Diversity in Leadership and Media: A Multi-Perspective Analysis of the Greater Toronto Area, 2010

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Abstract: The Greater Toronto Area (GTA) is one of the most diverse regions in the world; 42.86% of its 5,113,149 citizens are visible minorities. However, discrimination, underemployment and wage gaps persist. Organizations that promote diversity support social inclusion, while the "business case" is that diversity enables competitive advantage in the global marketplace via improved performance and access to new markets. Diverse leaders can influence the aspirations and advancement of under-represented groups, but the media largely creates society's images of leaders.

This multi-layered 2010 study examined the representation of visible minorities in senior roles in the GTA as well as in media content, to determine whether the population's diversity was reflected in its leadership and media images. It counted the number of visible minorities among 3,348 elected officials, government agencies, boards and commissions (ABCs), educational institutions, foundations and private sector organizations. It counted visible minorities among 289 media sector leaders, qualitatively assessed who constituted the media decision-makers, and counted who was represented as leaders in local news coverage. It supplemented the counts with interviews and surveys and also assessed the diversity strategies of different organizations.

Data showed that visible minorities were significantly under-represented in leadership positions, accounting for only 14% of leaders, compared to 49.5% of the general population under study. Representation ranged by sector from 22.3% (ABCs) to 4.1% (corporate) and varied by organization. In media organizations, only 4.8% of board members and executives were visible minorities. Visible minorities were also under-represented among newspaper columnists and as hosts and experts on supper time broadcasts.

The study's original contributions are its multi-perspective analysis and its recommendations for more diverse leadership including the adoption of metrics, targets, integrated policies and communication of diversity goals. News coverage also provides an opportunity for media to diversify with the identification of experts from diverse backgrounds.

Keywords: Diversity, Leadership, Representation, Media, Multi-Sector, Quantitative, Qualitative, Canada

Background

Canada's visible minority populations continue to increase. According to Statistics Canada, in 2006, Canada had over 5 million persons belonging to visible minority groups, accounting for 16% of the total population, and research indicates that by 2031, approximately three out of ten Canadians could belong to a visible minority group. Currently, in the Greater Toronto Area, visible minorities comprise approximately 40% of residents, while 44% of GTA residents were born outside of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2008). Statistics Canada researchers project that by 2031, visible minorities will comprise 63% of the population in the Toronto census area (Statistics Canada, 2010).

In such a diverse population, social inclusion is supported by organizations who hire diverse employees, but beyond equity or social imperatives, organizations are learning that diversity is crucial to success. There is a "business case" for diversity. Empirical studies show that diversity supports innovation and creativity (Slater et al., 2008). Organizations with diverse employees are more likely to generate innovative solutions (Smith, 2007). Diverse organizations have also demonstrated better product development and service (Nieburh, 2010).

Studies have also identified the social and economic benefits of diverse organizational leadership. There is a positive correlation between diverse leadership and financial performance (Conference Board of Canada, 2008; Herring, 2009). Access to global, as well as emerging local markets, may also be improved by diverse leaders (Slater et al., 2008; Miller & Triana, 2009). Diverse leaders are more likely to attract and retain the most highly skilled workforce for their organizations, and a diverse board signals an organization's commitment to its employees (Broome and Krawiec, 2008). Senior executive commitment to diversity has also been linked to reduced turnover intentions (McKay et al., 2007). Diverse leadership also has an impact by shaping the hopes and aspirations of youth (Aguirre, 2008).

While diverse leaders, in general, influence the aspirations of under-represented groups, the media in particular conveys society's images of leaders. Media representations influence identity formation among minority groups, and media representation of "experts" shapes perceptions of leadership. Positive role models send signals to visible minority youth about their opportunities (Gist, 1990; Kelly, 1998; Wilson and Gutierrez, 1985), while studies show that negative or stereotypical images can demean and marginalize under-represented groups (Mahtani, 2001). Research reveals that ethnic minorities in Canada who do not see themselves represented in the mainstream media feel marginalized (Jiwani, 1995). Other studies show that the media's depiction of certain groups through stereotypes or misrepresentation influences the wider public. Van Dijk (1987) has demonstrated that the mass media is a major source of distorted information about marginalized groups. While the interplay between the media and audiences is complicated (Jhally & Lewis, 1992), evidence suggests that "representation and reality are concepts that determine and are determined by each other" (Kelly, 1998).

