GENERAL ALLEN: That's an extraordinary observation. And I'm so happy that you



raised that. Of course both of you have raised your voices on issues associated with women and peace and security and how the presence of women in the peace process just profoundly changes it. It changes the nature of the process and it also makes the outcome more enduring. So that's a wonderful observation. And I hope everyone is listening to that one.

Now, Julia, let me come back to you then. What three things would you say that you prioritized on your journey to success as a leader? And how did those influence your journey? And I'll come to you, Ngozi, after that.

MS. GILLARD: Sure. First and foremost --

GENERAL ALLEN: It doesn't have to be three by the way, however many.

MS. GILLARD: That's okay. First and foremost, purpose, I mean I think, you know, leadership journeys are hard. And if you don't know why you're doing it, if you aren't crystal clear on what the purpose is, then I think it's very easy to get buffeted around by day to day events.

The best piece of advice I ever received when I was in politics came from a British friend of mine. I'd just been sworn in as prime minister in quite a chaotic political moment in Australia and he rang me up to congratulate me but also said, "I know everybody's at you and you haven't got a minute to yourself, but you must find the time to write down on a sheet of paper what is your purpose and the purpose of the government you lead, and keep it with you." And it was the best piece of advice I ever got. I found the time to do it, I kept that piece of paper and on the worst days I would get it back out and I would re-read it and it would sing to me and steady me around what I came to do. So purpose.

I think sense of self. You know, you don't have to be in a profession as exposed as politics to be the subject of a lot of criticism. And whilst we should all be open to constructive criticism in social media and the like, a lot of nonsense gets put up, and particularly women get criticized in those sorts of forums. I think you've got to nurture a sense of self that isn't hostage to the swings and roundabouts of that kind of capricious assessment.

And then third, and I struggle with this every day, it's not easy to do but I think in this world prioritizing the important things, finding the time for them because we are all beset by so much that

is urgent that unless you're very intentional about how you spend your time, you can end up exhausted at the end of the day and all you've done is got to, you know, a third of the way through your in box or your emails. Now that might not all be urgent, but unless you carve out the thinking time, the strategic time, you'll never get round to doing the important.

GENERAL ALLEN: Very good. Thank you very much. And, Ngozi, please. You're muted.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: That was one of the first things Julia also started was very important to me was that sense of purpose and of values that go along with it.

As I said earlier, I was actually brought up that way to think of not what you're going to do with your education for yourself only, but what you do for other people, and why.

So having that sense of purpose of making a difference in the world. And it stayed with me always, it's been my career. So I've been in development my entire career because it's what helps to make a difference at both the small level and the large level, policy and practice in other people's lives.

I think the second thing is not looking for promotion in any job I've been as a sign of success. That wasn't my measure of success. It was good to have a promotion, I'm not saying that was not the case, but it wasn't really the way I judged myself. So I was looking to see if I was happy with the job. So I always said that if I got out of my bed 70% of the time wanting to go to work, then I knew I was in the right place. The other 30% is okay because you don't want to go to work every day.

So looking for joy and commitment, it's not fun being a finance minister, I can tell you that. Nobody thinks it's fun, but I certainly had an overwhelming sense of commitment to my country when I did that. So that's one.

And you know, the thing I want to say, if you enjoy what you're doing and you find a sense of purpose, the promotion comes because you just work without thinking about it.

And I think the third thing would just be myself. You know, one of the things we say in the book is the fine line that women have to walk between being seen to have the leadership qualities that people associate with men being strong, that stereotype. But not being so strong they're not seen not to

have feminine qualities people associate with women. And like Michelle Bachelet hoping her voice was not too soft, you know, it's always a fine line.

So sometimes women find, you know, that line difficult. Who are you, are you being yourself or are you trying to be someone else when you are a leader? And for me, being myself was the most important thing. I am who I am and I'm proud and happy, I'm a Nigerian girl or woman who loves being African. And that's the way I've stayed all my life. So I haven't had to pretend to be anyone else.

GENERAL ALLEN: Coming in behind those now six keepers for me, I've got it all written down. Right behind this is a problem that we hear from time to time, and the term is "imposter syndrome." And I think it's abetted by the media, it's abetted by the gender bias. As Julia said, it's in the back of people's heads and it just kind of creeps out and makes people question themselves. Have you encountered that? And how do you help people to come through this idea of the imposter syndrome?

