

Will this Anti-Poverty Measure Stick?

Wed, 10/20 2:43PM 34:48

SUMMARY KEYWORDS

people, etsy, business, families, child tax credit, sellers, important, economy, women, josh, childcare, curious, childhood poverty, year, pandemic, child, companies, policies, support, buy

SPEAKERS

Tricia Johnson, Josh Silverman, support message, Michael Bennet, Samantha Fields

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support message 00:00

Before we get to Aspen Ideas to Go, I'm here to tell you about a new podcast from The Atlantic called How to Build a Happy Life. Join happiness correspondent Arthur Brooks as he hosts interviews with experts about living a more joyful, meaningful and intentional way of life. From the Surgeon General Vivek Murthy to meditation aficionado, Dan Harris, the show provides a lens into the many ways you can begin to be just that much happier. Find how to build a happy life at theatlantic.com or on your favorite podcast app.

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Tricia Johnson 00:38

It's Aspen Ideas to Go from the Aspen Institute. I'm Tricia Johnson. Back in July, child tax credit checks started hitting Americans mailboxes and bank accounts. Each month most families are receiving \$250 or \$300 per child. Senator Michael Bennet of Colorado says the expanded program should become permanent. It's set to expire at the end of the year. It's the perfect time Bennet says to give families that aren't the country's top earners a leg up.

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Michael Bennet 01:08

We have a once in a lifetime opportunity, partly as a result of COVID and partly, I'm sad to say, as the result of a recognition that has eluded us for a really long time that American economy has not worked well for most Americans for the last 50 years.

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Tricia Johnson 01:27

Today he talks with the CEO of Etsy about what the public and private sectors should do for families. Aspen Ideas to Go brings through compelling conversations hosted by the Aspen Institute. Today's discussion is from the Global Inclusive Growth Summit. The tax credit is one of the largest anti poverty measures in the US since President Johnson launched the war on poverty in 1964, reports CNBC. The stimulus was included in the American Rescue Plan President Biden signed in March. Senator Michael Bennet, a Democrat and longtime advocate for Child Tax Credits says it will cut childhood poverty in half. But an effort to extend the credit beyond this year is not supported by

Republicans. Some call it a waste of taxpayer dollars that will cost American jobs. Benneit joins Josh Silverman, the CEO of Etsy, to discuss how companies and the government can best help families. They're interviewed by Marketplace reporter Samantha Fields. Here's Fields.

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Samantha Fields 02:26

Senator Bennett, I want to start with you. I know you have been an advocate of expanding the child tax credit for a long time since long before the pandemic finally happened this year. And I'm curious if you can just walk us through what that expansion has looked like what those changes are?

M

Michael Bennet 02:41

Sure there are three changes. One is to expand the credit from \$2,000 to \$3,000 per kid for kids over the age of 630 \$600. For kids under the age of six, it makes the credit fully refundable for the first time in American history. So now, millions and millions of the poorest children in America who were not beneficiaries of the child tax credit, are now beneficiaries. And the third big change was we're paying it out on a monthly basis. So families can actually have the benefit of the tax credit, at the end of the month when they're trying to make decisions about how to pay the rent, or buy a few extra groceries or, or were were paper school clothes, for example. So it much better matches the needs of families. And when you take all of those three changes together, we can say that we're cutting child poverty in this country by almost 50% this year, and over 90% of America's kids are benefiting from the credit.

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Samantha Fields 03:42

Josh, I know you as CEO of Etsy, have also been very publicly in support of the child tax credit expansion. And I'm curious if you can just tell us a little bit about why.

J

Josh Silverman 03:54

Absolutely. First, I just want to say thank you to Senator Bennett for his leadership role in doing this. It's so important and we're really grateful for, for the leadership role that he's played in really promoting this legislation, as his mission is keeping commerce human. So in a world where people are buying more and more things that come fast and are cheap and end up in a landfill almost as fast. People are craving maybe to buy fewer things that mean more. And that have some form of human connection. And and a time when automation is changing the nature of work, creativity can't be automated. So Etsy allows over 5 million sellers to take their creative passion and turn that into the opportunity to provide income for their families selling to people all around the world, usually from their home. So 91% of that sees. sellers are women, the vast majority of which are businesses of one working from home. And what we hear over and over again from those businesses is that 24% of our sellers have children at home and they report that they have a really hard time finding enough time to run their business. And in fact, women are seven times more likely than men to report that they're having a hard time running their business because of their childcare obligations. So as we get through the pandemic, it's so important that we evolve our childcare infrastructure, we have a once in a generation opportunity to provide the kind of childcare infrastructure in place to really allow everyone in our economy to be part productive members of of our system and help us to grow together.