In light of the research on diversity and leadership, this paper, based on a multi-layered 2010 study, examines the representation of visible minorities in the senior roles of the Greater Toronto Area's

largest and most highly visible employment sectors. It explores whether the population's diversity is reflected in its leadership.[i] Because news media organizations are uniquely influential in shaping perceptions of leadership, the paper focuses particularly on diversity among media managers and decision makers, but also representations of diversity and leadership in local newspapers and television news broadcasts. The study's original contributions are: its multi-perspective approach; its assessment of the diversity of people who make news decisions at the leading newspapers and television broadcasts in the GTA; and its systematic analysis of diversity in the content of the GTA's newspapers and news broadcasts.

Previous Research on Diversity in Canadian News Media

Research has shown that representations of individuals in the media, especially in news and other agenda-setting programs, have a major influence on concepts of inclusion and leadership. One survey found that over half of minorities felt they were either ignored or treated like foreigners in daily newspapers (Goldfarb, 1995). Such coverage negatively influences the public's ideas about who legitimately "belongs" (Bullock and Jafri, 2001).

Management and Decision-Makers

Research suggests that representation is influenced by the ownership and structure of the media. While the goals of journalism are to provide balanced, objective and impartial news coverage, decisions are nevertheless made by journalists and editors about which stories and "experts" to include or exclude (Jiwani, 1995). The cultural background and attitudes of individuals may influence their coverage of events. The extent of individual influence remains unknown. Some (e.g. Miljan and Cooper, 2003) contend that the individual backgrounds and attitudes of journalists heavily influence their coverage of the news, while others theorize that the representation of visible minorities by mainstream news media is hemmed by more systemic and structural factors. Fleras (2004) has shown that journalists are still largely bound by the dominant cultures and structures within which they operate. In general however, scholars and journalists themselves have argued that more inclusive newsrooms will lead to more inclusive, objective news coverage (Pritchard and Brzezinski, 2004).

Print News Content

Many studies have shown that Canada-wide, visible minorities are under-represented as journalists (Fleras and Kunz, 2001; Henry, 1999; Miller and Prince, 1994; Fleras, 1995; Miller, 1994; Ungerleider, 1991). In a comprehensive study of Canadian newspapers, Miller (2006) found that in 37 news rooms, visible minorities and Aboriginal persons were significantly under-represented compared to reading audiences (3.4% versus 16.7%). In another study that assessed 554 randomly selected journalists from daily and community newspapers and television and radio stations, the typical Canadian journalist was found to be white (in 97% of cases) and male (in 72% of cases) (Pritchard and Sauvageau, 1998).

Various studies have demonstrated the lack of representation, and also the misrepresentation of visible minorities in print content.

3

Many have found that visible minorities are generally under-represented in print news, and particularly in certain genres of stories. Miller and Prince (1994) examined diversity in newspaper coverage by looking at the photos and news stories published in six major Canadian newspapers. They found that, out of 2,141 photos, ethnic minorities were presented in only 420 images (19.6%). Out of 895 news stories published in those papers, only 14% featured minorities, an under-representation compared to the presence of visible minorities in the five cities where the newspapers were published (20% combined in Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal). The study also found that visible minorities were under-represented in certain genres of stories; of the 19.6% photos found to depict visible minorities, 36% were photos of athletes, while visible minorities were found to be almost invisible in business and lifestyle sections.

Some media studies have focused on the framings of visible minorities in print news; these studies have concluded that visible minorities are misrepresented or represented via stereotypes. For instance, researchers found that visible minorities were more likely to be featured in particular genres of news stories (for example, crime) that reinforce negative stereotypes (Fleras and Kunz, 2001; Henry, 1999). Ojo (2006) examined how certain groups are framed in Canadian mainstream national print media (the Globe and Mail, National Post and Toronto Sun) and reported that Blacks were often depicted as criminals, villains or victims, buffoons or "folky sitcom types," while First Nations people were represented as "primitive," "savage," "the noble savage" or "the drunken Native," among other stereotypes. Ojo also argued that certain religious and ethno-cultural groups were represented in stereotypes, with Muslims depicted as terrorists and a threat to national security, and Asian immigrants as "human cargoes" who were threatening to "legitimate" Canadians.

