
EXCLerator Project

Women & Diversity
in Executive and
Community
Leadership



CONTENTS

4	Because it's 2017! Successes and barriers to diverse leadership	32	Voluntary Boards and Executives
8	EXCLerator: Focus on local leadership	35	Health Boards and Executives
12	Knowledge Mobilization: EXCLerator Film	38	Union Leaders
13	Project Scope and Methodology	41	Agencies, Boards and Commissions
16	Elected Officials	44	Legal Sector Leaders
20	Education Boards and Executives	48	Youth Leaders
24	Public Sector Executives	51	Community Asset
28	Corporate Boards and Executives	54	Recommendations and The Way Forward
		57	Works Cited

BECAUSE IT'S 2017!

SUCCESSSES AND BARRIERS TO DIVERSE LEADERSHIP

Readers may reasonably ask why, in 2017, we still need to ask about gender balance and diversity in leadership. Much has changed, one might think, with the appointment of Canada's first gender-balanced federal cabinet two years ago. Certainly the appointment of an impressive roster of women and diverse cabinet ministers signaled a shift, and earned Justin Trudeau international media attention as a new kind of feminist leader. After a decade of avoidance and retrenchment on women's issues under Stephen Harper's Conservatives (Bird & Rowe, 2013), this alone was cause for celebration. Yet closer examination reveals that substantive advances for women in leadership and public policy have been uneven (Kingston, 2016; Oxfam Canada, 2017). Women's place in parliament was barely changed after the 2015 federal election. Women inched their way to 26 percent of seats in the House of Commons, a mere percentage point above the numbers achieved during the Conservative years in government. More promising is the growing number of female and diverse leaders at the provincial and territorial level, including premiers, party leaders and elected Members of Legislative Assembly. To date, six provinces and all three territories have been led by female premiers; several provinces have also had gender parity or close parity cabinets.¹ And as of 2017, the NDP's Jagmeet Singh became the first ever visible minority leader of a federal political party.

¹ Ontario, Quebec, PEI, Newfoundland and Labrador have all had female premiers, while Alberta and British Columbia have twice had women leaders. Over the past decade, Quebec, Alberta, BC and Ontario have also had highly gender-balanced cabinets, with between 40 to 50 percent women. The first 50-50 cabinet was in Quebec under Premier Jean Charest in 2006.

More disheartening is that, despite modest advances, racist and misogynist barbs directed at visible minority and female political leaders, and questions about their ability to do the job or whether the country is really ready for such a leader, are still a regular occurrence. Hillary Clinton's campaign for the 2016 U.S. presidential election unleashed a wave of misogyny (Beinart, 2016). In Canada, Premiers Kathleen Wynne, Rachel Notley, and Christy Clark, along with former Alberta PC leadership contender Sandra Jansen, have all been the subject of persistent sexist and/or homophobic online hatred (Cohn, 2017; Crawley, 2017).

It is clear that there remain important barriers to women's and minorities' equal representation and full participation in public life. Research in social psychology consistently shows that because of gendered stereotypes and behavioural expectations, women in leadership positions continue to face different challenges and opportunities than men (e.g., Eagly et al., 1992; Eagly & Sczesny 2009, Ely & Rhode, 2010; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993). For example, voters are more likely to react negatively with feelings of moral outrage when they perceive female, as opposed to male politicians, as power-seeking (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). Similarly, women managers are seen as less likeable than men when they act assertively or competitively, or otherwise deviate from the social script that dictates how women 'should' behave (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). At the same time, it is clear that across politics, business and other fields, one way to counteract negative stereotypes is to expose people to examples of female and minority leaders who succeed, thus disproving the stereotype (Latu et al., 2013).

Attitudinal biases are interwoven with societal and structural barriers that continue to stunt women's advancement. The lack of institutionalized support for working families – including, most notably, affordable child and elder care – is a persistent social policy problem that serves to perpetuate gender inequalities in domestic obligations, and in turn produce gender disparities in the workforce. When maternity leaves are encouraged over paternity leaves, or when women are encouraged to work part-time after the birth of a child, while men are discouraged from doing so, the social perception that women's primary concerns should be domestic are reinforced. Even when maternity leave is supported, women can be penalized for appearing less committed to their employment by co-workers and managers, and miss out on future promotions and pay increases. Expecting women to take on primary caregiving responsibilities, rather than sharing the load equally, unduly constrains women's reproductive choices and penalizes them in their careers in ways that most men still do not experience.

Organizational structures can also reinforce gender and racialized inequality. These include long-standing and socially homogenous “old boys’ networks” that women and minorities may find difficult to break into on equal terms. Opportunities for career development in organizations can be highly informal and often veiled in secrecy. And promotion to senior positions may be influenced by unclear guidelines and unstated expectations about fitting in. When trying to navigate through the hidden expectations for job promotion, women’s and minorities’ limited relationships with those at the top may inhibit their abilities to secure senior placements.

“... many organizations still lack effective mechanisms to prevent, identify, and prosecute sexual harassment in the workplace.”

6 These factors can create a particularly toxic and uncomfortable environment for women and racialized minorities, who continue to experience exclusion and alienation in the persistent use of minimally veiled sexist or racist language, jokes and micro-aggressions. This contributes to a general feeling of having to constantly prove their merit and skills.

Unfortunately, sexual harassment by co-workers and managers, as well as sexist employment policies and procedures remain far too prevalent. For example, requirements for women to wear sexualized, tight, and revealing uniforms remain endemic in the hospitality industry (Sample, 2016). Many organizations still lack effective mechanisms to prevent, identify, and prosecute sexual harassment in the workplace. In the RCMP, sexual harassment appears to have been vastly under-reported, as the organization lacks a system of independent review. When managers and high-ranking officers, rather than independent, civilian experts are responsible investigations, reporting will persist as victims have grounds to fear reprisal. In such a system, victims often opt to take sick leave to escape this hostility, rather than report it (Crawford, 2017). Women who pursue employment in STEM fields also report numerous challenges including sexual harassment, the glass-ceiling in advancement, pay discrimination, and an employment culture based on a ‘male-breadwinner-female caregiver’ model (Hari, 2017; Kesidis, 2017).

Employers have the responsibility to create and maintain a safe and equitable workplace culture, which includes monitoring hidden biases, sexist rhetoric and other discriminatory practices. As the gatekeepers to entry and upward mobility, employers have enormous authority to flag and curb sexism and racial discrimination in their hiring and promotional procedures, and to craft strategic, long-term solutions for diversifying their workforce.

While we must hold employers to a high standard, we must also recognize that exclusionary workplace cultures and leadership hierarchies reflect a broader societal problem. Because they are often latent, the social biases and barriers to leadership can be especially difficult to identify and eradicate. For example, in politics as in business, women are often blamed for not wanting to take risks. Ambition, it is argued, has to be promoted among women. According to this view, electoral and corporate gender quotas will lead to mediocrity unless more women choose to assume leadership positions. Yet, as this report will argue, systems of gender bias – as well as racial, heteronormative, and other forms of social inequality – are historically rooted, complex and operate at multiple levels. Cyclically, discriminatory attitudes, social policies and structural barriers further reinforce societal attitudes.

7 So, despite it being 2017, the bar is still different for women and visible minorities to achieve leadership positions than for men. Fortunately, this system is not fixed. Through constant, creative and sometimes rebellious efforts of social advocacy groups and community organizations, researchers, and leaders themselves, it is possible to resist and break this cycle.

This report contributes to this effort by benchmarking diversity in leadership within our local community. Benchmarking is an important piece of the complex puzzle of advancing diverse leadership, serving two critical aims. First, it provides accurate and up-to-date knowledge and information, highlighting both successes and ongoing challenges across sectors. Drawing on concrete data and cases is critical for proposing suitable and creative solutions. Second, it pressures leaders at all levels of society to acknowledge the existence of systemic barriers, and act in response. The path social equality is never linear, but necessarily uneven and complex. We must celebrate hard-fought successes and milestones on the path to equality, and draw on these achievements to encourage young women and minorities towards public life and leadership positions. Simultaneously, we must draw attention to persistent inequities and injustice, calling out baseless discrimination, subjective evaluation metrics, and double standards. We must demand better.

EXCLERATOR: FOCUS ON LOCAL LEADERSHIP

This is the second report of the [EXCLerator Project: Gender and Diversity in Executive and Community Leadership in Hamilton and Halton](#). The first report, delivered in 2014, served the vital function of providing an empirically grounded initial benchmark of women's representation in local leadership across the City of Hamilton and the Halton Regional Municipality. The current report again quantifies the extent of gender disparities in senior leadership positions across nine employment sectors: the elected, public, corporate, voluntary/not-for-profit, education, health, union, and legal sectors, in addition to appointments on agencies, boards, and commissions (ABCs). This report has also been expanded in two important ways. For the first time, it benchmarks visible minority (VM) representation in leadership across the two communities. Second, it adds a novel examination of 'youth leadership' to the previous nine sectors, thereby providing a perspective on the pipeline of diversity among the youngest generation of leaders in our communities.

WHY LOOK AT LEADERSHIP DIVERSITY?

The demand for diversity in leadership can sound like an elitist concern. Why worry about women and minorities at the top, many may ask, when there are more pressing issues facing those at the most disadvantaged end of the social scales? For example, recent data shows that gendered wage disparities are widest among those who have not completed high school.² Isn't this a more pressing problem than ensuring that elite and individually advantaged women and minorities get seats in the corporate boardroom?

There is no doubt that diversity in leadership is but one part of a more complex social problem. We know that gender equality requires attention to a range of issues including women's access to education, economic opportunity, health and personal security (McInturff, 2016: 8). Gender equality in a holistic sense demands that women be economically independent,

rather than dependent on a partner's income; that they feel physically and emotionally safe at home and in their communities, including being free from domestic and intimate partner violence; that they enjoy equal access to educational programs at all levels; and finally, that they have access to quality affordable healthcare and social services, including programs that are specifically adapted for girls and women. Likewise, equality for racialized and sexual minorities depends on dismantling systemic patterns of discrimination and violence, re-channeling away from low-wage and precarious work, and provision of equal and culturally competent services.

"... key starting point for dismantling barriers to equality across all levels of society."

Diversity in leadership may seem also seem like a foregone conclusion for today's young people, including those just entering the workforce. Given that more women than men are now completing high school and graduating from universities, law and medical schools, some might argue that women have already 'caught up' and will move naturally into their fair share of leadership positions as they gain seniority in the workforce. Yet one of the most perplexing puzzles for economically advanced countries such as Canada is why the great strides we have made in human development for girls and women since the 1960s – for example, in terms of educational opportunities, reproductive health, and labour market participation – have not yet produced full gender equity. In fact, research suggests that at the current rate of advancement, Canada will not close the gender pay gap for another 228 years (McInturff, 2013). Other studies show that despite model reforms in immigration, multiculturalism, equality rights and welfare policy in the 1960s, racial economic disparities in Canada remain wide, and that the retrenchment of the welfare state has had disproportionate effects on racialized minorities (Banting & Thompson, 2016; Reitz & Banerjee, 2007).

Addressing such problems requires diverse leadership. Diversity in leadership is an issue of intrinsic fairness, but it is also a key starting point for dismantling barriers to equality across all levels of society. There are several reasons for this. First, there is symbolic significance when leaders reflect the complex diversity of their communities, which can help to erode stereotypes, open minds, and energize those who have been historically marginalized. Second, diversity in leadership fosters community trust in local institutions and organizations, while also enhancing service delivery. Institutions and

² The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) shows that Canadian women in their prime working years between 25 and 64 who have not completed high school earn 61 per cent of what similarly-educated Canadian men do. That compares with an average of 76 per cent across all 35 wealthy nations that the OECD tracks. Among those with some secondary education or more, Canadian women earn on average 72 per cent of what similarly educated men earn, which is in line with the OECD average of 73 per cent. See <https://www.oecd.org/gender/data/genderwagegap.htm>

organizations with diversity in leadership, especially those working for the community's wellbeing, are more responsive and better equipped to serve their communities' diverse needs. Third, diversity in leadership remains instrumental in enhancing democratic decision-making by expanding the range of voices included in debate and decision-making positions, ultimately leading to more creative and innovative solutions.

WHY LOOK AT THE LOCAL LEVEL?

It is certainly useful to look at inclusion in leadership at a national level, in places such as parliament, or Canada's large corporations. National level-statistics and research help us see broader trends on a large scale. Local research, however, allows for a more focused and fine-grained analysis of leadership in our communities. It can tell us which community members are in positions of power to make important decisions that affect the entire community, and which communities remain missing or underrepresented in these seats. Because the local data pool is relatively small, it is much harder for sectors and individual organizations to hide behind the masking effects of national-level statistics. EXCLerator's closely focused examination of Hamilton and Halton means that poor-performing sectors that are persistently laggard on measures of diversity – and, by extension, individual organizations within each sector – can no longer avoid scrutiny and direct accountability. Quantifying diversity in leadership at the local level thus empowers the community to demand that individual firms and organizations take responsibility and concrete actions towards inclusion.

Furthermore, local leaders have profound and meaningful influence into the community. Their responsibilities range from deliberating on and passing municipal laws, to providing a plethora of community services, to devising strategies and health-care budgets in local hospitals. Since all members of the community use these services and are impacted by these decisions, no one segment of the population should unilaterally be in positions of power to make them. The specific focus of this report on two cities can also highlight barriers, as well as gateways and creative strategies to inclusion, that may be unique to particular municipalities, acknowledging that there is not a single 'one size fits all' solution for diversifying leadership.

Finally, this project is both a response to local interest in diverse leadership, as well as a call to action. There is no shortage of highly qualified women and racialized minorities in Hamilton and Halton, yet progressing towards inclusive leadership requires us to first understand where women and racialized minorities are situated in our communities' top leadership positions and decision making tables. As we will illustrate in this report, these two groups remain underrepresented today, in virtually every leadership sector across our two communities. This is not to gloss-over the nuanced differences between and within employment sectors, but to stress that there are persistent structural barriers on the pathway to leadership for women and racialized community members. Once armed with up-to-date data on our local leaders, we can more effectively mobilize to demand and devise long-term strategies for inclusive and diverse leadership.