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Samantha Fields 05:32

I'm curious if as you structure as a platform for people to run their own small businesses has, how that has affected

your advocacy or your decision to advocate on this particular issue.

J Josh Silverman 05:46

That affects us a lot. So first, just some statistics. The World Economic Forum says that about 99.9% of businesses in the United States are small businesses, and that they employ about half of the private sector workforce in America. But that those are businesses that have 500 or fewer employees, actually, micro businesses are businesses with 10 or fewer. Usually, micro businesses are businesses of one, businesses like Etsy sellers. And there are very few people who are speak for that community. And in fact, it's a large and fast growing sector of the US economy. There's about 60 million independent workers in in the United States. And so we think at Etsy, it's, it's our obligation to really speak for that community that's so important, and it's small, but powerful. etsy sellers contributed about \$13 billion to the US economy and about 2.6 million jobs. That's about the GDP of the city of Houston. That's just the sellers on Etsy. So we think it's it's really important, actually, that as we design legislation, we think not just about the big businesses, but the small businesses. And as much as the small businesses, we think about the micro businesses, and their needs are a little bit different. You know, a micro business a business of one means that the the person running the business is responsible for every single part of the business, if they have to take a half a day to look after their child or to care for an aging family member, that's money straight out of their pocket, that's lost income, there's no one else to step in and help to generate that income. So making sure that they have the time. And the support to actually work as they want to, we think is even more critical for micro businesses than it is for many others.

S Samantha Fields 07:36

Senator Bennet, I know that you said up at the top that there is research showing that the expansion of the child tax credit will reduce child poverty by about half, which is hugely significant. But this credit also goes to families in you know, upper and middle income brackets, it will go to a two income family of that making \$150,000 I'm curious why that's important also.

M Michael Bennet 08:00

I thought it was important to us, those of us that were designing this, I think to to support American families broadly. And that that's where we cut it off in the end was about \$150,000. You know, if I, if I had to summarize the last 10 years, or 11 years of town halls, in my state, in Colorado, a place with a really dynamic economy, one of the most dynamic economies in the country, it's really simple. It's people coming and saying we're working really hard. And no matter what we do, we can't afford some combination of housing, health care, higher education, or early childhood education. If we can find early childhood education to begin with, or daycare, we can't say we feel like our kids are going to live a more diminished life in the life we live. And we're already making choices our parents and grandparents didn't have to make and these are families that consider themselves middle class in in that in that dynamic economy in Colorado, I used to be the superintendent of Denver Public Schools after a career in one business before I was in this job. And they're most of the kids were kids of color. Most the kids were kids living in poverty. Their parents were very often working two and three jobs, including the students themselves, working those jobs. And and what they would say is, no matter what we do, we can't get our kids out of poverty. And what all of this is, is an anecdotal reflection of an economy that for 50 years, has worked really well for the top 10% of Americans, and has not really worked at all for nine out of 10 Americans, which is roughly 90% of the American people, which is who the tax credit basically covers. That's where we ended up in that place.

S Samantha Fields 09:47

I'm curious what you've heard from people in the last few months sent these monthly checks started going out in July about how it's affecting people's lives, how they're spending this money.

M

Michael Bennet 09:58

Mostly you When I was at home for August recess, very often what I would hear it was particularly for moms was people was mom saying, I was able to buy back to school clothes for my kids without throwing my family into financial turmoil for the first time ever. In other words, for the first time, I was able to make a choice to buy my kids clothes without without my without bankrupting my family, essentially, I've heard people say that they're using it to pay for extracurriculars for their children to pay for piano lesson, some people to use it for daycare, which is to Josh's point, such an important part of this equation. Because, you know, if women have, we're actually going to see women returning to the workforce in the United States, we're gonna have to figure out this childcare problem. And this tax credit is part of doing that, because it allows people to pay for a few extra hours of childcare that can allow them to go back to work. One woman I remember in particular, in Colorado Springs told me she had bought a bicycle for her son and that and the bicycle was enabling him to go to after school activities that he wouldn't be able to go to had she not been able to buy the bike because it was the only way to transport him. And then the bike had blown a tire in the first week or so. And she had replaced the tire and she said, but I didn't buy have to buy the cheapest tire I actually bought a decent tire to people don't understand what we poor people pay in terms of tax, you know, when you have to buy the cheap car, you know, is going to blow out next week, when you've got to buy the cheap shoes and you can't buy a decent pair of shoes that will actually last for a school year that that itself provide enormous economic strain to families. So those are the kinds of things that I've heard about.