Television News Content

Other Canadian studies of television news have also found that visible minorities are generally under-represented. An analysis done on 329.5 hours of news programming on Canada's private television stations by the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (2004), found that visible minorities accounted for only 12.3% of all appearances of anchors/hosts for English-language news. The figure in French-language news programs was 0%. The report compared these figures to the percentage of ethnic, racial and Aboriginal groups in the population at the time, which was 19.3% in provinces outside Quebec and 7.9% in Quebec – significantly lower than the rates of representation.

Methodology

All Sectors

Though the GTA includes 25 municipalities, the research focused on those with the highest percentage of visible minorities –Toronto, Brampton, Mississauga, Markham and Richmond Hill. Together, these accounted for approximately four million people, or 72.5% of the GTA's population, 49.5% of whom are visible minorities.

The study used the definition of "visible minorities" from Canada's Employment Equity Act. Visible minorities are defined as "persons, other than Aboriginal Peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (Department of Justice Canada, 2009). This would include those who are of Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Korean, Japanese or of mixed ancestry.

The study relied mainly on published information to identify leaders and their demographic profiles. The rationale for this approach was that information in the public domain could be verified more easily than survey data. Three researchers trained in the Employment Equity definition of visible minorities independently assessed the data to establish whether subjects were visible minorities. Data were coded twice and inter-coder reliability exceeded 95%. In a few cases, data that was unavailable or ambiguous was supplemented by surveys and/or interviews.

Multi-Sectoral Analysis

Within the selected area, the multi-sectoral analysis looked at six sectors representing large, highly-visible, major employers in the GTA. In particular, it focused on elected officials, appointments to agencies, boards and commissions, and leaders in the public, corporate, voluntary and education sectors. Information on the largest for-profit corporations in the Greater Toronto Area was collected from the National Financial Post newspaper (Financial Post, 2010). Charitable organizations and foundations were selected based on revenue reported to the Canada Revenue Agency (Canada Revenue, 2008). Information on agencies, boards and commissions was collected from the Ministry of Finance. For the multi-sectoral part of the study, the project identified 3,348 leaders in these sectors in the Greater Toronto Area. The primary research question was:

- How many leaders in the GTA's large, highly-visible, major employment sectors are visible minorities?

Media Analysis

For the media sector analysis, researchers first identified leading news media on the basis of GTA readership or viewership. The following newspapers were found to be the most highly read or viewed by Greater Toronto Area residents: The Toronto Star, The Toronto Sun, The Globe and Mail and The National Post. Table 1 provides the readership for the newspapers used in the study, verified by NADBank.

Table 1: 2009 NADBank Study for Toronto CMA

Owner	Newspaper	Average Readership (Monday-Friday, 18+)
CTVGlobemedia	The Globe and Mail	406,500
Canwest	The National Post	167,800
Torstar	The Toronto Star	979,300
Quebecor	The Toronto Sun	372,300

The following programs were found to be the most watched in the GTA: CTVEvening News (Toronto), Global News Hour (Ontario), CBC News at Six (Toronto), CityNews at 6 (Toronto). The study also included The Agenda with Steve Paikin, a public affairs discussion program presented on the provincial public television network. Viewership of the television news programs was confirmed by the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement. The numbers are presented in Table 2, below.

Table 2: Personal People Meter (PPM) National Broadcast Data, broadcast year 2007-08 for Toronto Extended Market (EM)

Owner	Program	Average Audience (Monday-Friday, 2+)
CBC	CBC News at Six (CBC Toronto (CBLT))	39,800
Rogers	CityNews at Six (CityTV Ontario)	89,400
CTVGlobemedia	CTV Evening News (CTV Toronto Local (CFTO))	312,800
Canwest	News Hour (Global Ontario (CIII))	123,800
TVO	The Agenda (TVO)	50,000

Management and Decision-Makers

In order to analyze the leadership among media managers and decision-makers, first, researchers identified the companies that owned the most highly rated/read properties. These were Torstar, Quebecor Media, CBC Radio Canada, Rogers, TVO, CTVglobemedia and Canwest. Next, they identified the media's corporate leadership and the individuals who managed newsgathering and production, qualitatively assessing who constituted the content decision-makers. For print, senior corporate and business management typically included publishers, vice presidents or advertising directors. For broadcasting, leaders included presidents, corporate/national vice presidents and executives overseeing senior news personnel. For print newsroom decision-makers, leaders included the editor-in-chief, managing and executive editors, and section editors (including the most senior online editor). For broadcasters, leaders included the news director or equivalent, managing editors, executive and senior directors, and producers. In total, researchers counted a total of 289 managers and decision-makers in the media sector.