“... which communities remain missing or underrepresented in these seats.”

KNOWLEDGE MOBILIZATION: EXCLERATOR FILM

As part of EXCLerator 2.0, we are delighted to include a short film that traces a young woman's career trajectory as she navigates the seen and unseen challenges that shape her success. This seven-minute film was developed by McMaster student and amateur filmmaker Korry Garvey to start a conversation about the obstacles women and diverse candidates face and the compromises they often make as they progress along their career path.

We invite readers to view the video here: goo.gl/BhdHQn



12

PROJECT SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

The EXCLerator Project analyzes the representation of women and visible minorities in leadership positions across two areas: the City of Hamilton and the Regional Municipality of Halton, which includes the cities of Burlington, Oakville, Milton and Halton Hills. Hamilton and Halton are adjacent areas with similar populations: Hamilton is home to 536,930 people and Halton is home to 548,435, according to the 2016 Census (City of Hamilton, 2017; Statistics Canada, 2017). In the same year, 19.0% of Hamilton's community members identified as a visible minority while 25.7% of Halton community members did the same (Statistics Canada, 2017; York Region, 2017). The 2016 Census also confirmed that Hamilton (+3.3%) and Halton (+9.3%) are growing quickly (Halton Business, 2017). Such growth and change in population composition makes it especially important to track progress in leadership diversity.

The EXCLerator Project identified and recorded current gender and racial data for 2,436 leaders in the City of Hamilton and Halton Regional Municipality.³ We report these data across nine employment sectors and a tenth youth-leadership sector. The use of a systematic methodology for these purposes is essential, both for validity of findings as well as comparability over time and to other cities. We use established methodology developed by Cukier et al. in Diversity Leads (2012; 2013; 2014; 2016). Drawing on publicly available photographs and biographies, trained researchers identified and recorded the gender and visible minority (VM) status of leaders, across the targeted sectors. First names were used for gender identification purposes, where photos and biographies were not available. To ensure accuracy, all data were coded independently by two researchers; in addition, a third coder checked a random 10 percent sample of the data.

Leaders were identified as 'male,' 'female,' or 'other/unsure;' with respect to race, they were coded as 'VM' (visible minority), 'non-VM,' or 'other/unsure.' This method engages the definition of gender-expression that is used by the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Gender expression is "how a person publicly presents their gender" through their dress, hair, chosen name and preferred gender-pronouns (2014, p.3).⁴ We apply the term visible minority, as defined in the Employment Equity Act, to refer to "persons, other

13

³ Data are current as of 1 Jan. 2017.

⁴ We note that this report only includes cis-gendered individuals, that is persons whose gender identity is in line with or "matches" their chosen name and preferred gender-pronouns.

than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour” (Statistics Canada, 2015a). We use this term apprehensively when identifying racialized persons, recognizing the problem of aggregating diverse racialized identities into a single category. Furthermore, we acknowledge the deeply problematic issue of coding visible minority status on the basis of external visual cues, as opposed to using more sensitive instruments (surveys, in-person interviews) to probe individual self-identification. The time and resources available for this study simply precluded using this more intensive method. There are nevertheless advantages to our method, in terms of comparability and over-time consistency, given that it is widely used throughout Canada.

We also established certain parameters for reporting data to ensure that findings are not idiosyncratic but indicative of broader trends. Within each sector, firms and organizations are included in our analysis only where information on VM status – specifically, publicly available colour photographs or relevant biographical data – is available for at least 50 percent of individuals in leadership positions within a given organization. If researchers were not able to locate such information for over half of a firm or organization’s leaders, that organization is not included in the analysis. For the analysis of gender balance in leadership, we include firms and organizations only where at least 70 percent of individuals in leadership positions can be identified and coded.⁵ It must be noted that these lower cutoffs and generally lower counts with respect to visible minority data prevent us from fully reporting on the representation in leadership positions of racialized minority women. This is troublesome as research shows that intersectionality matters. In order to fully understand and provide a nuanced account of diversity in leadership, it is important to pay attention to the potential interactions of gender with other cleavages of difference. For example, research in Toronto shows that on corporate boards, non-visible minority women outnumbered racialized women 7:1 (Cukier, 2014). In a city where visible minorities now make up half of the population, the share of non-minority to minority women should approach

1:1. In short, we see that by reporting inclusion only in terms of aggregated gender or racial differences, we will fail to uncover the barriers impacting those situated at the intersection of the multiple cleavages that characterize Canadian society.

The effects of these data limitations are important to note, and in the following report we indicate those sectors where inadequate data persists. Addressing this requires that governments, firms and organizations must evolve toward greater transparency in providing names, biographical information and photographs of those who hold leadership positions. Until they do, we remain hampered in our ability to collect and assess data on leadership diversity, and to share lessons of success and recommendations for change. The public at large will also benefit directly from seeing diversity reflected in important leadership positions throughout the community.

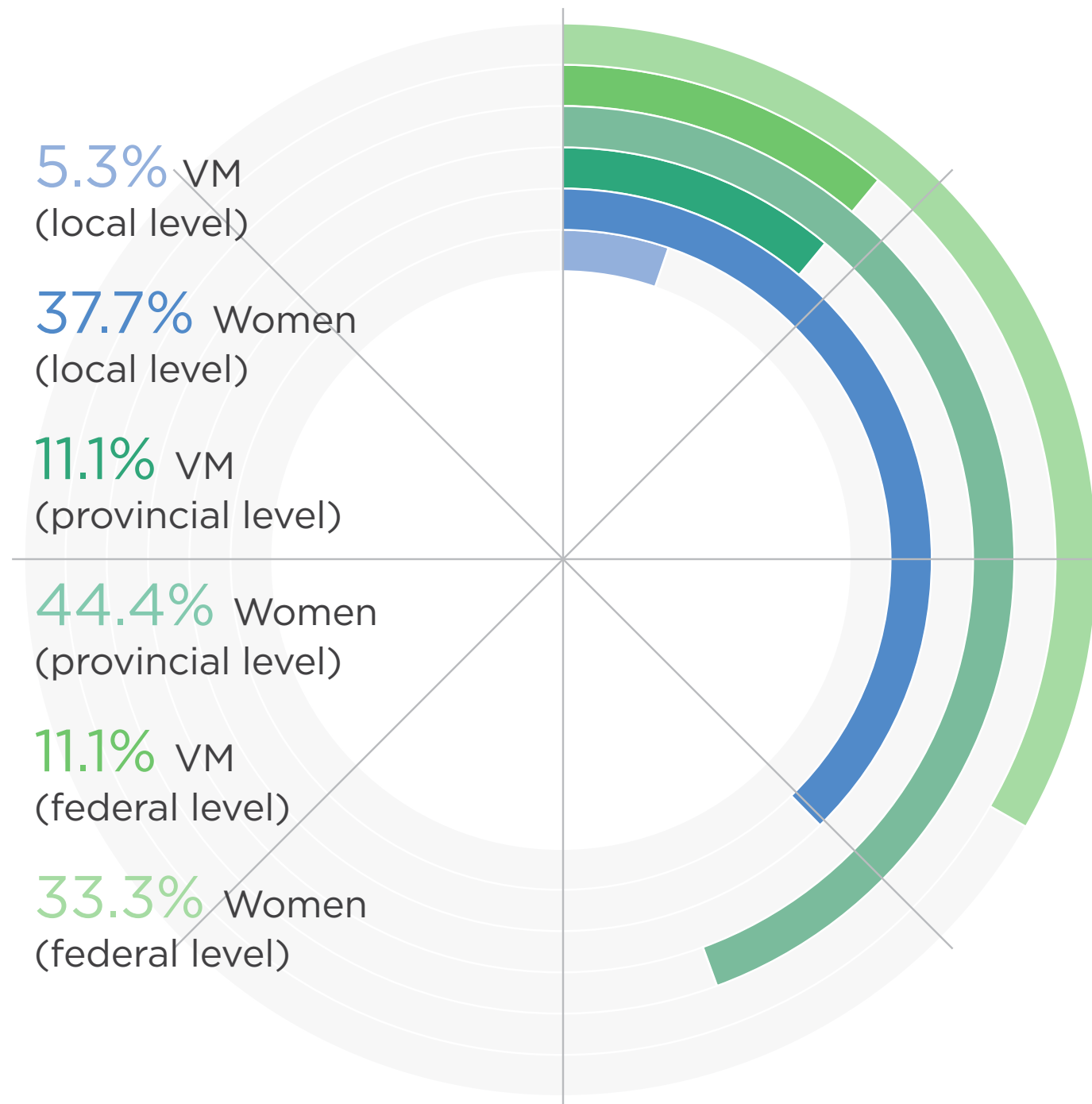
/ DETAILED FINDINGS

The refrain “the higher, the fewer” is an apt description of diversity in most – though not all – of the 10 sectors we examine in this report. There are three broad trends that stand out amongst our findings. **First**, we find that underrepresentation of women and visible minorities in local leadership positions is persistent across both Hamilton and Halton, and across time. **Second**, this pattern of underrepresentation is consistent across sectors, with the important exception of the youth and voluntary sectors. **Finally**, while broad trends are revealing, there is enormous variation within each leadership sector. It is important to delve into sub-sector analysis, and to think about why there may be more or less inclusive leadership in some offices or organizations than others, within the same sector. This is especially important for identifying specific barriers and advancing progress towards inclusiveness, as best practices should be most easily learned and diffused within sectors.

⁵ The methodology developed by Cukier et al. (2016) applies a 70 percent cut-off for inclusion of organizations in the analysis of both gender-balance and racialized diversity in leadership. In our study of Hamilton and Halton, applying the 70 percent cutoff with respect to racialized diversity would have drastically reduced the number of organizations included in the analysis, leading to highly unstable point estimates. By reducing the cutoff to 50 percent, we have included many cases where we have data on only a little over half of the leaders in any given organization. Because we have no reason to believe that access to photographic data varies with a leader’s race (that is, a photo should be no less likely to be found for leaders who are VM than non-VM), we believe that our approach does not systematically bias the findings. Furthermore, a 50 percent cutoff is not widely different from the typical response rate to a workforce census. For example, the City of Hamilton’s 2011 workforce census of municipal employees had a 52% response rate.

ELECTED OFFICIALS

At the national level, the inclusion of women in the House of Commons has been stalled for over two decades at about one-fifth to one-quarter of elected seats. Canada continues to fall behind countries around the world that have moved more rapidly toward gender balance in politics. In 2014, Canada ranked at 55th place in the world when we had 25.0% female representation in the lower house (IPU, 2014). In 2015, we slipped to 63rd place, and by January 2017 were in 62nd place worldwide (IPU, 2016). On the other hand, the most recent federal election saw increased representation of visible minorities and Indigenous peoples (Tolley, 2015). Visible minorities now make 13.9% of elected member of the lower house (47 of 338), up from 11 percent in 2011. The 2015 returns also saw the election of ten Indigenous MPs, who now comprise 3% of seats in the House of Commons. This compares to the roughly 4.3% of the population who identify as Aboriginal persons. When looking at the intersection of race and gender, there were 15 visible minority women, as well as 3 Indigenous women elected to Parliament. This does not mark a significant departure in real numbers



compared to 2011 levels (15 VM women and 2 Indigenous women). It is, however, a slight decline in the seat share, as a result of an expansion in the size of the lower chamber from 308 to 338 seats.

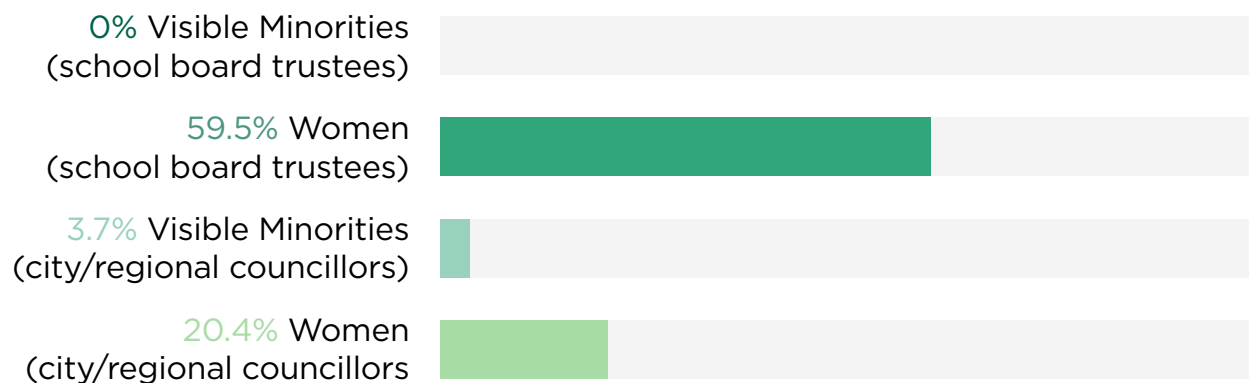
“gender and racial stereotypes and bias also tend to work against female and visible minority candidates ...”

Canada is out of step with the many countries around the world that have adopted formal gender quotas to advance women’s representation in electoral politics (Krook, 2009), and it remains unclear how committed the present government is to structural changes that could increase women’s presence in federal politics. Trudeau reneged on his 2015 campaign promise to introduce electoral reform. This is disappointing, in the face of strong evidence that countries that use first-past-the-post electoral systems on average elect fewer women in comparison to those using proportional systems (Matland, 2005; Norris, 2004, 2006; Rule, 1994; Tremblay, 2005). The Trudeau government also voted against a 2016 private member’s bill that would

have imposed financial penalties where parties failed to nominate a gender-balanced slate of candidates. Still, within our existing electoral system, there are many opportunities to advance women's representation. For instance, party gatekeepers can play a decisive role in whether women are nominated in winnable ridings (Matland, 2005; Norris & Lovenduski, 1995; Tremblay, 2009; Wicks & Lang-Dion, 2007). Reforms within political parties (e.g., supporting women's sections, developing recruitment and training initiatives for women candidates),⁶ within parliament (providing support for an all-party women's caucus, improving working conditions for elected women), and in state agencies (supporting research and advocacy, funding women's leadership training), are all crucial if Canada is to reverse our failing performance relative to other countries.