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Samantha Fields 11:49

Josh, I'm curious what you're hearing either from your employees who you maybe talk to about this or from sellers on the Etsy platform.

J

Josh Silverman 11:57

There's no doubt that the expansion of the child tax credit has been absolutely critical for particularly for micro businesses, and particularly for women. As Senator Bennett mentioned this, this experts are saying that this could cut the child poverty rate in half, it's perhaps the most important thing we've done in a generation for families. And you know, we're very concerned about people who've had to leave the workforce in order to take care of children. And it's going to be very hard for them to get back into the workforce. You know, so many businesses, Etsy is having a hard time hiring at the speed that we want to hire. And so many businesses are experiencing the same thing. And a lot of that is parents who need to be at home to take care of childcare, maybe their schools are closed, maybe they don't have other childcare support, like they used to, maybe they can't have their grandparents coming over like they used to. And providing childcare so that people can get back to work and be part of the workforce is absolutely critical.

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Samantha Fields 12:51

Given that, I'm curious, I know that you are also an advocate of sort of other policies around supporting families, supporting parents, with children at home, I know that Etsy, you guys have about six months of parental leave 12 weeks of paid family medical leave unlimited sick days, talk to me a little bit about the importance of those benefits, and also how you got there as a company to that point of deciding you know what this is worth it for us as a company to offer these benefits and this is why.

J

Josh Silverman 13:21

At Etsy, we know that strong caregiver support is good for business. And we've had a chance to be investing in that for years. And we've got a lot of conviction now that it's very good for MCs business. So you're right, we have 26 weeks of paid parental leave, that's gender neutral. So anyone with a new child in their family, be it through natural birth or adoption, male, female, non male, will have 26 weeks of paid parental leave during their first two years as a parent, and then we have 12 weeks of paid family leave. We believe that we need flexible and equitable caregiver policies to allow women and families and parents to be able to participate equally at Etsy. And it's working really well. A couple of things. I'll point out one, there's no motherhood penalty at Etsy. And we're really proud of that women and parents get promoted at equal rates to men and non parents. at NC, we're very proud of the fact that our parental leave is taken in equal proportion by men and by women. So women are not disproportionately stepping out of our workforce. And then being penalized men and women both are expected to be playing an active role in childcare. And, and and stepping out of the workforce for a little bit of time. At Etsy. We have support, we have a lot of infrastructure to make sure that that they can do that in a way where they feel supported. And we're the people who are on their team feel really supported to continue the work that allows us to attract really world class people from all backgrounds, including women, including people who are parents and have caregiving responsibilities. And that's critical. A couple Other things I'll point out more than half of our executive staff are women. A third of our engineers are women, which is double what you'd see in the best of class. technology companies, we have very strong representation from women throughout the company. Why is that important? Well, not only is you know, half the population are women, and there's so much talent there. But as I mentioned, 90% of our sellers are women and 90% of our buyers are women. So having really strong representation from women inside the company, makes us better in terms of understanding our customer base and serving our customer base. And guess what, we're not alone. All the studies show that women make the majority of spending decisions in most households. So many, many companies are like that, see, where women are disproportionately the customer base. And so having really strong female representation inside the company is, is really important. And not only we've been able to attract a really talented, a base of parents and women and a very diverse community of employees, but we've been able to retain them. So at a time when attrition is spiking in so many different companies, our attrition rates are about half of the industry average. And one of the things we hear over and over and over again, is it because we provide so much support things like our parental leave policy.

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Samantha Fields 16:18

Senator Bennet, I'm curious what you're hearing from constituents what you what you've been hearing over the last year and a half, from people who do not have these benefits at work, and we know that is a lot of Americans.