Once these lists were established, researchers used the same methodology as for the other sector analyses, relying on publicly available data and sources to analyze demographic data. To look at the diversity among managers and decision makers, researchers focused on three key questions:

- Among those serving on Canadian news media corporations' boards of directors, how many are visible minorities?

- How many visible minorities hold senior management positions at the companies?

- How many visible minorities make the major news decisions at the main print and television broadcast outlets in the GTA?

Print News Content

Next, given the critical importance of representation in the news media, the content of local newspapers and news broadcasts were analyzed. First, a sample of newspapers and broadcasts was created. A "constructed week" approach was taken, that is, a system of selecting non-consecutive days for analysis, thus minimizing the chance that ongoing coverage of any one story would distort results.

All photographs in the newspapers (excluding advertisements) were examined, for every section, for the constructed week. Columnists were identified via the pictures accompanying their writing. For the assessment of the print news, the primary research questions were:

- How many newspaper columnists are visible minorities? How many appearances do they make?

- How often do visible minorities appear in pictures, and in which sections?

Television News Content

To assess the broadcast news, anchor/hosts, on-camera reporters and all speaking sources were counted, with diversity and the genre of story noted. Speaking sources were defined as any person interviewed by a reporter, or shown and heard addressing reporters or audience, or whose identity and words were shown in a photo or footage with a released comment (often read out in voiceover by the reporter). Distinctions about certain types of speaking sources were made, with representations noted. "Expert" sources were any officials, authorities, leaders, representatives, celebrities, "heroes," or honourees who made a speaking contribution to a story and were presented positively (as an "expert"). "Experts" were distinguished from speaking sources such as witnesses, who were presented more neutrally as "affected parties." Another type of speaking source, for "Everyday Life Stories" was also identified. These sources were generally local citizens ("man on the street") asked for their opinion on weather, traffic, or other stories affecting the local population, or in local "live hit" news segments (for example, consumers at a car show, or festival-goers). This category sought to identify whether representation was appropriately diverse in stories affecting the entire population. All advertisements in the broadcasts were also excluded.

For the assessment of the broadcast content, the following research questions were asked:

- How many hosts and reporters are visible minorities? How often do they appear?

- How many speaking sources are visible minorities? To what degrees are they represented as "experts," or sources for "everyday news stories" that affect all citizens?

Results

Multi-Sectoral Analysis

The study showed that visible minorities were significantly under-represented in leadership positions across the six largest employment sectors in the Greater Toronto Area, accounting for only 14.0% of

leaders, compared to 49.5% of the general population under study. Representation ranged by sector from 22.3% (agencies, boards and commissions) to 4.1% (corporate). The percentage of visible minority leaders among education leaders was 19.9%. Among elected officials, 15.4% were visible minorities. The voluntary sector had 12.5% visible minorities. The public sector had 9.4% visible minority leaders. Table 3 presents these findings.

Table 3: Summary Data: Visible Minorities in Leadership

Sector Summary	Visible Minority Sector Average 2010
Elected Officials	15.4%
Public Sector	9.4%
Corporate Sector	4.1%
Voluntary Sector	12.5%
Education Sector	19.9%
Government ABCs	22.3%
Total Leaders Analyzed	14.0%

Media Analysis

Management and Decision-Makers

In the media organizations in general, visible minorities were found to be under-represented. Of the 289 leaders examined, there were only 14, or 4.8% visible minorities. In total, of 66 board members, only four (6.1%) were visible minorities. Only five of 138 senior managers (3.6%) were visible minorities. Only five of 85 newsroom decision makers (5.9%), were visible minorities. Table 4 presents these findings.

Table 4: Rates of Visible Minority Leadership Among Media Decision Makers

Category	Number Analyzed	# of Visible Minority Leaders	% Visible Minority Leaders
Boards of Directors	66	4	6.1%
Newsroom Editors and Producers	85	5	5.9%
Senior Management	138	5	3.6%
Total Leaders Analyzed	289	14	4.8%

Rates of diversity also varied by organization. Among the executive groups considered, a large majority (82.4%) had no visible minorities. Three out of four of the visible minority individuals identified as board members were found to be on the same board. Five out of seven boards had no visible minorities.