We tend to find even less diversity in elected politics at the local level. Contrary to the common assumption that municipal elections should be a more accessible arena for women and visible minorities, neither group fares especially well at this level in Canada (Andrew et al., 2008; Bird, 2016; Siemiatycki, 2011; Tolley, 2011; Tremblay & Mévallon, 2013). Addressing barriers to inclusion in municipal politics may require different strategies and solutions than those for federal and provincial politics. For example, it can hardly be the fault of parties and party gatekeepers, when most municipal and school board elections across the country are officially non-partisan. High rates of incumbency in municipal councils may be partly to blame. In the absence of political parties, where voter choice is much more candidate-focused, gender and racial stereotypes and bias also tend to work against female and visible minority candidates, especially when it comes to the top post of mayor (Bird et al., 2016; Crowder-Meyer et al., 2015).

ELECTED OFFICIALS LOCAL SUB-SECTORS



EXCL FINDINGS: ELECTED OFFICIALS

Our analysis of the elected sector in Hamilton and Halton includes elected representatives at all levels of politics, including Federal Members of Parliament (MPs), Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs), municipal and regional councillors, as well as Public and Catholic School Board Trustees. This sector includes a total of 114 elected leaders across the two communities, of whom 48 serve residents of Hamilton, while 66 serve those of Halton. For Hamilton, the sector is comprised of 5 MPs, 5 provincial MPPs, 16 city councillors, and 22 school board trustees. Halton's elected sector consists of 4 MPs, 4 MPPs, 38 city and regional councillors, and 20 school board trustees.

Compared to 2014, we see an overall increase in gender diversity across the elected sector. As of January 1, 2017, women comprised 37.7% of total elected officials, up from 35.1% in 2014. Today, Halton slightly outperforms Hamilton in this sector, with 39.4% women compared to 35.4%. Both municipalities, however, are up slightly from their numbers in 2014, when women's representation stood at 36.4% in Halton, and 33.3% in Hamilton.

Similar to 2014, we find notable disparities across sub-sectors. Women's inclusion is highest in elected school board positions, where they comprise 59.5% of Trustees (up slightly from 57.1% in 2014). Women's representation is also strong at the provincial level at 44.4% (consistent with the figure from 2014). It improved at the federal level, with women comprising 33.3% of MPs across the two regions (up from 22.0% in 2014). Women remain the least included among city and regional councillors, holding only 20.4% of these positions today (a modest increase from 18.5% two years earlier). Notably, none of the municipalities in our analysis (cities of Hamilton and Burlington, towns of Oakville, Milton and Halton Hills) has a female mayor.

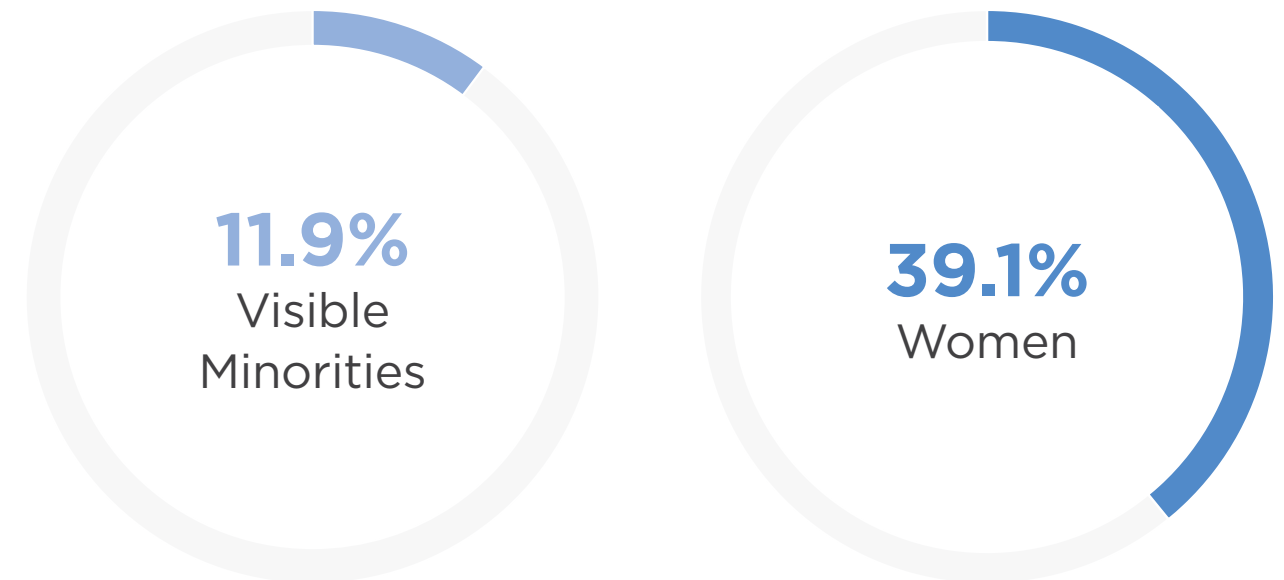
Racial diversity in the elected sector remains low across the two municipalities. Just 5.3% of elected office holders are visible minorities. Halton performs marginally better at 6.1%, compared to Hamilton's 4.2%. But both figures are low compared to racial diversity in the broader population - 19.0% of Hamiltonians and 25.7% of Halton residents identify as visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2017; York Region, 2017). Again, we find remarkable sub-sector disparities in visible minority representation. In sharp contrast to the findings for inclusion of women, visible minorities are entirely unrepresented among school board trustees (0.0%). They are also poorly represented among municipal and regional councillors, at just 3.7% across the two municipalities. Visible minority inclusion is much higher among elected members of provincial and federal parliaments, with 11.1% at each level.

EDUCATION BOARDS AND EXECUTIVES

Fair representation of women and racialized minorities matters in the education sector, where senior leaders make decisions that affect the day-to-day functioning of schools, and help shape the student experience. Leaders in this sector impact hiring and personnel decisions, make critical choices around education and curriculum policy, and serve as a liaison with sectoral and community stakeholders. Ensuring that those with decision-making power in the education sector have lived experiences that are similar to those affected by such decisions is critical. An equitable, fair, and representative leadership team also sends a powerful signal to students about what leadership looks like, and who should sit at the decision-making table.

Across Canada, women make up 84.0% and 59.0% of elementary and secondary school teachers, respectively (Statistics Canada, 2014), as well as 55.9% of elementary and secondary school principals and administrators (Statistics Canada, 2011). However, a sharp drop-off occurs at the level of superintendents, despite a very large pool of women possessing the necessary qualifications (Crosby-Hillier, 2012). A similar narrative describes the post-secondary landscape. Working age women in Canada constitute more than 53% of university graduates, including 58% of those holding masters' degrees and 47% of those with doctorates (Status of Women, 2015). In contrast, women held just 23.4% of permanent faculty positions in 2011, while being overrepresented (51.9%) in sessional, temporary, or otherwise precarious faculty roles (Statistics Canada, 2012; CAUT, 2014). Climbing up the university ladder, women are further excluded from prestigious research roles, holding just 19.8% of Tier 1 and 39.0% of more junior Tier 2 Canada Research Chair positions (Canada Research Chairs, 2017). On the administrative side, just 26.3% of Vice-President Research positions are held by women; overall, women hold a combined total of 37.6% of President, Provost, and Vice-President positions in Ontario (Cukier, 2016).

A similar pattern is found for racialized minorities. While little is known about racialized diversity in elementary and secondary education leadership, some Ontario school boards are beginning to produce student and workplace census projects that show much work remains to be done. For example, the Hamilton Wentworth District School Board's staff diversity audit of showed that only 4.5% of respondents were members of a racialized minority, compared to about 11% of the population at that time (Pike & Jaffray, 2007). The Peel District School Board found that 26% of its workforce are racialized minorities, compared to 57% of the population (Globe and Mail, 2017a). At the university level, approximately 17% of instructors are racialized minorities, which is close to population figures. However, disaggregated data show that minorities tend to be paid less than their white counterparts, on average, possibly due to their overrepresentation in temporary non-tenured positions and discriminatory promotion practices (CAUT, 2010; Yates, 2014). Canadian universities are reluctant to record and report racial diversity on campus; the CBC revealed that most do not collect data on the racial demographics of students (McDonald & Ward, 2017). The absence of race-based data thwarts efforts to identify and address barriers in access, whether the undergraduate level, or among graduate students, faculty, and administrative positions.



EXCL FINDINGS: EDUCATION BOARDS AND EXECUTIVES

Our analysis comprises data on two universities and two colleges, as well as public and Catholic school boards in Hamilton and Halton. At the post-secondary level, leadership includes the positions of President, Provost, all Vice-President positions, Deans and boards of governors. At the elementary and secondary school level, leadership includes all Directors and Superintendents. There are 176 education leaders included in this analysis.

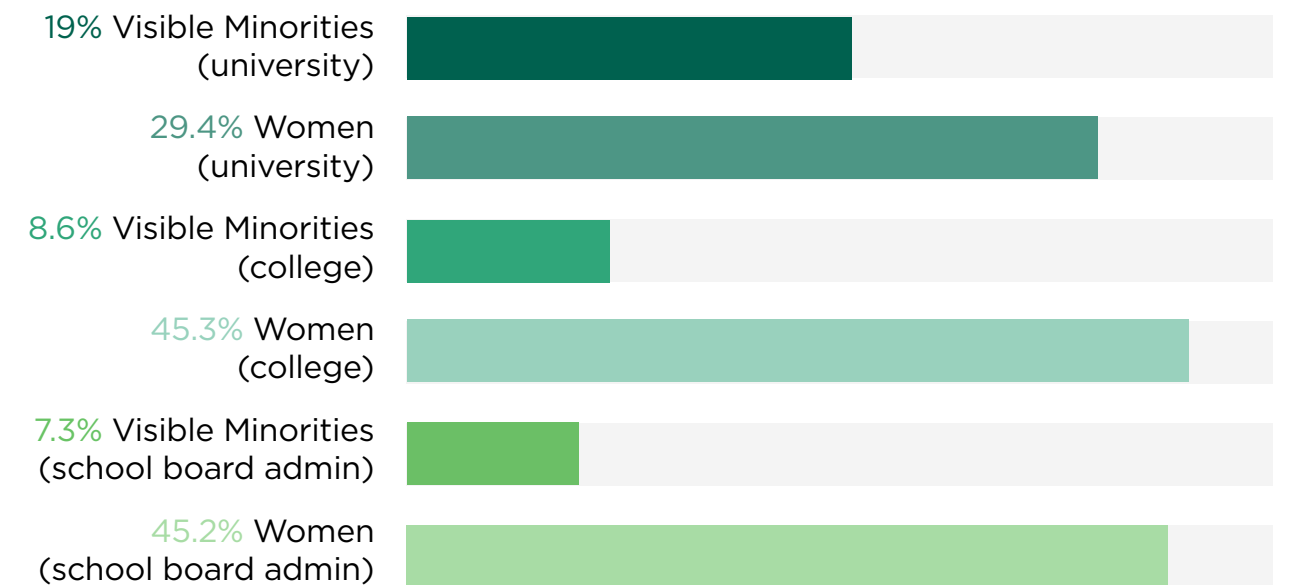
Of these, 39.1% are women (an improvement from 36.1% in 2014). However, there are differences across the municipalities in gender representation. Halton has improved most dramatically, from 29.8% in 2014 to 44.2% in our most recent data. The share of women in education leadership positions in Hamilton dipped slightly from 38.6% in 2014 to 36.9% by 2017. Slight changes are evident across some sub-sectors. The share of women within university senior management and boards of governors increased marginally: they hold 29.4% of such positions in 2017, up from 28.6% in 2014. The share of women leaders in colleges also shows a slight increase: women today hold 45.3% of college senior management and boards of governors, an increase from 42.0% in 2014. Women comprise 45.2% of school board administrators, a slight increase from 42.0% in 2014.

“... an equitable, fair, and representative leadership team also sends a powerful signal to students about what leadership looks like, and who should sit at the decision-making table.”

When comparing the two communities, Hamilton performs especially poorly for gender diversity in university leadership, with women comprising just 20.0% of senior management and 30.0% of college board of directors. In contrast, differences in school board administration have evened out: in 2014, women made up 56.3% of senior school board administrators in Hamilton and 24.0% in Halton; these numbers are now 50.0% and 45.0%, respectively.

Visible minorities comprise 11.9% of leadership positions in the education sector across the two municipalities. Hamilton's top leadership in this sector is more diverse, with 11.1% visible minorities, compared to 13.5% in Halton. However, these averages obscure stark differences within the sector. For instance, there appears to be no representation of visible minorities among school board senior management in at least one of the four regional school boards. Diversity is most pronounced amongst university senior management and boards of governors, where 19.0% are visible minorities. The latter figure is equivalent to the total visible minority population in Hamilton (19.0%) and the Halton region (25.7%) (Statistics Canada, 2017a, 2017b). On the other hand, visible minorities comprise just 7.3% of total school board administrators, and 8.6% of college-level senior management and boards of governors.

EDUCATION BOARDS AND EXECUTIVES SUB-SECTORS



PUBLIC SECTOR EXECUTIVES

Ensuring diverse representation in senior leadership levels in the public sector is important for several reasons. One argument for a diverse public sector focuses on the policymaking power and discretion that is exercised within the bureaucracy, especially at the top level. Senior bureaucrats, under the guidance of elected officials, exert significant influence in areas such as resource allocation and priority setting. A senior bureaucracy that does not reflect the identity or background experiences of the broader public may find it harder to devise public policy that responds effectively to public interests and needs (Krislov & Rosenbloom 1981). Top leaders stand as an important symbol of the government's commitment to equality in the broader community. Diversity is also important given that the public sector is a large employer: for example, the City of Hamilton has over 9,000 municipal workers, making it the third largest employer in the community. Diversity at the upper levels can help to ensure that municipalities can draw on the widest possible pool of qualified candidates when making public service appointments.