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: I think, yes, everybody encounters it in a way. You have stereotypes and people are looking at you with doubt. And in some cases you begin to doubt yourself and say am I really up to the task, can I really deliver this and why am I here, do I even deserve to be in this position, am I an imposter, imposter syndrome. And people start wondering whether they deserve to be where they are.

And, you know, so it happens to everybody from time to time. I don't think there's any leader who is immune to that. What you do is go back to your sense of purpose. At least for me is what I did was go back to why. Why I got into that position in the first place. And what am I supposed to do with it. Grounding yourself in your purpose and values always takes you back and you don't wonder why you're there. You don't wonder whether you deserve to be there, you don't wonder anything. Once you know your purpose, your values and what you're going to do with the position.

GENERAL ALLEN: Very good. Thank you. Julia, your thoughts, please.

MS. GILLARD: I look at this from two perspectives, and really echo in Ngozi's words, the first thing she said was others are looking at you with doubt. And when we're trying to unpack imposter syndrome I think we do have to look at the environment and the signals that it is sending a woman.

When we talk about these things it can come across as if it's all in a woman's head, but actually often she is rationally responding to the environment that she's in.

We cite a study in the book where in a firm that relied on scientists, scientific enterprise, there had been research done about the way in which the meetings of scientists when they came together to try and solve hard problems, how those meetings rolled out. And researchers had analyzed that women scientists were speaking less than male scientists. And the immediate answer of this they thought it was a confidence problem by the women scientists.

But actually when they dug a little deeper what they worked out looking at the group dynamics was if a man put forward an idea that was a bit right and a bit wrong, the group worked to salvage the bit of his idea that was right and to build on it. If a woman put forward an idea that was a bit right and a bit wrong, then she was dismissed.

And so the learned behavior, the completely rational behavior by those women scientists was not to say anything unless they were 1000% sure they were completely right.

And so a lot of these dealing with imposter syndrome actually comes down to all of us looking at the environments we're shaping and whether they're gendered in most subtle ways that are holding women back.

Then to the extent that people have doubts in their head, we often talk about that as if it's a bad thing. But leadership research shows that the most successful leaders actually are prone to doubt, that the charismatic confident leaders who always say I know, I don't have to listen to anybody else, I don't have to rely on the team, I've got this. That they're not the ones that get the biggest outcomes. That the leaders who question themselves, did I get it right, could I have done better, what more do I need to know, which expert do I need to speak to. You know, all of those questions, they actually get better leadership outcomes. So doubt can be your friend, it doesn't have to be your enemy.

GENERAL ALLEN: Doubt can be your friend. That's exactly correct.

Now the book, beyond your experiences and the antidotes, the interviews, you dig into studies and statistics. So, Julia, let me stay with you and then come to Ngozi with it.

What do the studies and the numbers tell us about trends with respect to the barriers that women face, and how can we use those same numbers and studies to overcome those barriers?

MS. GILLARD: The current numbers are not good. If we just do the stock type very quickly, around 70% of the nations on earth have never been led by a woman. If you pulled up any of the major stock exchange listings in the world and looked at the top 100 or the Fortune 500 companies, you would find less than 7% of CEOs are women.

It's not just in business and in politics, it's in the news media, the law, science and technology. It's in the creative industry, it's even in sports. We cite in the book the statistic that if you look at the top 100 income earners from sport in the world, there's only one woman on that list, Serena Williams, and she comes in at number 63. So, you know, very gendered.

If we look forward and if you say to yourself well they're the stats today but the rate of change is really fast, this would be less of a problem. But if we look at the rate of change the world economic forum tells us that on political equality it's 100 year time horizon, on economic equality it's basically a 200 year time horizon. So we're not moving as fast as we should.

And while there are women leaders to celebrate in the world today, we have to remember what gender equality would actually mean. For example in the U.S. what gender equality in politics would actually mean. Because if you looked at say, 20 years, a 20 year cycle of who is holding the U.S. presidency, you know, people would win elections, people would lose elections, that's politics. But over a 20 year cycle gender equality would mean that around half the time a woman had been president.

And you think to yourself, how long away does that feel like it is, that any 20 years, any 30 year sweep through U.S. politics around half the time a woman is president, it feels a long way away from where we are today. So that's where we need to get to.