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Michael Bennet 16:30

Everything Josh said, I can't tell you how much I agree with and and how much I appreciate MCs leadership here, because what I hear from a lot of people in Colorado is that they're really stressed out that they burning the candle at both, then they're working like crazy, and they can't keep your head above water. It's not a problem of people not working hard enough. It is a problem of all of us together not supporting our families well enough not supporting our kids well enough and things that other countries take for granted. We somehow treat as if beyond the laws of political physics, you know, every single country that has a child tax benefit, like the one that we're trying to extend here with the reconciliation package actually has higher workforce participation rates than the United States of America, every single one has higher workforce participation rates by women than the United States of America for all the reason that Josh said. So I don't think people are looking for a handout here, I think what they're looking for is a little bit of help to allow them to work and to be able to earn more money over over their their career, Josh mentioned, you know, that he's seeing that the turnover is much less at Etsy than other places. And that salary parity

is a result of that. Because, you know, people are interrupting their careers in the same way, whether they're moms or whether their dads whether they have kids or whether they don't. And that's the way it ought to be. I think across the country, for too many, you know, families, women are bearing a burden that they that they shouldn't have to bear alone. And and the economy suffers as a result. I mean, childhood poverty costs our country a trillion dollars a year. And there are some estimates already from Columbia University, that the investment we've made in the child tax credit, by just in alone will pay back and eight times dividend because we're going to be reducing childhood poverty and half instead of mitigating the effects of childhood poverty as a former school superintendent, I can tell you that it is far more expensive to mitigate, to try to mitigate for those effects. And it is to try to reduce it and and I am I not ironically, but what the result of all of this, I think is going to be the we're going to see a more dynamic labor workforce than the one we had before.

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Samantha Fields 19:07

You know, the theme of this summit is rebuilding for all. And the theme of this session is building financial security for families and workers after COVID. And, you know, I think the pandemic made abundantly clear if it wasn't already to a lot of people that the economy the US economy has not been working for many people for a long time now. marketplace did a poll a year ago or so that found that 60% of people didn't have \$1,000 to cover an unexpected expense. 40% didn't have \$250 to cover an unexpected expense. And so I'm curious if you both feel like the pandemic has actually changed the conversation in a long term of fundamental way or not.

M

Michael Bennet 19:52

I would just say, well, I ran an utterly unnoticed campaign for president on the idea that we could cut out the poverty you Half in this country and by the way, we need to recognize that we are an outlier in terms of childhood poverty, we are 38 out of 41 industrialized countries, and, and the poorest population in our country are our children. And that that was before the pandemic, then we had the pandemic. And I think people realize that we couldn't turn our backs on this anymore, that we had to do something for people who are struggling through this economy or who are poor in a working people. And that has led us to the child tax credit, which I think is the most elegant solution that's on the table. But it's not all we need to do paid family leave, we need to do, we've got to try to do something about preschool so that it's more affordable for families for all the reasons that we said. And I do think we have a once in a lifetime opportunity, partly as a result of COVID. And partly, I'm sad to say, as you said, as the result of a a recognition that has eluded us for a really long time, that the American economy has not worked well, for most Americans. For the last 50 years. For some reason, we decided that the most important interest to privilege in our economy were people that wanted to make stuff as cheaply as possible in China, you know, and I think there's a realization that there are other values at work here that are really important ones. And I hope will lead us to a place where when the American economy grows, the next time, it actually grows for everybody, not just the top 10%, because that's when we'll really begin to see the labor market take off in the way it needs to.

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Samantha Fields 21:47

Josh, I'm curious if you feel like the conversation has changed among CEOs among business leaders, and if you're seeing other companies, more companies start to put these kinds of policy policies in place voluntarily.

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Josh Silverman 22:03

I think the conversation is changing at a time when we can agree on so few things. As a nation, there is broad agreement that the economy is not working for everyone the way it should, and particularly, you know, for those who

are not at the very top of the pyramid, it's not working. And all of us need to be part of that solution. You know, none of us can succeed if we don't have a civil society. That is sound if people don't feel like their economic welfare is secure. None of us are secure. And I think there's a very broad recognition of that. I do think to senators point about who we're deciding to help and who we're not deciding to help. I'm proud of the fact that, you know, two thirds of Etsy sellers reported they had stronger sales in 2020 than the year before. I think people do want now to put their money where their heart is, I think they are becoming more conscious consumers are thinking about what brands do I want to be associated with? And who do I want to support the young generation even more, they really live that. And I think that's a wake up call for everyone. And so I'm encouraged and optimistic.

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Samantha Fields 23:09

I'm curious, again, for both of you whether or what you see as the role of business leaders of private business, in this conversation, and, you know, Josh, for you why, as CEO of a company that is able to put these benefits in place for your employees, is it important to you to advocate for them at the federal level?