To achieve equitable representation within its own ranks, the federal public service has been regulated since 2006 by the Canadian Public Service Employment Act (PSEA). Based on principles set by the Employment Equity Act, the PSEA seeks equitable representation of four designated groups: women, Aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities, and visible minorities. Annual reporting is required, with detailed breakdowns across job classifications. The breakdown by employment cadre is critically important, as aggregate figures will conceal so-called "pink ghettos" in which women are concentrated within lower level clerical positions. This federal legislative framework has produced tangible results. While women comprised 41.8% of federal public servants in 1983, they held a meagre 5.2% of executive positions. The share of women in the executive group increased to 37.2% in 2005, and by 2015 had risen to 46.4%. Aboriginal peoples and members of visible minority groups have also experienced increased representation among federal public service executives. Within this leadership cadre, Aboriginal representation has increased from 3.0% in 2005 to 3.4% in 2015, while visible minority representation has grown from 5.1% to 8.8% (Government of Canada, 2016a).

The PSEA applies to federal public servants only. Since the 1995 repeal of Ontario's Employment Equity Act, there has been no similar requirement to collect and report annual workforce equity outcomes within the Ontario public sector. This has several consequences. First, although there is human rights legislation prohibiting workplace discrimination, it often takes legal proceedings to compel action. Second, while the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU), together with management, can negotiate and implement proactive employment equity plans, these measures do not cover most senior leadership positions. Finally, the current Ontario standards have not led to systematic collection and analysis of sex or ethno-racially disaggregated data across all employment levels within provincial Ministries and public institutions. Absent such systematic data, researchers and public advocates have turned to probing Ontario's "sunshine list" of public employees earning over \$100,000. These analyses show that being male increases your chances of being a top-earning public servant. More than 80% of top-earners in Ontario's public sector workers were men; this despite women constituting 51% of senior managers, 55% of middle managers, and 55% of the Ontario public workforce overall (Csanady, 2015). Still, the public sector reports a smaller gender wage gap when compared to the private sector. On average, women earn 22.0% less than their male counterparts in the public sector, which compares to a 27.0% gap in the private sector. Far less is known about racialized diversity in the Ontario public sector.

As we move from the federal, to Ontario, to municipal public service, measures for documenting, disaggregating and reporting on diversity across job classifications become increasingly spotty (Cornish et al., 2013). Some cities have been more proactive than others on this file. For example, the City of Hamilton conducted a city-wide Workforce Census in 2011 to collect municipal employee demographic data for comparison to relevant 2006 Statistics Canada Census data, and to help promote a more inclusive public sector. However, such processes are specific to single cities, and may be one-time-only interventions. Without an established norm for reporting, city officials may be little inclined to disaggregate by job classification, which can lead to misrepresentative statistics. These one-off interventions may also produce low participation rates and hence weaker validity. Our study thus plays an essential role in providing comprehensive and comparable data on public sector leadership at the municipal level that would otherwise be missing.

EXCL FINDINGS: PUBLIC SECTOR EXECUTIVES

Our analysis of the public sector comprises the cities of Hamilton, Burlington, Oakville as well as Halton Regional Municipality. Information on senior leadership positions was found using municipal websites and publicly available organizational charts. The analysis includes all municipal and regional government positions of General Manager, Commissioner, and Director, in addition to Chiefs and Deputy Chiefs of police, fire, and emergency services. In total, we looked at 124 top municipal and regional public sector leaders.

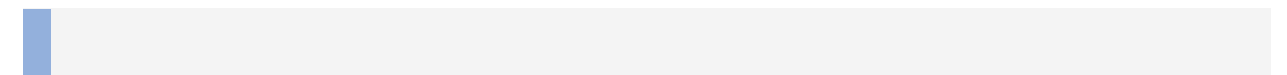
As of January 2017, women made up 41.1% of executives in this sector, an improvement of 4.9 percentage points from 36.2% in 2014. While we observe an overall upward trend, differences persist across municipalities: Hamilton improved from 34.8% to 44.2% in 2016, while Halton increased slightly, from 37.3% to 38.9% in the same period.

Representation of visible minorities in the public sector is far below either area's population diversity. Combined, racialized minorities comprise just 2.4% of Hamilton and Halton's public sector leaders. Hamilton is the least diverse: based on publicly available information, 0.0% of public sector leaders are visible minorities, compared to just 4.0% in Halton.

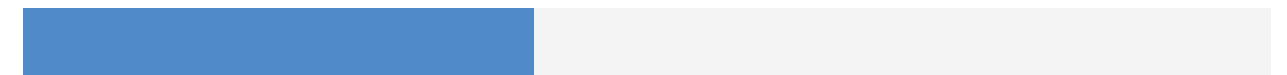
A closer look at these data reveals significant sub-sector variation. Most alarming is the fire, police and emergency services sub-sector which lags far behind others with respect to diversity inclusiveness. With one exception, women and visible minorities are entirely missing from top leadership positions of Chief and Deputy Chief in fire, police, and emergency services across Halton and Hamilton. Sadly, these figures may not be remarkably out-of-line with national numbers. Police and especially fire services remain two of the most male-dominated of public employment sectors in Canada. In 2015, approximately 21% of police officers, and just 12 % of senior officers across Canada were women (Statistics Canada, 2015b). A recent CBC news investigation also gave police forces across the country poor marks with respect to racial diversity (CBC, 2016a, 2016b). Only about three percent of professional firefighters across Canada are women (CBC, 2015). On a more positive note, the City of Burlington hired its first ever female deputy fire chief in 2014. She became one of just three female deputy fire chiefs in Ontario – the highest-ranking women in firefighting across the province (Reilly, 2014). Clearly more work is needed in this sub-sector to promote diversity among the leadership and command structure.

These findings are troubling with respect to equal opportunity in local public sector hiring and advancement, but also with respect to fairness and impartiality in areas such as law enforcement. In light of recent and highly public revelations about the practice of racial carding (Toronto Star, 2012), uneven responses by police to sexual assault complainants (Globe and Mail, 2017b), and alleged sexual harassment in firefighting (CBC, 2015), it is entirely reasonable to demand greater leadership diversity in this sector. It is therefore deeply concerning that there is still no systematic tracking of diversity in applicants, hiring and promotion in local public service, beyond the voluntary census administered by the City of Hamilton. Furthermore, we note with concern that only two-thirds (66.9%) of leadership positions we identified in the public sector were accompanied by photographs. The public-facing and public-serving nature of this sector makes it particularly important to know who these leaders are, and how well they reflect the diversity of the population they serve. Without ease of access to this information, it becomes more difficult to hold local decision-makers accountable, and may contribute to public skepticism and distrust.

2.4% Visible Minorities



41.1% Women



“Most alarming is the fire, police and emergency services sub-sector, which lags far behind others with respect to diversity inclusiveness ...”

CORPORATE BOARDS AND EXECUTIVES

28 **A**cross Canada, the corporate sector remains the least representative for women amongst both senior management teams and boards of directors (Cukier et al., 2016). Women comprise only 14.5% of directors within Financial Post 500 (FP500) companies headquartered in Canada, a statistic that decreases to 10% when removing Crown corporations. Equally bleak, almost 40% of FP500 companies have no women on their boards at all (Conference Board of Canada, 2014). Such disparities persist despite the well-established business case for women and visible minorities in leadership. The benefits of diverse leadership include: better managerial styles, skills and communication; access to a wider labour pool and better likelihood of attracting and retaining high quality personnel from diverse backgrounds; enhanced corporate image and reputation; greater innovation and creativity leading to new products and services, and the opening up of potential new markets; improved customer services and satisfaction; and a more balanced approach to risk-taking (Catalyst, 2014; European Commission, 2003; Terjesen et al., 2009). Diverse corporate leadership is also a key factor for identifying and developing procedures to enhance supplier diversity in strategic sourcing. This includes linking to fast-growing Minority and Women Owned Business Enterprises (MWBE) which can provide an alternative supply source in a context of increased sourcing competition. Global brands, in particular, have started to recognize the opportunity for supplier diversity programs to facilitate the growth of their businesses through increased market share among rising customer bases, stronger share price, faster innovation cycles, brand awareness, and loyalty.

Proactive policies have been enacted in the pursuit of gender parity on corporate boards in many countries (Engelstad & Teigen, 2012). For example, Norway passed a law in 2003 mandating that women must comprise at least 40% of boards of directors of all publicly traded companies, with the threat that non-complying firms could be forcibly dissolved (though none has in fact suffered such a fate). France introduced a similar law in 2011, mandating that women comprise at least 40% of big companies' boards. A number of other

countries have introduced voluntary or 'soft' targets. This includes Canada, which in 2014 set a voluntary target of 30% women on corporate boards, with minimal repercussions for non-compliance (Government of Canada's Advisory Council for Women on Boards, 2014). Still other countries, among them the United States, the UK and Germany, have taken no formal action to promote gender balance in the corporate sector.

The "Gender and Disclosure Rules" enacted by the federal government in December 2014 and enforced by the Canadian Securities Administrators (CSA), require Toronto Stock Exchange-listed companies to disclose the representation of women in leadership positions on their boards and in executive management positions. This "comply or explain" approach also requires companies to indicate their policies and targets on matters of gender appointment and diversity in their management teams. If these do not exist, the firm must provide an explanation as to why such mechanisms are missing (Ontario Securities Commission, 2015). In 2016, the Ontario Securities Commission reported that the largest issuers included more women on their boards: boards in the 215 largest firms have 18.0% women, while the top 42 largest have 23.0% women (an increase from 16.0% and 21.0%, respectively, in 2015).

29 Given their voluntary nature, gender diversity on corporate boards in Canada has become a source of tension between shareholders and companies. For example, in 2016, a major shareholder group launched a proposal to create a formal diversity policy at RBI, the parent company of Tim Hortons and Burger King, aimed at increasing the number of women on its all-male board of directors. Yet the Board refrained from making a recommendation on how shareholders should vote, and the proposal was ultimately rejected.

Despite some progress, these voluntary measures remain toothless. Because of a lack of regulatory and enforcement mechanisms, they result in uneven progress amongst the corporate sector. While voluntary targets should not be altogether dismissed, neither should they divert our attention and energy from more ambitious mandatory programs and enforcement mechanisms, that have proven to be more effective in advancing gender-equity. Furthermore, these measures focus exclusively on inclusion of women on boards. They do nothing to encourage leadership diversification along other lines, nor do they consider potential interactions of gender with other cleavages of difference.

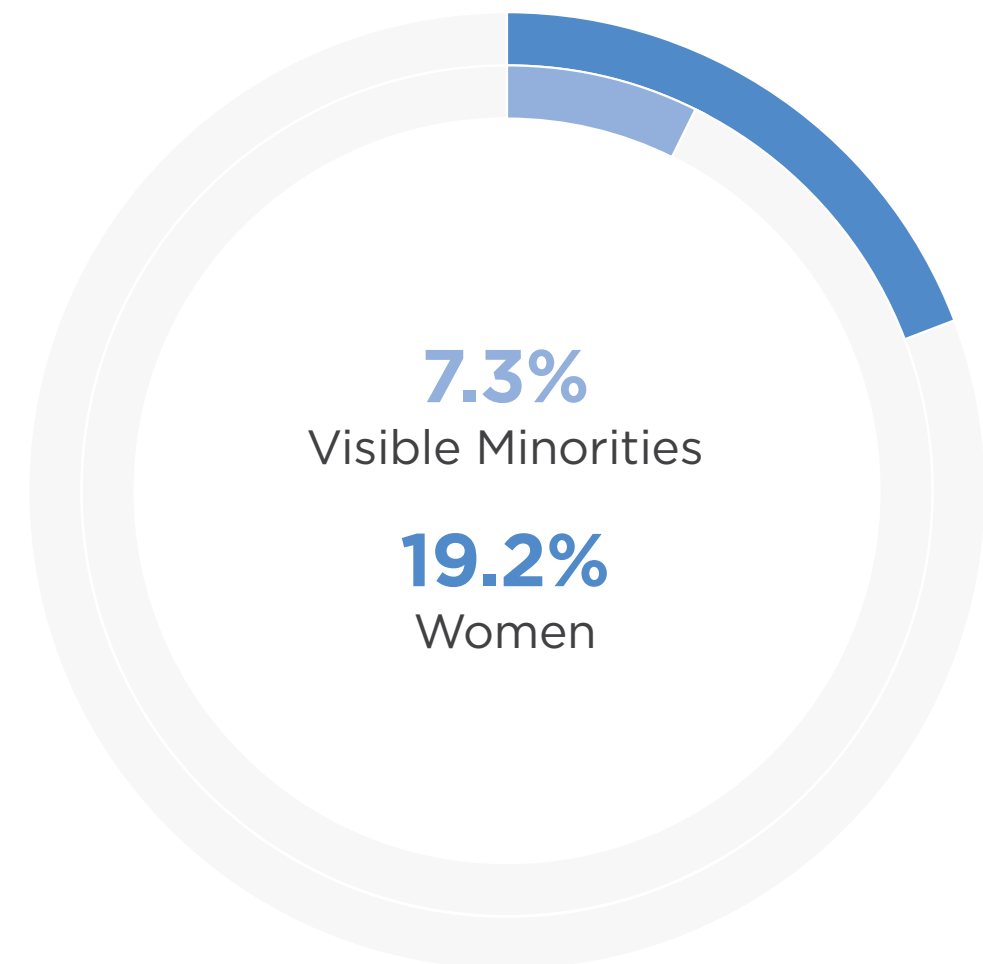
EXCL FINDINGS: CORPORATE BOARDS AND EXECUTIVES

For our analysis, we drew on the Canadian Business Database to identify corporations headquartered in Hamilton and Halton with 50 or more employees, and annual revenues of \$50 million or more. Using these parameters, we were able to identify and gather relevant data on 374 corporate leaders, 310 of whom are in positions of senior management, while 64 are members on Boards of Directors.