There were also more visible minority decision makers in broadcasting (14.3%), than in print (3.2%). For print media, three out of four newsrooms (75%) had no visible minority decision makers; for broadcast, two of five (40%) had no visible minority decision makers. In general, the broadcast companies analyzed in the study had slightly higher levels of visible minority representation. Notably, broadcasters are

federally regulated to file reports under Canada's employment equity legislation as a condition of their licenses.

Print News Content

For the analysis of print media, the study analyzed both the number of news columns that appeared during the constructed week (with some columnists appearing more than once), and the number of individual columnists, by section.

The study revealed that visible minorities are seriously under-represented in appearances as columnists across all sections. Coders counted 471 columns that appeared during the constructed week. Of these, a total of 16 (3.4%) columns were written by visible minority columnists. The News sections had the greatest percentage of visible minority columnist appearances: 9 columns authored by visible minority individuals appeared among 146 news columns (in 6.2% of cases). In the Arts and Entertainment sections, 3 columns by visible minorities appeared, out of 52 columns (5.8% of cases). In the Life sections, 3 columns appeared, out of 102 columns (2.9%). One column by a visible minority commentator appeared in the Business section, out of 64 columns (1.6%). There were no columns written by visible minority columnists in any of the Sports sections.

Rates of diversity among columnists were low. In total, there were only 10 visible minority columnists among 282 individuals. The News sections had the highest number of visible minority columnists; 7 out of 84, or 8.3% columnists were visible minorities. Among 33 Arts and Entertainment columnists, there was one visible minority (3.0%). There was one visible minority columnist writing in a Business section, out of 46 columnists (2.2%). Among the Life sections' 75 columnists, there was also one visible minority (1.3%). Table 5 presents these findings.

Table 5: Columns and Columnists by Section

Section	Total columns	Total VM columns	% with VMs	Total columnists	Total VM columnists	% with VMs
News	146	9	6.2%	84	7	8.3%
Sports	107	0	0%	44	0	0%
Business	64	1	1.6%	46	1	2.2%
Life	102	3	2.9%	75	1	1.3%
Arts & Entertainment	52	3	5.8%	33	1	3.0%
Total	471	16	3.4%	282	10	3.5%

Visible minorities were also generally under-represented in newspaper photos, appearing on the front page only once out of the six sampled days. Of the 2,036 newspaper photos analyzed, 476 (23.4%) depicted visible minorities. Echoing Miller and Prince's 1994 study, the Business section had the lowest number of images of visible minorities; visible minorities appeared in only 27 out of 211 (12.8%) photographs during the constructed week. Also echoing Miller and Prince's study, visible minorities

were observed most often depicted as athletes. The Sports section had the highest percentage of photos representing visible minorities - 131 out of 433 (30.3%). Visible minorities appeared in News sections in 211 out of 746 photos (28.3%); Life sections in 43 out of 239 photos (18%); and Arts and Entertainment sections in 64 out of 407 photos (15.7%). These findings are presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Print photos by Section

Section	Total photos showing people	Total photos showing VMs	% with VMs
News	746	211	28.3%
Sports	433	131	30.3%
Business	211	27	12.8%
Life	239	43	18.0%
Arts & Entertainment	407	64	15.7%
Total	2036	476	23.4%

The research also yielded data about the qualitative nature of representations; visible minorities were rarely shown as leaders. Most typically, white males were pictured as leaders, for example, as CEOs of companies. Visible minorities were also rarely seen in "Life" stock photography. Local Life sections generally showed white people in the stock or discretionary photos used to accompany stories (e.g. people doing yoga, using technology, shots of babies etc.).

Television News Content

For the analysis of broadcast hosts and reporters, the study counted both individuals, as well as appearances. In general, visible minorities were under-represented as hosts and reporters. Of 11 individual hosts counted during the constructed week, one individual was a visible minority (9.1%). Of 98 individual reporters, 25 (25.5%) were visible minority individuals. In total, there were 26 visible minority hosts and reporters out of 109 individuals counted (a rate of 23.9%).