I think, you know, the discourse we're having now about gender equality is everywhere, it's very deep. I think most organizations, you know, political parties, businesses, have done the obvious things and they've seen some improvement, some changes. But there is still more we need to do. Now we're needing to do the deeper deep to the more subtle barriers and to clear them out of the way. And

the book in citing the evidence and the research is a contribution to helping people find the barriers that are there and coming up with the most effective solutions to knock them down.

GENERAL ALLEN: That really laid it out very well. And Ngozi, do you have anything you'd like to add to that?

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Well I think Julia has put it, but a couple of statistics is also important just to add to the few she said.

We should remember for those who think that progress, and there has been some, it's just it's not fast enough or big enough, is that only one in four parliamentarians in the world is a woman. On average it's 1% of cabinets is women. For every dollar a man earns, women earn 63 cents. And my favorite statistic is that of the 900 Nobel Prize winners that there has been since they started awarding those prizes, 57 only are women.

But our brains are not different. So we need to ask ourselves why these differences are there and what we need to do about them. So statistics are very good.

I want to end on this tone. One of the most important statistics is that if women had the equal opportunity and chance as men to contribute to the economy, marketing study has shown that we would add \$28 trillion to the global GDP. So there's a cost to inequality, there's a cost to sexism, to racism that can be actually put on the table.

GENERAL ALLEN: Very sadly, we're almost at the end, and I have one question if I may ask. What tools can we provide to young girls today so that they can feel empowered both at home and in school, so that someday they can be the leaders that you embody, leaders and the leadership that you embody for them? What tools can we give the girls today?

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Do you want me to start?

GENERAL ALLEN: I'm sorry, Ngozi, please, yes.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Okay. I think the biggest tool you can give young girls is creating the right environment for them to grow up in.

So it goes back to the first thing that we said in our first chapter, first hypothesis about

what type of environment women need as role option. The You Go Girl hypothesis, the first and biggest too is never to put barriers or make a girl feel there are barriers in the way of whatever she can achieve. That's a golden gift. So that's two, number one.

I think to, number two, is the self-confidence. Instill self confidence in your girls to believe in themselves, to be who they are, not someone else.

And I think the third too is to instill in them that openness to difference. Because it's when you bring people up to know that we are all different but we're all valued. That is also a quality that leaders need to have.

GENERAL ALLEN: That's wonderful. Thank you. Julia, please, last words from you.

MS. GILLARD: Thank you. I agree with everything Ngozi's just said. If I could add one more. For girls and young women today, I've taken to using the expression you have the benefit that you've seen this movie before. That you've seen what has happened to women leaders, we share in the book what has happened to women leaders. And that means you won't emerge, you know, if you're a young woman today you're not going to emerge into a changed or equal environment. I wish you were, but there will still be gender barriers in your way. But you don't have to be blindsided by them, you can look at the experiences of the women who have gone before, you can know that some of these moments might come your way, and you can get ready now so that you've got the tools in your hand to deal with it when it comes.

And I do think that there is an optimism in that, it means that things are capable of change. And to take an example out of the U.S. on that, you know, in the 2016 election campaign there were many factors which led to Hillary Clinton's defeat, but one factor was definitely gender and the persistent stereotyping of her based on gender. And if we look back now with our eyes from 2021, that wasn't called out enough when it was happening.

Contrast that with the 2020 election campaign with things like the hashtag, we've got her back, which immediately called out gendered moments. You would recall that the first criticism President Trump issued of now Vice President Harris was she's nasty, no one likes her. And immediately people

called that out as a sexist trope, as one of the most basic sexist tropes, that leading women are not likeable. And because it was called out quickly and strongly, I don't think it settled and shaped perceptions of Vice President Harris the way a lot of gendered stereotypes had shaped deceptions of Hillary Clinton.

So if we know these things are coming and we can get ready for them, then we can punch through them. And young women and girls have the opportunity to be in an environment where they can be ready.

GENERAL ALLEN: And, Ngozi, Julia, thank you so much for a wonderful session this morning. You should know that there are scores of questions, we could go on all day long.

*Women in Leadership; real lives, real lessons*, a book for all of us, written by two towering leadership figure on the world stage today as examples for young women and men around the world.

We can't thank you enough for joining us. And to Emiliana Vegas and to the Center for Universal Education, and the Africa Growth Initiative, thank you for pulling this together. We wish you all, especially Julia and Ngozi, to be safe and well. And to our audience as well for joining us today.

Thank you all.

MS. GILLARD: Thank you, John.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Thank you.

GENERAL ALLEN: My honor.

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