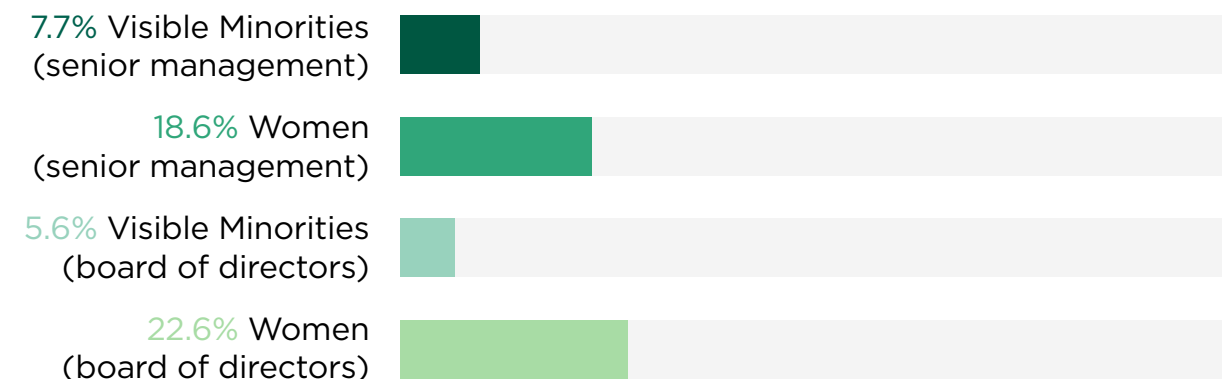
Across today's top firms, women's representation in leadership remains unacceptably low. With just 19.2% of corporate leadership positions occupied by women, this is the weakest record for gender diversity across all 10 sectors examined. That said, there are signs of progress, as the numbers have inched up from 17.8% in 2014. The record is weak across the corporate sub-sectors, with women comprising just 18.6% of senior management positions and 22.6% of seats on Boards of Directors. There are differences between the municipalities: women are better represented in Halton, where they held 20.6% of positions compared to just 14.2% in Hamilton. It is worth noting that while women's representation in Halton has improved from 17.2% in 2014, it has declined markedly from 19% in Hamilton.

Overall, just 7.3% of leadership positions are held by visible minorities, including 7.7% in senior management and 5.6% in board positions. The two regional areas were nearly at-par in racialized leaders' underrepresentation, with 7.2% of positions in Hamilton and 7.6% in Halton. This is far below the total racialized population in Hamilton (19.0%) and the Halton region (25.7%) (Statistics Canada, 2017a, 2017b).

“... almost 40% of Financial Post 500 companies have no women on their boards at all.”



CORPORATE BOARDS AND EXECUTIVES SUB-SECTORS



VOLUNTARY BOARDS AND EXECUTIVES

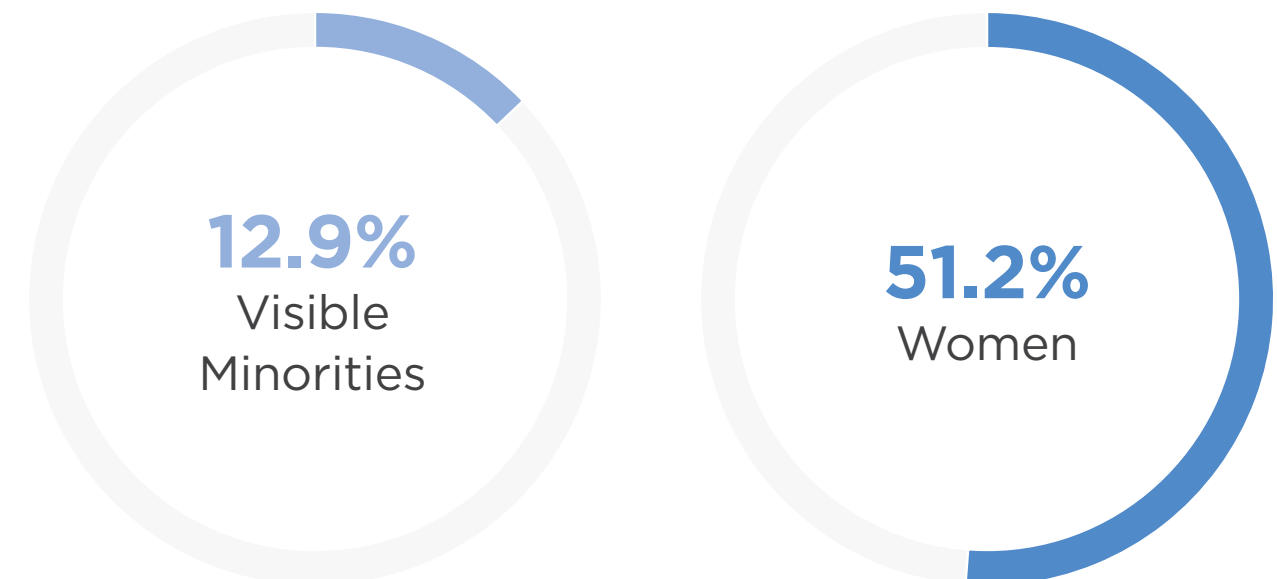
Registered charities, voluntary and non-profit organizations provide a wide range of services to all members of society. On the domestic front, this includes support for education and research, health care, arts and culture, poverty relief, violence prevention, temporary and transitional housing, refugee and immigrant settlement, as well as advancing religious and community causes. Canadian charities also provide internationally for disaster relief and humanitarian aid. In 2016, over 86,000 registered Canadian charities with annual receipted donations of \$15.7 billion performed these functions and services; almost half of these operated on an exclusively volunteer basis (Canadian Revenue Agency, 2016). Voluntary organizations are responsible for an expanding share of services previously delivered by government (Mowat Centre, 2011). These services are delivered amidst increasing reporting requirements and funding precarity (Baines et al., 2014). Most notably, budget cuts by the federal government in 2006 effectively eliminated federal funding to organizations advocating for women and girls. This policy change saw many women's rights organizations reduced to operating on an entirely volunteer basis, and led many to shut down for lack of funding (McInturff, 2016). Underfunding, and the added demands of complex service delivery under precarious and shifting resources, make this a very challenging sector.

“... women employed in women's rights' organizations are the lowest paid amongst the non-profit sector.”

Despite these obstacles, leadership in the voluntary sector plays a key role in shaping public policy through lobbying (LeRoux & Goerdel, 2009), and drawing mainstream attention to the needs of many disadvantaged groups. Historically, the presence of feminist voluntary agencies helped to build the women's movement in Canada, bringing to light issues of women's

health, reproductive rights, and domestic violence (Mailloux et al., 2002). Likewise, the strong presence of ethnic organizations in Canada is a key factor in producing successful integration outcomes among diverse newcomers, which in turn contributes to comparatively high levels of public support for immigration and overall social cohesion in Canada (Bloemraad, 2006). There is thus strong evidence that diversity of leadership within voluntary organizations has multiple benefits in terms of serving material needs, enhancing social cohesion and civic engagement, and improving social and economic outcomes across diverse populations (Everett et al., 2012; Brown, 2002).

Historically, the voluntary sector has been highly inclusive of women in top leadership roles. Yet, as is the case for other feminized occupations, non-profit work continues to be both undervalued and underpaid, even when pay-equity legislation is in place (Peng & Singh, 2009). In particular, women employed in women's rights' organizations are the lowest paid amongst the non-profit sector (McInturff & Lambert, 2016). Hence, the accomplishments of women's leadership in this field should be celebrated as a hard-fought victory, without neglecting the persistent and increasing precarity in voluntary positions. For women's success to be complete in this sector, leadership positions must be accompanied by improved pay, benefits, and societal recognition.



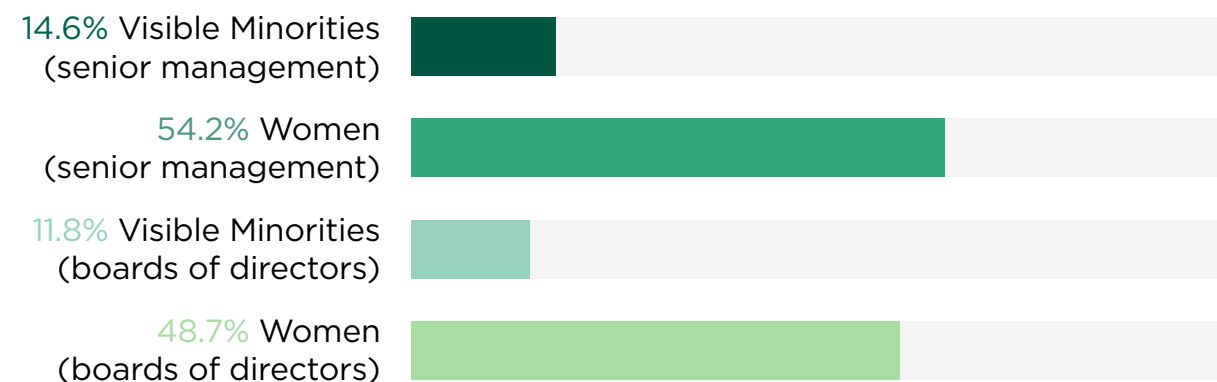
EXCL FINDINGS: VOLUNTARY BOARDS AND EXECUTIVES

We identified the 20 largest registered charities in each community based on 2015 donations totals as reported by the Canada Revenue Agency. Across the 60 organizations, 844 leaders were identified. Similar to the corporate sector, these can be divided into two sub-sectors: executive management and boards of directors. Our data include 355 individuals in senior management positions and 489 board members.

Consistent with 2014 findings, voluntary organizations tend to be the most advanced with respect to women's share of leadership positions. Looking at today's largest organizations, we found that women held 51.0% of senior leadership positions in 2016, showing no change from 2014. Women do best in terms of senior management, where they hold 52.5% of top posts; they are less well represented on Boards of Directors where they comprise 48.7% of seats. Women also continue to be better represented in Halton at 52.5%, than in Hamilton with 46.6% of leadership positions. This is consistent with 2014 performances, when 53.4% of Halton's top leadership in this sector was female, compared to 46.1% in Hamilton.

When it comes to racial diversity in this sector, visible minorities hold 12.9% of leadership positions overall. They are better represented in senior management positions, at 14.6%; while they hold just 11.8% of seats on Boards of Directors across the largest voluntary organizations. Again, visible minorities are better represented in Halton-based organizations, where they constitute 14.9% of voluntary sector leaders, compared to only 7.9% of leaders in Hamilton.

VOLUNTARY BOARDS AND EXECUTIVES SUB-SECTORS



HEALTH BOARDS AND EXECUTIVES

There are few institutions in Canada that spark stronger feelings of national identity and pride than our publicly-funded universal healthcare system (ACS, 2014). Healthcare in Canada is a public good, founded on principles of being universal, free at the point of access and equitable in its delivery. While not often thought of in terms of its representative characteristics, the healthcare sector – like other public-facing and public-serving institutions – is a place where diversity in leadership matters.

There are multiple benefits of diverse and inclusive leadership in the healthcare sector. Aligning representation in leadership to diversity in the community is an important strategic goal, enabling hospitals and health organizations to present themselves as stronger stewards of population health and health management. This helps to build perceptions of institutional credibility, and ensure higher public trust and patient satisfaction (Witt/Kieffer, 2011, 2015). Senior management and hospital board members are responsible for pivotal areas including policy-making, financial oversight, strategic planning, employee performance and evaluation, and determining hospital priorities to address patient needs (Auditor General, 2009). Diversity in hospital governance not only signals the institution's dedication to inclusivity but, importantly, influences who is working on the hospital floor, and what are institutional priorities. As in all sectors, diversity among health and hospital executives leads to more diverse insights and better decision-making, access to a wider pool of talented workers, better employee retention and morale (Simms, 2013: 394).

Diversity in leadership is also a key factor in the delivery of culturally-competent care. Cultural competence refers to health providers holding the requisite knowledge and attitudes to provide appropriate, optimal care for persons from different cultural backgrounds (Renzaho et al., 2013). Being able to interpret and understand different cultural backgrounds, perspectives and expectations, as well as the socioeconomic contexts in which particular individuals may be situated, is critical for effective healthcare communication and practice in diverse societies (McKeary & Newbold, 2010). However, while

cultural competence training is important, evidence indicates that ethnic concordance between provider and patient produces most effective results (Lie et al., 2011). Indigenous administrators, physicians, nurses are especially vital to help fill critical service gaps by for those most at risk (Marrast et al., 2014; Reede, 2003). Finally, diversity in health is linked to a broader social agenda of ensuring that service provision meets the needs of all members of society, regardless of gender, levels of ability, culture or ethnicity (Wallerstein & Duran, 2010).

Unlike the judicial and corporate sector, where government has taken some action to shape who sits at the decision-making table, we have seen no framework for promoting diversification in leadership in Ontario's public health sector. Legislative and regulatory guidelines on leadership diversity in Ontario hospitals are virtually absent. This is the case despite abundant research, as well as repeated calls from healthcare advocacy organizations on the importance of representative decision-making in public healthcare. Influential bodies such as Healthy Debate recognize the important role of diversity in health governance (2013); similarly, individual hospitals and regional health networks have also published diversity mandates espousing the benefits of diversity in senior management and Boards of Directors (e.g., Ontario Hospital Association, 2004).

36

“Being able to interpret and understand different cultural backgrounds, perspectives and expectations, as well as the socioeconomic contexts in which particular individuals may be situated, is critical for effective healthcare communication and practice in diverse societies.”