J

Josh Silverman 23:31

Well, we see ourselves as one of the few voices well positioned to speak for the 60 million independent workers, including the 5 million sellers on Etsy, you know, there, there's organizations to support small businesses. But again, small businesses are people of 500 employees or less, which is very different than a business of one. And if we don't speak for them, who will. And also, you know, we very much believe at Etsy, that being a good citizen is part and parcel of being a good business. And I think there's a narrative out there that somehow if you want to be a good citizen, you've got to be a bad business. Or if you want to be a good business, you've got to be a bad citizen. And I think that's such an unfortunate narrative, and it's not true, you know, at sea has performed very, very well, you know, for those tracking our business, you know, we're one of the best performing stocks in the stock market over the past three, three or four years. And I think that's very much because of the fact that we live our values, and we treat our employees well. And we advocate for our customers, not just inside of our marketplace, but at the federal level as well. I think people are paying attention. I think they care and I think it makes a difference.

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Samantha Fields 24:39

Senator Bennett, I'm curious what you see as the role of CEOs like Josh?

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Michael Bennet 24:45

I think it's critical, vitally important, because, you know, politicians that don't know much about business might make judgments about policies or legislation, in ignorance of people. like Josh aren't actually explaining the way your businesses work. And there's a tendency, I think there has been a tendency in the last generation or so for us, that see being a very start contrary example, a race to the bottom in terms of, you know, the benefits that the private sector is providing an a kind of a view from the policymakers that that somehow, okay, because that's just the way capitalism works. I'm a capitalist, I used to be in the private sector, myself. And I know all of these things consist of decisions that we all make sometimes, you know, the private sector makes them on their own, sometimes with encouragement from the federal government. We're seeing this discussion, I think, a healthy discussion now happening around the role of social media companies in this country, it's going to require us to really think differently about what that looks like the jury's still out there about whether the social media companies will make the decisions themselves or whether we're gonna have to legislate but the point is, that it's an in this democracy. It's an integrated effort, as Josh was saying, and I guess the final point I would make is that the greatest danger to our democracy is a

lack a sense of a lack of opportunity for economic opportunity, on the behalf of most people, because it's those moments where there There seems to be a lack of opportunity that somebody shows up in some ambitious politician shows up and says, democracy's not going to deliver for you, I alone can deliver for you. And that's the way democracies and and that's why I think this work is so fundamentally important is important as the work we're all trying to do now on on voting rights, for example, this is a core piece of business, for a healthy democracy and the private sector, I think, can be provide, provide profound leadership by forcing politicians to do the right thing here. And that's that shouldn't be as hard as it a surprise. But it's really, really important.

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Samantha Fields 27:10

Josh, I know, you said that these policies have been good for business. And I'm curious if you can talk a little bit more about what that's looked like at Etsy, what some, and also I'm curious how long you've had them in place.

J

Josh Silverman 27:22

We've had our 26 week, parental leave policy in place now for about six years. And during that time, the business has grown from our seller selling about \$2 billion a year of products to we're on track for about \$12 billion dollars this year. So about a six fold increase. In fact, our seller sales have more than doubled just in the past year. So you know, business is going well, the pie is growing, and what what's most important is the pie is growing. You know, when our sellers sell more, that's more revenue, obviously more profit for Etsy, but it all starts with our buyers finding products they love and our sellers selling products. And when that happens, the marketplace grows and everyone wins.

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Samantha Fields 28:09

For both of you, I'm curious, have you ever changed someone's mind on any of these issues? Whether it's the expansion of the child tax credit, parental leave, paid family leave paid sick days? Have you had conversations with somebody who did not agree with you, and change their mind? And if so what was it that pushed them over the edge?

M

Michael Bennet 28:32

For me, time will tell on some level because we're, we'll see whether we can get the reconciliation bill over the finish line, I think we will be able to do it. And I do believe that I've been able to make a case to people here that when you look at as I mentioned earlier, the workforce participation rates in other countries being higher when they have a tax benefit like this than lower, I've been able to overcome some some folks who think that somehow this is going to disincentivize people from working and there's a lot of evidence, the studies all show that this is actually a pro work policy, that it makes it easier for people to work and and in contrast, that the United States of America has made it very hard for people to work, especially people that are living in poverty, this is a step forward on that. And I do think that I've been able to persuade some of my colleagues that that's true. And for that reason, they're they're supporting the work that we're trying to get over the finish line here.