During the constructed week, 11 hosts made 42 appearances. Of these appearances, there were two appearances by a visible minority host (a rate of 4.8%). There were 244 reporter appearances, 56 of which were appearances by visible minorities (22.5%). In total, visible minority hosts and reporters made 58 appearances out of 286 total host and reporter appearances, a rate of 20.3%. Table 7 presents these findings.

Table 7: Broadcasting Hosts and Reporters

Broadcasting Hosts and Reporters	Total Number	Total VM Number	% VM Number	Total Number of Appearances	Total VM Appearances	% VM Appearances
Hosts	11	1	9.1%	42	2	4.8%
Reporters	98	25	25.5%	244	56	22.5%
Total	109	26	23.9%	286	58	20.3%

Visible minorities are also under-represented as speaking sources in general, but particularly as "expert" speaking sources, compared to the general public. During the constructed week of news, 896 speaking sources were identified. Of these sources, 146, or 16.3%, were visible minorities. Of 200 "Everyday Life Story" speaking sources, 46, or 23.0% were visible minorities. The data showed that visible minorities were less often presented as "leader/experts." Of a total of 343 "expert" speaking sources, only 57, or 16.6%, were visible minorities. This was approximately the same percentage as the total number of visible minority speaking sources, but a much lower percentage than the population under study (almost 50%). Table 8 presents this data.

Table 8: Speaking Sources

Speaking Sources	Total Number	Total VM Number	% VM Number
Expert Speaking Sources	343	57	16.6%
Everyday Life Story Speaking Sources	200	46	23.0%
Other*	353	43	12.2%
Total	896	146	16.3%

*Those that were not categorized as either experts or everyday life story speakers, e.g. witnesses, victims of crime.

It was also observed that non-speaking images, or stock footage of people in "Everyday Life Stories," were typically non-diverse. As in the print news, background and stock images used to illustrate health, local consumer and lifestyle stories usually depicted white people. For example, a consumer/health story about preventing illness while on vacation only showed images of white people at airports and vacation destinations (an estimated 12 consecutive shots), or in background images behind data presentation.

Conclusions

This study demonstrated that in the Greater Toronto Region, visible minorities remain seriously under-represented among the leaders of the six largest employment sectors. The multi-sectoral part of the study revealed that of a total of 3348 GTA leaders, only 469 (14%) were visible minorities, a percentage that is much lower than the population under study (49.5%).

It is essential that the media reflects the contributions of visible minorities, and visible minority leaders. Presenting diverse voices and leadership promotes inclusion, promotes a sense of belonging, and shapes the hopes of visible minority youth (Gist, 1990; Kelly, 1998; Wilson and Gutierrez, 1985).

Yet, this study's analysis of media leadership and content demonstrates a significant under-representation of visible minorities. Visible minorities are under-represented among news managers and decision makers, with only 4.8% of media leaders identified as visible minorities. In print, visible minorities are under-represented among columnists, experts and in photographs. Visible minorities are also under-represented as hosts and reporters, as experts and in background, "everyday," stock images on the supper time broadcast news. Under-representation has negative effects on the groups who do not see themselves represented (Jiwani, 1995).

Recommendations for more diverse leadership in general including the adoption of metrics, targets, integrated policies and the communication of diversity goals. The business case for diversity should be adopted. Leaders must recognize that effective leadership comes from the top, to enhance the visibility of diverse initiatives. Organizations must introduce metrics: what gets measured gets done. Regular "diversity audits" should benchmark and measure progress, and the sharing of results is an effective strategy for accountability. Targets should be set, to guide strategies. The pipeline should also be developed; organizations can consider diversity in establishing internships with professional schools. Human resources practices, including diversity training, should be encouraged. Organizations should also communicate, to influence. Transparency is also crucial; results should be disseminated annually to staff and shareholders. Diverse initiatives should be mainstreamed - thoughout all operations and processes.

While overnight changes in leadership may be constrained by some systemic and economic realities, some issues in media representation may be easier to address. This study suggests that there may be simple ways that media might diversify news content, by, for example, updating stock photography, identifying more experts from diverse backgrounds, and generally acknowledging how diversity can strengthen journalism. Ethnic media may also provide new opportunities to improve representation, by providing an economic opportunity for mainstream media to reach new readers or viewers. For instance, news coverage might be diversified by accessing the stories from ethno-cultural media. As the Greater Toronto Area's visible minority populations continue to increase, diversity is central to the region's social and economic success.

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13

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