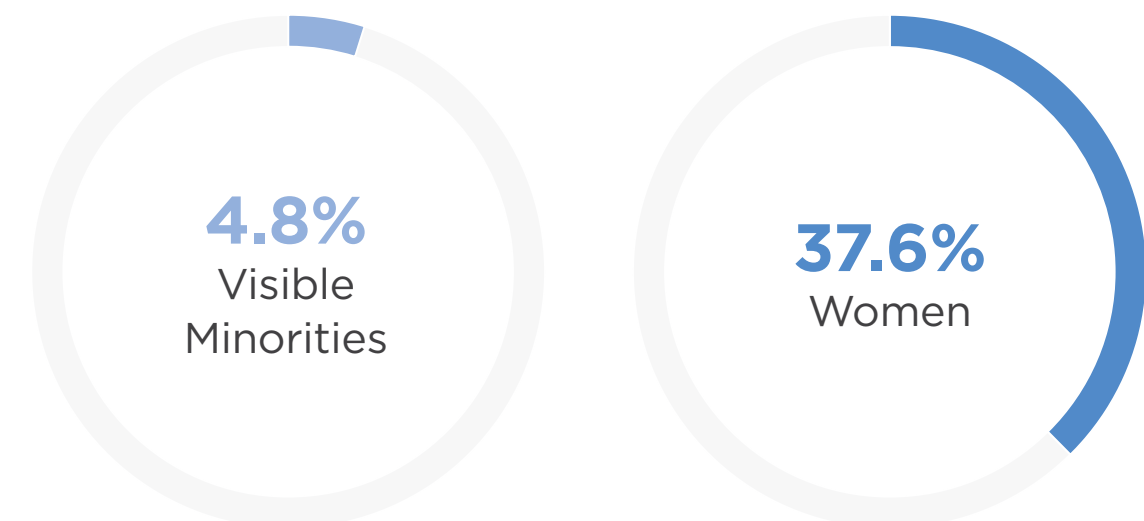
EXCL FINDINGS: HEALTH BOARDS AND EXECUTIVES

Our analysis of the healthcare sector looked at diversity among senior management teams and boards of directors of hospitals located within Hamilton and Halton. In total, the data are comprised of 109 individuals across four hospital/healthcare networks.

Across the two regions, women constitute 37.6% of top leaders in this sector. Both regions look quite similar, with 37.9% of Hamilton's and 37.3% of Halton's health leadership posts held by women. This represents a modest increase for Hamilton (up from 35.9% in 2014), and a slight decrease in women's representation for Halton (from 40.0% in 2014). Overall, women fare better in senior management (47.7%) than on Boards of Directors (30.8%). The inverse was true in 2014, when women held 35.1% of senior management and 40.4% of Board seats.

The story for racialized groups is considerably more troubling. Across the two regions, visible minorities held just 4.8% of top leadership positions in this sector. The figures are especially low in Hamilton, where visible minorities constitute just 3.6% of health sector leadership, compared to 6.3% in Halton. Breaking this down by sub-sector, we see that racialized leaders constitute 3.1% of Boards of Directors and 4.2% of senior managers in Hamilton; by comparison, they comprise 3.4% of Board members and 10.5% of senior management positions in Halton. Recall that visible minorities make up 19.0% of Hamilton's population, and 25.7% in Halton (Statistics Canada, 2017a, 2017b). The figures for health sector leadership are troubling given that the share of women and visible minorities enrolled in Canadian medical schools has actually exceeded their proportions in the population for at least 15 years (Dhalla et al., 2002).

37



UNION LEADERS

The power of unions to shape debates on inclusion was made clear on January 28, 2017, when the New York City taxi union responded to President Donald Trump's ban on immigration from Muslim-majority countries by refusing to service JFK Airport – where many of the travelers denied entry to the US were being held (Kalvapalle, 2017). Voicing opinion is not new; unions have long been at the forefront of movements centering on diversity and human rights (Briskin, 2011). Organized workers' groups have lobbied governments for changes at the sectoral and societal level, calling for increased action on issues ranging from employment equity to youth unemployment to immigration and refugee policies. These outward looking extensions of workplace-level advocacy reflect unions' origins as instruments to advance fairness and social justice.

38 **“Attitudinal perceptions among voting members, along with societal and structural barriers can inhibit women and minorities from ascending to union leadership positions.”**

Despite their highly proactive role in advancing workplace inclusiveness and broader social justice, unions face similar problems as many organizations in achieving gender-balanced and diverse leadership. Attitudinal perceptions among voting members, along with societal and structural barriers can inhibit women and minorities from ascending to union leadership positions (Kaminski & Pauly, 2012). One contributing factor is that even within the unionized workforce, women and minorities are more likely to be in lower paying and more precarious jobs, and to work multiple jobs to make ends meet.⁷ Other factors include lack of support for child and elder care, insufficient early mentoring opportunities, and the long hours demanded of union leaders. Immigrant minorities from certain countries may be less familiar with

organized labour groups (Yates, 2008; Reitz & Verma, 2004). Such factors can make it harder for women and minorities to ascend the ladder from union member, to sitting on union committees, to running for shop steward or local representative. Recent analyses of public and private sector unions in Canada confirm that union leadership does not reflect its rank-and-file membership (Hunt, 2014).

With more than 3.2 million members across Canada, unions are uniquely positioned to act as vectors for change in the transformation of workplaces into inclusive entities that recognize and celebrate difference (Seale, 2017). Unions are an especially important site for analysis because their presence and influence is cross-cutting. The presence of unions in workplaces and their connection with on-the-ground workers in areas ranging from agriculture to manufacturing to food services creates a unique and important opportunity for positive influence towards more inclusive, diverse workplaces. Aligning representation in union leadership to diversity in both the workforce and the broader community is an important strategic goal, enabling unions to present themselves as more legitimate stewards of the public interest, build wider working coalitions, and gain broader support for their advocacy efforts. It also means that union decision makers can draw on a wider range of experiences. For example, female and racialized minority leaders in this sector are likely to have experience in different employment sectors, and to have faced different kinds of work-life challenges. They are more likely to have personally experienced explicit and implicit discrimination and exclusionary practices as workers.

39

As in other sectors, having leaders who can bring this diversity of social and workplace experiences to bear improves the overall quality of deliberation and decision-making. Diversity in union leadership can help forge wider working coalitions, produce different points of emphasis in negotiation and strategic planning, and yield distinctive communication styles. Finally, the signals that union leaders send about inclusion creates an impact that has the potential to be felt across all public and private sectors in which unions are present.

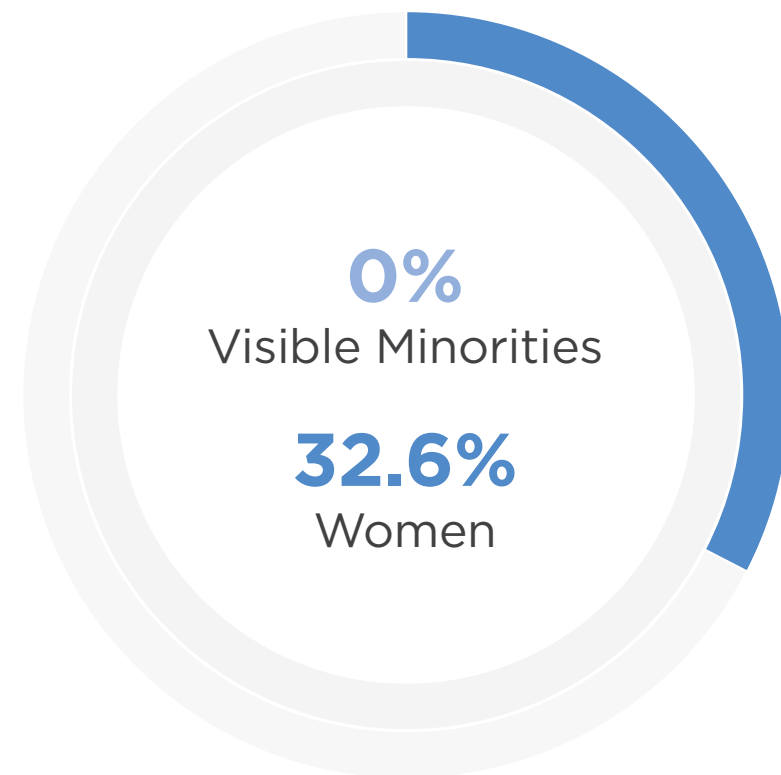
⁷ For example, in the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), Canada's largest union with over 639,000 members, women constitute 68% of membership and are twice as likely as men to be working in part-time or casual positions, to work less than 30 hours a week without benefits, and to have their work reduced (2014a). Similarly, racialized workers constitute 15% of members, are twice as likely to work casual positions compared to CUPE members overall, and face a higher likelihood of having hours of work reduced. Potentially reflecting a lack of perceived inclusion in the union, both women and racialized members are less involved in union activities (CUPE, 2014b).

EXCL FINDINGS: UNION LEADERS

Like the ABC and Legal sectors, the Union sector is marked by a lack of transparency. A dearth of publicly-available photographs of union leaders precluded a fulsome diversity analysis of this sector, with just 40.0% of union locals posting photographs.

This is troubling because unions play a key role in shaping employment practices. To lead the charge on diversity, union locals must set targets, measure progress, and employ transparent practices to signal their commitment, including publishing diversity data or at minimum, publicly available photographs of local leadership.

Our analysis includes all presidents of Hamilton-based union locals affiliated with the Hamilton and District Labour Council (HDLC). Yet due to data availability problems, just 45 union Presidents were examined in total, with less than 40% of those coded for racial status. Of those who could be coded, 32.6% of union leaders were women. This represents a slight increase from 2014, when women held 31.3% of seats. None of those who could be coded were identified as visible minorities. As was the case in 2014, Halton area-locals could not be analyzed due to a lack of publicly-available data.



AGENCIES, BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

Public agencies, boards, and commissions (ABCs) are entities established by the federal, provincial or local level of government to provide governance oversight and strategic decision making in various domains. These entities may oversee local policing (Halton Regional Police Services Board, Hamilton Police Services Board), or provide governance and strategic direction over economic, cultural or natural resources (for example, the Hamilton Port Authority, the Art Gallery of Hamilton, the Royal Botanical Gardens). They may be empowered to review evidence, resolve disputes and render quasi-judicial decisions (the Ontario Human Rights Tribunal, the Ontario Municipal Board, the Pay Equity Commission of Ontario, or the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board), or to make binding regulatory decisions regarding licensing, inspections and prosecutions of businesses in Ontario (the Financial Services Tribunal). ABCs thus play a powerful and often highly visible role in public decision-making and policy implementation, and in shaping accessibility to public goods and services. Governments appoint members of the public to these positions to ensure qualified candidates who can represent the interests and needs of all Ontarians have a voice in the direction and growth of public entities. In short, public participation on boards is central to healthy, democratic societies (Dougherty & Easton, 2011).

In light of this, it is critical that ABCs reflect the diversity of the communities they serve. Who gets appointed to ABCs by provinces and municipalities sends a strong signal regarding government commitment to equity and inclusion. This is especially important as serving on ABCs often serves as an important career stepping-stone for board members. ABC membership provides access to diverse networks of fellow board members from across sectors, critical experience in leadership and team-based skills development, and may serve as a springboard for more senior, paid or elected positions on different boards (Dougherty & Easton, 2011). Diversity in municipal and provincial appointments to ABCs also matters insofar as appointees make decisions that directly shape services, regulations, and even Ontarians' access to justice. Bringing to the table the lived experience of underrepresented groups should improve

decision-making, mitigate risk, and ultimately help ABCs to effectively fulfill their public service mandates.

In June 2016, the Province of Ontario announced a target of at least 40% women for all provincial appointments by 2019, following recommendations from Catalyst Canada (2016). This 'soft goal' parallels the 'comply or explain' approach for gender equity on boards of publicly-traded companies. Critically however, no equivalent target was set for representation of racialized communities in government appointments, nor for Aboriginal peoples or persons with disabilities – all of which are groups identified in Employment Equity legislation. Furthermore, this soft target for gender balance in ABC appointments affects only the provincially appointed members. As all of the ABCs included in this study include both provincially and municipally appointed members, the overall impact of this soft target is likely to be muted.

EXCL FINDINGS: AGENCIES, BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

42

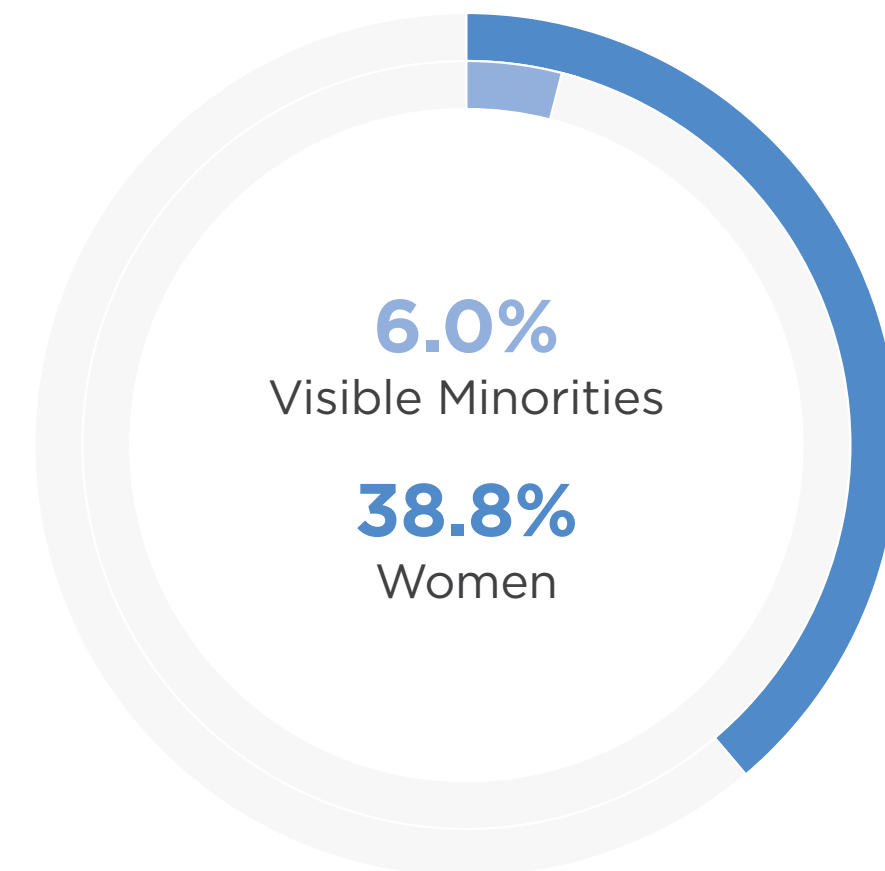
Identifying appointees to public agencies, boards and commissions involved two steps. First the Ontario Public Appointments Secretariat website was consulted to discern the names of provincially appointed members of ABCs serving entities in any of the relevant municipalities. Next, municipal and regional authority websites were consulted to discern the names of locally appointed members of ABCs. This produced a list of 212 provincial and 374 municipal appointees.