J

Josh Silverman 29:33

I'd say it's easier for me than for the senator because the people he has to negotiate with are subject to a whole bunch of forces, CEOs get to make decisions with less, less outside input. In some ways that may sometimes be helpful, but yes, definitely. And what's what's been important is to talk about the caregiving policies we have, which

immediately causes my colleagues to say, Oh gosh, that sounds really disruptive. How on earth you keep running business And then I go through the other things we've put in place to allow us to run the business with with continuity. So for example, we have a lot of internal mobility where when someone goes out for parental leave, we use internal mobility, which turns out to be great for cross training, there's actually a lot of benefits of having someone come over and take a new job and learn and bring new ideas to the job. So we've built a system around internal mobility for leaf cover, we've created relationships with consultants who come and specifically work with us on leaf cover. So we have, we have a set of infrastructure that we've put in place around leaf cover, that actually allows us to have business continuity, even though we're not that big a company, by the way, it's the only has 2000 employees. So in the grand scheme of things, it's not like we have infinite people to move and do anything. And yet, we've been able to make it work. And actually, we find that we get stronger, and it's going through the ways we've been able to learn and make it work that I think give other my conversations with CEOs give them the confidence to go and do it themselves.

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Samantha Fields 31:01

I just want to end by asking you both for anyone who is listening to this, who may still not be convinced that think this is all gonna cost too much money, we don't have the money, either as a business or the federal government doesn't have the money to spend on this right now. What would you say about the cost of all these policies?

M

Michael Bennet 31:19

I would take a crack at that, and the child tax credits, and the changes are an incremental 100 billion dollars a year, that's a trillion dollars over 10 years. As I mentioned earlier, childhood poverty cost this country a trillion dollars a year. And, and, and the costs of eliminating it or reducing it, I think are far less than the cost of mitigating for the effects, as I mentioned earlier. So in my judgment, this is a place where we are going to get an enormous return for the money that we spend, I think the same is true of preschool for all the reasons that we've said, and paid family leave is a different kind of a cost. It's not a cost for the federal government. But it's in a sense, a cost that the entire economy will, will have to contend with. But I think the upside is much greater than that cost. And when you take it all together, I think what we're saying is a little bit like, you know, the buyers and sellers on Etsy that we're trying to see whether we can reestablish an economy in this country that grows from the middle out, you know, and from the bottom up, rather than imagining that somehow it's going to trickle down from the very top that has not worked for decades. So what I would say to folks that are skeptical is let's not, let's not continue to do what's not working, it's important for us to try something new. And I really believe that for this reason alone, I do not think that we can have an economy that works the next 50 years, like the one for the last 50 years, and have any expectation that our democracy will survive. That's how high I think the stakes really are.

J

Josh Silverman 33:01

And at Etsy, I'd say, you know, we focus on growth, growth, growth, and by attracting and retaining the very best talent which these policies allow us to do, we grow, we get bigger, and we can afford to invest a little bit, because the ROI is there because we grow. We think the same thing is true of our sellers and of the community at large by allowing by having good caregiving infrastructure, we allow them to actually be participants in our economy to work and be productive, and that makes the economy bigger, which makes this investment more than pay off.

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Samantha Fields 33:30

Thank you both so much for taking the time. This has been a great conversation, and I love getting to talk to both of

you.



Michael Bennet 33:36

Thanks for having me. Thanks, Josh, for everything you're doing.



Josh Silverman 33:40

Senator, thank you for your leadership on this. We're really grateful.



Tricia Johnson 33:47

Michael Bennett is a democrat and US senator from Colorado. Previously, he served as superintendent for Denver Public Schools. Josh Silverman is CEO of Etsy and has held leadership positions at American Express and eBay. He was CEO of Skype and co founded Evite Inc. Samantha Fields is a reporter for the American Public Media program Marketplace. Their conversation was held October 14 during the online Global Inclusive Growth Summit held by the MasterCard Center for Inclusive Growth and the Aspen Institute. Make sure to subscribe to Aspen Ideas to Go wherever you listen to podcasts. Follow Aspen Ideas year round on social media at Aspen Ideas. Today's show was programmed by the Center for inclusive growth team and produced by Marci Krivonen and me. Our music is by Wonderly I'm Tricia Johnson. Thanks for joining me.