A significant challenge in this sector is the dearth of publicly available data and photos of appointees. It proved impossible to meet our 50% criteria for coding visible minority/non-VM status, as we could code just 27.4% of provincial appointments and just 20.1% of municipal appointments on this dimension. This coverage is too low to draw reliable conclusions. Nevertheless, our analysis of the available data identified just 6.0% of all ABC appointees to be members of a racialized group, or 8.6% of provincial and 4.0% of municipal appointees. This figure is well below population diversity for Hamilton and Halton (19.0% and 25.7%, respectively). That photos or demographic snapshots of ABC appointees are not publicly available is clearly problematic – both for our analysis, and for holding governments accountable with respect to diversity across public appointments.

This lack of data was less of a problem with respect to benchmarking gender diversity, given that we can usually infer sex from first names. Overall, women comprised 38.8% of ABC appointments, an increase from 36.2% in 2014. Halton slightly out-paced Hamilton on gender balance. In Halton, 41.6% of combined provincial and municipal appointees to ABCs are women (up from 37.3% in 2014); in Hamilton, women comprised 36.8% of all appointments (up from 34.8% in 2014). Disaggregating into provincially and municipally appointed members reveals that the province met its soft target, making appointments that better reflected local populations. 42.2% of provincial appointments in Hamilton and 43.7% of those in Halton were to women. In contrast just 34.9% and 36.6% of municipal appointees in Hamilton and Halton, respectively, are women.

To foster legitimacy, transparency and trust, it is critical that the province and all municipalities publish online the names, photos and relevant biographical information (e.g., community and professional experience) of appointees to public agencies, boards and commissions. Absent such information, it is impossible to benchmark progress on racialized diversity, and to hold governments accountable for their leadership appointments to this sector.

43



LEGAL SECTOR LEADERS

Legally-trained professionals fill critical roles in Canadian society, including within courts, law firms, and as in-house counsel to governments and other large organizations. Having a diverse spectrum of legal leaders in these roles ensures that there are differing perspectives, problem-solving approaches and lived experiences to drive innovation, efficiency and creativity across all areas served by the legal profession.

Diversity within the judiciary and among Crown Attorneys is an important piece in ensuring equal access to justice and increased legitimacy of judicial decision-making bodies (Griffith, 2016). Incorporating diverse perspectives – including Indigenous thinking – into the Canadian justice system can help advance innovative methods of legal problem solving and new approaches to sentencing (Tutton, 2016). A series of highly problematic decisions and legal mistakes in trials over sexual assault, as well as the overrepresentation of Black and Indigenous persons in the Canadian correctional system, have prompted calls from legal experts for greater diversity on the bench and better education for judges. The Ontario provincial government and, more recently, the federal government have taken recent steps to balance the diversity of judicial selection committees, and to provide training in unconscious bias to committee members (Government of Canada, 2016). Nevertheless, the data across Canada show that judicial appointments remain skewed towards white men. Women represent 32.5% of federal and 35.9% of provincial appointments to the bench in Ontario. Just 1.7% of federal and 7.2% of provincial appointments to Ontario courts are visible minorities (Griffith, 2016).

For private firms, being able to attract, retain and advance highly qualified female lawyers as well as licensees from racially diverse backgrounds helps ensure that they are better able to meet diverse clientele demands, connect firms to international markets, and meet clients' diversity supply chain management requirements, among other benefits (Brayley & Nguyen, 2009; Garr et al., 2014). Moreover, as the pool of diverse talent graduating from law school increases, firms must apply a diversity lens to be considered by the sector's best young graduates.

Diversity and access to legal education is also crucial, insofar as law degrees serve as springboards to careers of influence – including judges, policymakers and politicians. Further evidence lies in the fact that 17 out of 23 Canadian Prime Ministers held law degrees prior to elected office (Parliament of Canada, 2015). Recognizing the importance of diversifying the pipeline to power, the Law Society of Upper Canada has taken a variety of initiatives to support diverse students in the licensing process, and in professional development. This includes mentorship programming, as well as an Aboriginal Elders program (LSUC, 2016b). Similarly, law schools including Osgoode Hall, the University of Toronto and the University of Windsor engage in recruitment outreach to bring underrepresented populations into careers in law. Numerous sectoral associations such as “Legal Leaders for Diversity,” “A Call to Action Canada” and the “Law Firm Diversity and Inclusion Network” also advance broad-based diversity and inclusion goals in the legal profession, while others, such as the South Asian Bar Association, support targeted groups.

“Diversity within the judiciary and among Crown Attorneys is an important piece in ensuring equal access to justice and increased legitimacy of judicial decision-making bodies.”

Despite these calls to action, diversity among private firms, and even within law schools, has been difficult to assess due to resistance within the profession to demographic data collection and disclosure (Lyon & Sossin, 2014). Using census data, Michael Ornstein produced an important report for the Law Society of Upper Canada on the diversification of lawyers in Ontario (Ornstein, 2010). It showed that by 2006, women comprised over 50% of new law graduates, but only 38% of the practising bar. Members of visible minority groups accounted for only 11.5% of practicing lawyers, compared to 30.7% of all physicians, 31.7% of engineers, and 17.6% of academics. The proportion of visible minorities in law schools and among private firms remains unknown, however several Ontario law schools have recently administered a mandatory survey of the entering class to assess diversity. Both Osgoode Hall and University of Toronto Law School have done so since 2015; their findings indicate that approximately 33% of the entering class in 2016-17 identified as members of a visible minority, while 3% were Aboriginal.⁸

The recent efforts to advance racialized diversity in law schools may lead naturally to diversity in the upper echelons of the profession. However critics of the racial and gender disparities in Ontario's legal profession argue that much more needs to be done (Roderique, 2017). The most recent data collected by the Law Society of Upper Canada show that just 9.7% of female licensees are partners at law firms, compared to 23.5% of male licensee (LSUC, 2016a). Women and racialized minorities are better represented among firms with sole practitioners, working in-house, and within government. Legal graduates from diverse groups appear to be disproportionately affected by the sectoral-wide shortages in articling positions, a necessary step in the legal licensing process. The Law Practice Program (LPP) was launched in 2013 as an alternative to articling. However, many fear the LPP creates a two-tier licensing program and relegates lawyers from equity-seeking groups to unpaid internship positions and less competitive career pathways (Sperdakos, 2016; Mojtehdzadeh, 2015).

EXCL FINDINGS: LEGAL SECTOR LEADERS

46

Our analysis of the legal sector comprises top leaders within the judiciary as well as in public and private law, across both communities. Names of judges for the local courthouses of Ontario and Superior Courts of Justice were provided by each respective court; Crown and Deputy Crown Attorneys were identified using the Government of Ontario Employee and Organization Directory. To assess leadership within private firms, we began by identifying all Hamilton and Halton law firms with revenues exceeding \$1 million, using the Canadian Business Database 2015. Firm websites and local legal directories were then consulted to identify current partners. In total, 45 judicial and public leaders, along with 79 firm partners were analyzed. Most of these were in Hamilton. Because of disparities in sample size by region, analysis between Hamilton and Halton legal leadership is inconclusive.

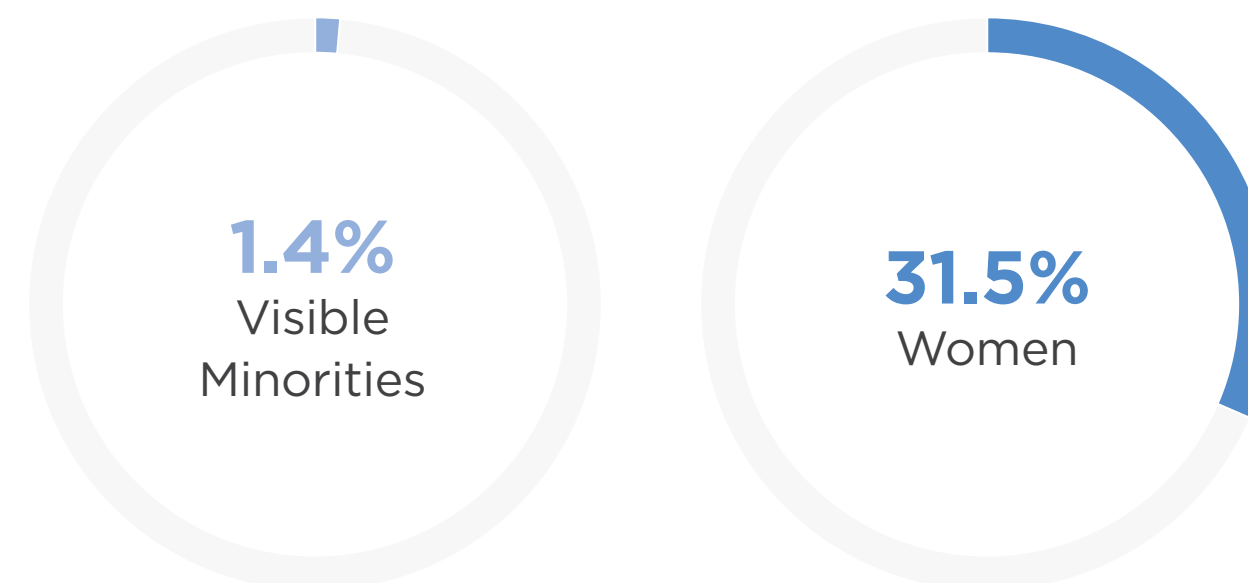
Moreover, a lack of publicly available photographs and biographical information on legal leaders in the two communities made it impossible to undertake a fulsome diversity analysis for this sector. Photographs were retrievable for just 59.7% of judicial and public legal sector leaders. This is particularly problematic as concerns the link between diverse representation and access to justice. Notably, while the federal government publicly releases data on appointees' gender, it does not release data on visible minority status. Provinces do not publish data on either category, and data are not released for Crown Attorney positions. Private law firms, for their part, presented publicly accessible photographs for 95.1% of firm partners.

Overall, women held 31.5% of judicial, public and private legal leadership positions across both communities. In Hamilton, they held 35.4% of seats, and just 17.9% in Halton. This is a shift from 28.6% and 25.0%, respectively in 2014. Overall, racialized minorities fared worse: of those who could be coded, visible minorities held just 1.4% of senior leadership positions in the legal sector. Breaking this down by region, minorities comprised 1.6% legal leaders in Hamilton and 0% in Halton. However, we have limited confidence in the validity of Halton's current figure, given the lack of available data in that community.

Looking at differences between sub-sectors, women comprised 37.5% of judgeships, down slightly from 40.5% in 2014. A startling 0% of judges and Crown Attorneys were from visible minority groups.

Private firms demonstrated a slight increase in representation with women representing 27.8% of partners, up from 24.2% in 2014. However, firms lag dramatically in representation of visible minorities, as just 1.4% of partners came from racialized groups.

47



YOUTH LEADERS

A novel aspect of this report is to examine diversity in youth leadership. Young people have innovative ideas and diverse perspectives. When they are given the right tools and opportunities to lead, they are well positioned to make positive changes in their communities. Young people can be key agents in building an innovation-based economy, addressing social problems and advancing social change. Involving diverse youth representatives on councils and boards provides critical insight into issues facing youth, is a civil society-building mechanism, and promotes youth development (Zeldin et al., 2007). And while youth engagement may not always register through traditional metrics like voter turnout (Blais & Loewen, 2011), it is clear that young Canadians are plugging in, opening up conversations, and serving their communities in many ways. As the face of innovation, entrepreneurship, and social justice, it makes sense to consider how well women and racialized minorities are represented among youth leadership today, and what this might foretell of tomorrow's senior leadership ranks.

48

“... it is clear that young Canadians are plugging in, opening up conversations, and serving their communities in many ways.”

Diversity in young Canadians' representative bodies is critically important because its effects are catalytic. *Who* is elected to high school and university councils sends early signals about who can be a leader, what leaders look like, and what characteristics - including lived experience and leadership style - constitute 'leadership.' Developing young leaders is also critical to strengthening the leadership pipeline as young Canadians gain new skills and prepare to ascend to other leadership positions. The confidence-building effects of developing early leadership characteristics are demonstrated in research (Wheeler, 2002). Building inclusive environments for *all* Canadian youth to participate and engage as leaders is thus critical, both to shape feelings of inclusion and to embolden future leaders across organizational contexts.

Glancing at Canadian youth demographics shows how critical equitable representation is: the current youth cohort is the most diverse and globally connected generation in Canada. By 2031, up to 32% of Canadians will belong to a visible minority community (Statistics Canada, 2015), while the Indigenous population is Canada's fastest growing demographic, with nearly 50% aged 25 or younger (Campion-Smith, 2013). Young people in Canada show great promise for embracing difference: youth are the cohort most likely to embrace multiculturalism, immigration and refugee inclusion (Environics, 2015). Yet experiences of exclusion persist. A recent survey of Muslims in Canada found that youth were least likely to believe that discrimination would decline over future generations (Environics, 2016). Clearing the pathway for youth from all religions, cultures and backgrounds to secure leadership positions is necessary to building a sustainably inclusive Canada. Yet unlike countries such as Australia, Canada lacks a national youth strategy to address systemic challenges faced by youth such as unemployment, especially through a diversity lens. Furthermore, a recent Toronto-based youth leadership summit identified a lack of access to culturally and linguistically appropriate development supports for minority or marginalized youth as a top barrier to achieving youth's full potential (Deloitte, 2017).

49

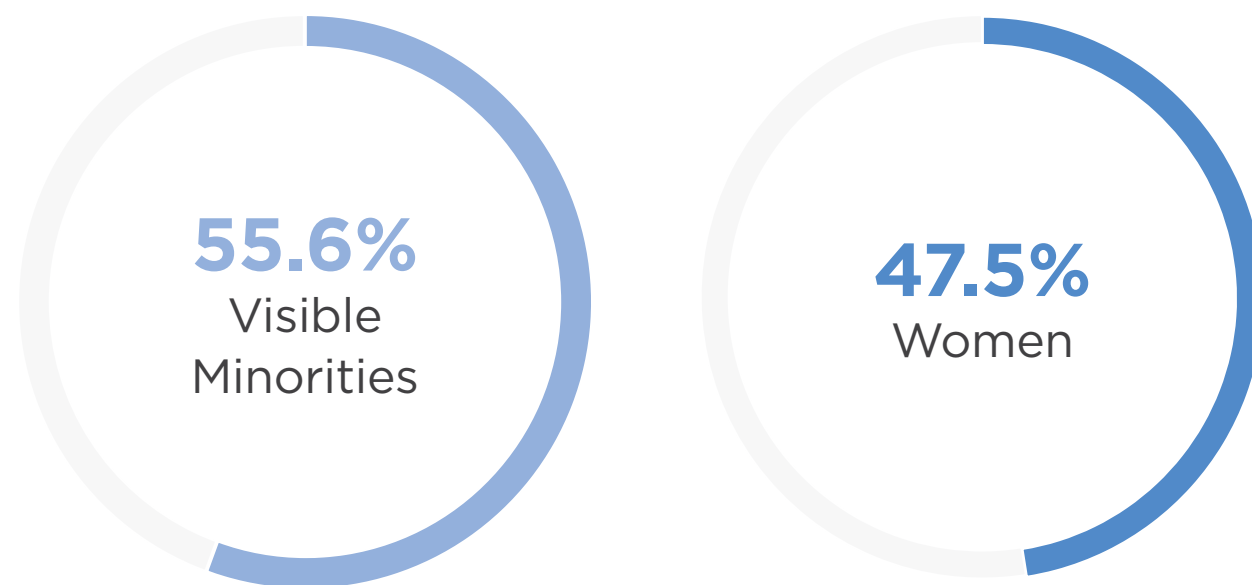
Youth demonstrate leadership in innumerable ways and contexts. They may act as peace-builders and social justice advocates organizing rallies and awareness; they may engage as community-builders learning and celebrating Aboriginal or heritage languages and customs; they may serve as youth representatives on various councils and boards. We present data on diversity across elected school councils. While this offers but a glimpse at one dimension of youth leadership, student body data provides an accessible and comparable measure of diversity in formalized leadership positions accessible to young people. Our findings indicate great promise among youth leadership, but also reveal a startling and perplexing drop-off in diversity between youth and 'senior' leadership sectors. Young women and visible minorities are fully included among school council leadership, while diversity is systematically lacking from senior leadership posts. Why is this the case? What happens between the optimism and accessibility of youth, and the years after post-secondary graduation? The research summarized in this report suggests that there are various systemic barriers, from the stubbornness of the 'think manager, think male' mindset to the more subtle unconscious biases that persist in hiring and promotion. We try to shine further light on these barriers in our short film, to illustrate how they play a substantial role in shaping opportunities to attain leadership positions.

EXCL FINDINGS: YOUTH LEADERS

We analyzed student leaders in elected positions in secondary and post-secondary schools. We coded data for 28 school presidents and student trustees from the Hamilton Wentworth Catholic School Board and the Halton District School Board (data from the Hamilton Wentworth and the Halton Catholic boards were not available), and across 42 student body presidents and vice-presidents from colleges and universities across Hamilton and Halton. Photographs were available for 77.1% of identified leaders.

Overall, youth leadership was the most inclusive of all sectors analyzed for this report. Women represented 47.5% of all student leaders, while 55.6% of all leaders were visible minorities. Interestingly, the youngest leadership cohorts analyzed had the highest levels of diversity: elected high school councils boast 47.4% women and 63.6% racialized minority leaders. Elected university councils performed similarly on gender diversity, with 47.5% women; fewer leaders (45.0%) were visible minorities, but this figure still far exceeds population levels.

50



“... consider how well women and racialized minorities are represented among youth leadership today, and what this might foretell of tomorrow’s senior leadership ranks.”

COMMUNITY ASSETS

There is great value in understanding the barriers and challenges facing members of equity seeking groups as they rise through the ranks toward leadership positions. However, focusing exclusively on the ‘negative’ side of the story does little to celebrate and strengthen the many initiatives, organizations and innovations that exist to correct historical imbalances, especially at the local level.

An asset-based approach places a resource lens over communities to examine the ecosystem of initiatives that exist across all levels to improve the outcomes and experiences of women and minorities. Popular in fields ranging from community development (Alevizou et al., 2016) to health promotion (Whiting et al., 2012), the asset-based approach can help build collaborations, trust, and new conversations. Identifying who is doing what celebrates the strengths of communities that seek to counter historic social exclusions while highlighting valuable assets and strategies (e.g., Yosso, 2005). An assets-based scan aims to support movements that challenge the inclusion of gender, religious and racial minorities in the United States, Canada and across the world.

51

To this end, a top-level scan of the Hamilton and Halton area asked: what are community-based organizations doing to open up seats for women and racialized groups at the decision-making table? A snapshot of these organizations is presented here:

Community and institutionally supported research initiatives and local reports are a key asset in Hamilton and Halton. Such reports have addressed inclusion and diversity across a multitude of sectors. For example, the [Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives](#) publishes its annual Best and Worst Places to be a Woman in Canada compilation to analyze the gaps between men and women in 25 of Canada’s largest metropolitan areas. Overall, Hamilton was ranked the 20th ‘best’ place to be a woman based on economic, education, health, leadership and security measures (McInturff, 2016). [Women 4 Change](#) investigates gender gaps in STEM education between girls and boys from elementary school to post-secondary in its community-based report, Encouraging Girls to Pursue STEM Fields in Hamilton, ON. Focusing

on Hamilton-specific challenges and experiences provides a much-needed, contextualized pathway to advancing women in STEM locally. [McMaster's Faculty of Engineering](#) runs a range of youth outreach programs focused on girls and Indigenous students, including Go CODE Girl, Go ENG Girl, an Indigenous summer camp, and an Indigenous Youth STEM Conference. The [McMaster University Faculty Research Association](#) released the Analysis of Gender Equity in MUFA Faculty Salaries report, using evidence-based strategies to identify gender pay disparities for amongst the professoriate and challenge this gender-based inequity. The analysis led to a salary adjustment of all female faculty members.

YWCA Hamilton and Workforce Planning produced a Strategic Action Plan-[Building Opportunities-Advancing Women in the Trades](#) as a toolkit for employers to assist with recruitment, retention and advancement of women in the skilled trades.

[Mentorship programs](#) catered to young females are a common strategy in Hamilton and the GTA to engage young women and encourage their pursuit of leadership in the future. Initiatives in the local education sector includes the [L.E.A.P scholarship](#) program, specifically for recruiting female high school students with the aim of boosting female enrolment in McMaster's engineering programs. In the elected sector, the City of Toronto launched the [Toronto Protégée Program](#) (formally the Toronto Regional Champion Campaign) in 2005 to rectify low-levels of female involvement in municipal government. The program selects self-identified women between the ages of 19 and 26 to shadow elected female city councillors for a six-month period. Upon attending city council meetings, committee meetings, and participating in mentorship seminars, this program aims to encourage women's (or their peer's) participation in local politics in their careers. Continuing in the sphere of electoral politics, Equal Voice recognizes the lack of gender parity in this sector, and has created the [Daughters of the Vote](#) initiative. Young women between the ages of 18 and 23 are selected from each of Canada's federal ridings to participate in a one-day leadership event in their provinces, and another three-day event on Parliament Hill (Equal Voice). [Elect More Women](#)-Status of Women Committee City of Hamilton host annual conference and education sessions designed to encourage more women to run and more volunteers to get involved in campaigns supporting women candidates. McMaster University's [Academic Women's Success and Mentorship \(AWSM\)](#) initiative brings in diverse women leaders who have achieved success in their fields to connect with and mentor students across all faculties. Women's Leadership Summit-Partnership with YWCA Hamilton and McMaster University hosts an

annual conference each fall providing opportunities to network, participate in workshops and hear empowering women speakers.

Other initiatives focus on [training and placement](#) to connect equity-seeking Hamilton and Halton residents to opportunities as well as bridge skills. [DiverseCity on Board](#) works to correct the representation imbalance by connecting highly qualified women and racialized minorities to agencies, boards and commissions seeking diverse, exceptional talent. Still others bring individuals together to [collaborate and advise](#) on key issues affecting their communities, including the [Hamilton Community Foundation's Youth Advisory Council](#), which ensures a youth perspective is brought to the Community Foundation's grant deliberations, as well as several Mayors' and regional councils in Halton. In terms of diversity goals in public sector recruitment, both Hamilton and Burlington run a [Camp FFIT](#) program to proactively advance recruitment of women in firefighting. YWCA Hamilton's [-Young Women's Advisory Council](#) group of young women and gender nonconforming people meet regularly to discuss current events and civic engagement.

Many organizations focus on advancing women in leadership specifically: the [Women of Halton Action Movement \(WHAM\)](#), [Zonta Club of Oakville](#) and [Zonta Club of Hamilton](#) are deep-rooted organizations that act as nonpartisan feminist lobbies advocating to improve women's status and a women's rights advocacy organizing championing the inclusion of professional women, respectively.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND THE WAY FORWARD

WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED

- > Women and racial minorities are slightly better represented in leadership positions in Halton, compared to Hamilton;
- > Despite some progress, women remain underrepresented in virtually all employment sectors in our two municipalities:
 - > Women are best represented in the voluntary sector, and the least represented in the corporate sector
- > Bench-marking representation of visible minorities in leadership illustrates that local leadership is severely lacking racial diversity:
 - > When looking at overall sectors, visible minorities fare particularly poorly in the legal, public, and health sectors, and perform best in the voluntary and education sectors
 - > There are important sub-sector differences in representation that are worth noting; for example, while overall representation of visible minorities in the elected sector is low at 5.3%, visible minorities perform better in federal and provincial elected positions, making up 11.1% of these leaders
- > Many organizations, firms, and employers do not collect and release information on the racial diversity of their employees and leaders. This signals a lack of commitment to addressing structural barriers encountered by racialized community members, as well as obscures the ability of researchers to capture the true severity of whiteness in leadership.

54

WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?

Ultimately, there is no one actor or segment of the population solely responsible for ensuring diversity in leadership. Flagging and eradicating barriers to inclusive leadership is a community-wide problem, and therefore demands that all levels of the community act together in response. Yet, the community-wide nature of this issue should not absolve certain actors with more resources and power to initiate change.

At the [grass-roots level](#), existing community groups and voluntary organizations already engaged in community activism and service delivery are well-situated to galvanize their members and allies to demand change. These actors are simultaneously well-equipped with knowledge of their communities' needs and pressing concerns. Using this kind of situated knowledge, organizations can continue to pressure and lobby for change in policies and laws, influencing the policy priorities and debate of elected officials.

At the [organizational engagement level](#), employers, corporations, and organizations must acknowledge and strategically rectify latent biases in workplace attitudes and culture, and more tangible biases in workplace policies, hiring practices, and promotional procedures. Employers and organizations must be transparent to the cities in which they operate by collecting and releasing up-to-date information on the demographics of their leaders as a matter of accountability to their communities. This includes maintaining statistics on mid- to upper-level management positions, and devising purposive strategies to mitigate low levels of diversity in leadership.

In particular, the [corporate sector](#) must acknowledge that it remains the most laggard in terms of diversity in leadership, and will likely need to take more onerous steps in addressing this lack of inclusivity. The current voluntary measures within the corporate sector remain toothless; because of a lack of regulatory and enforcement mechanisms, they result in uneven progress amongst the sector. While voluntary targets should not be altogether dismissed, neither should they divert our attention and energy from more ambitious mandatory programs and enforcement mechanisms, that have proven to be more effective in advancing gender-equity. Furthermore, these measures focus exclusively on inclusion of women on boards. They do nothing to encourage leadership diversification along other lines, nor do they consider potential interactions of gender with other cleavages of difference.

55

At the [governmental and public level](#), officials must continue to enact policies that mandate and monitor diversity in hiring and promotional procedures, especially where diversity is most lacking. This may include mandatory quotas for poor performing industries, since these have proven an effective mechanism at accomplishing more diversity on both corporate boards and in elected positions in other jurisdictions. Quota systems can be effective in guaranteeing qualified women and visible minorities get a seat at the table. Over time, discriminatory attitudes about women and visible minorities can be challenged and changed as their representation in leadership becomes normalized and accepted. Regulatory mechanisms may indeed be necessary to force change, and can be an important step in altering prevailing attitudes.

Governments must illustrate their commitment to diversity and inclusivity by allocating larger portions of their budgets to voluntary organizations, currently leading the way in diverse leadership. These organizations have continued to demonstrate inclusivity, being the only sector in 2014 and 2017 to achieve gender parity in leadership, while having relatively higher levels of representation of racial minorities in leadership when compared to other sectors. This relative success should be celebrated; it should act as a motivation for other sectors to embark on similar paths, and guide the way with pragmatic strategies on how to best accomplish this aim. Still, the voluntary sector remains an incomplete success story. Representation is only one of many ingredients in the complex recipe for gender and racial equity, which also requires pay equity for work of equal value and societal recognition to feminized and undervalued occupations.

Despite the necessity for action at all levels in the community, solutions should not become overly compartmentalized, inward-oriented, and unreflective. Organizations, institutions, employers, and community leaders must look for [partnerships, joint-ventures, and collaborations](#) with each other, even when these do not seem readily apparent.

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