THE WOMEN & DIVERSITY

EXCLerator PROJECT

WOMEN IN EXECUTIVE AND COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP IN HAMILTON AND HALTON 2014

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About the Project

The Women & Diversity EXCLerator Project is the first of its kind to present a comprehensive overview of women's representation in senior leadership positions in Hamilton and Halton's most prominent organizations. This report analyzes women in leadership across nine sectors, and provides an essential first benchmark against which future progress may be measured.

Why Women in Leadership?

Ensuring women are proportionately represented at the decision-making table makes sense from a social and business perspective. Fair representation of women in top positions impacts organizations' policy choices, improves their ability to serve communities, increases innovation and creativity in problem solving, and advances perceptions of institutional legitimacy.

However, women remain underrepresented in all forms of leadership. For our communities to make progress in gender equity, we must first recognize that women still face substantive barriers to achieving leadership positions, and then set goals, devise purposive strategies, and measure changes in inclusivity over time.

By drawing on a proven methodology used in similar studies in Toronto and Montreal (Cukier et al., 2012, 2013, 2014), the Women & Diversity EXCLerator Project provides results that can be measured against our communities' own populations, as well in relation to other Canadian cities.

This report is the first in the EXCLerator Project series. The Project will continue to collect and analyze data on women in Hamilton and Halton's top organizational and leadership positions.

INTRODUCTION

PROJECT OVERVIEW

This is the first in a series of reports on gender and ethnic diversity among senior leadership positions in the City of Hamilton and the Halton Regional Municipality. The report is part of the broader **Women & Diversity EXCLerator Project** initiated by the YWCA-Hamilton and McMaster University. The goal of this project is to produce comprehensive and on-going data and analyses of the representation of women and racialized persons among senior executive and community leadership across the City of Hamilton the Halton Regional Municipality. These data and analyses are intended to shine a spotlight on the level of inclusiveness of institutions across the private and public sectors, and to develop recommendations for change based on that evidence. The project looks at representation among senior leadership in nine sectors: the elected, public, corporate, voluntary, education, health, union, and legal sectors, as well as appointments to agencies boards and commissions (ABCs) across the two municipalities. The present report focuses exclusively on women's representation, and is based on data collected in 2014.

Census data can tell us a great deal about the diversity of our broader communities. However, we have less knowledge about who are the leaders of these communities, who sits at the helm of our major public

institutions and private corporations, who holds the levers of power and makes the vital decisions that affect the well being of us all. This report is a first step in understanding the composition of leadership and its implications for our community. It establishes a baseline for comparison so that we may measure improvements in inclusivity and assess the speed of change over time. While this is the first measure of inclusiveness in executive and community leadership in Hamilton and Halton, it is not the first study of its kind. Another baseline for comparison has been developed through the Diversity Leads reports, which provide a perspective on the representation of women and racialized persons in senior leadership roles in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), Montreal and Vancouver. By replicating the methods developed in the Diversity Leads reports, we will be able to compare the representation of women and racialized persons among senior leadership in Hamilton and Halton to those larger communities.

This report analyzes the representation of women as an analytical category. However, barriers may be compounded at the intersection of gender and other identities subject to discrimination and oppression, including race, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, and citizenship status. While it is not within the scope of this report to examine the impact of these factors, further research is needed to understand the distinct and specific experiences of racialized women, Aboriginal women, women with disabilities,

and women who have migrated to Canada, among others.

THE BENEFITS OF DIVERSITY IN LEADERSHIP

The equal representation of gender and diversity in our institutions and among senior leadership is important for two basic reasons — because it's fair and perceived as fair, and because the chances are good that it will help those institutions and our society function better.

Equitable representation is important because it sends a message about the **fairness** of our society and our institutions. The leadership of our communities reflects who we are, and says much about the openness of important institutions and organizations within our communities. It sends a message to society about what role various kinds of people can play in leadership and decision-making. It makes a statement about role models and about legitimacy. Lack of inclusiveness sends a particular message to the members of excluded or underrepresented groups, signalling that they are less welcome or less qualified, and perhaps discouraging them at the outset from seeking leadership opportunities. On the other hand, the inclusion of previously marginalized groups in leadership roles can improve the socially constructed image or meaning of those groups.

Fairness also implies **equality of opportunity**. Women and racialized persons in Canada

have experienced deliberate discrimination and exclusion at various points in history. For example, it was not until the federal election of 1921 that Canadian women had the right to vote at the national level. Chinese and Indo-Canadian citizens, whether male or female, were not granted franchise until 1947. And under federal law, Aboriginal women covered by the Indian Act could not vote for band councils until 1951 or in federal elections until 1960. While this kind of formal exclusion no longer exists, there are nevertheless persistent differences in the opportunities enjoyed by different groups. For example, today, almost a century after women were enfranchised, women still comprise no more than one-quarter of elected members of Parliament. Similarly, while more than half of law school graduates today are female, women comprise only 38% of the practising bar in Ontario. Some of the gap in gender equality in various fields may be a result of individual choices. However, formal and informal rules within various institutions, as well as culture and socio-economic structures, can also delimit the opportunities available to women and racialized minorities across different fields. Barriers that women and minorities encounter make it less likely that they will enter or stay in certain fields, or be able to advance to leadership positions commensurate with their skills and capabilities.

The opportunity to achieve leadership positions is also a matter of **pay equity**. Occupational segregation accounts for the majority of the gendered wage gap. In this respect, it is women's broader marginalization from fields like law, business, or careers in science, technology, engineering,

mathematics and computing (STEM) – where employees tend to be better paid and enjoy more job security than do other workers – that prevents women as a group from achieving full economic empowerment. At the same time, there is consistent evidence that women tend to be paid less than their male counterparts working in the same field, and that these differences persist even after controlling for factors like age differences, employee seniority, and numbers of hours worked. For example, the Ornstein Study shows that there is a significant and persistent gender gap in earnings among Ontario lawyers. After controlling for number of hours worked and region of employment, it found that female lawyers at around age 40 earn approximately 75% of the mean income of men of the same age, with the income differential growing among older age cohorts (Ornstein, 2010, p. 35).

Finally, there are questions of **personal fairness**. For example, research shows that even when women are acknowledged as successful in arenas that are considered male in character, they tend to be less well liked and more personally derogated than are equivalently successful men. Being disliked can affect career outcomes, leading to lower evaluations and less access to promotions and other organizational rewards.

The diversity and inclusiveness of our leaders also speaks to the decisions that are made and implemented that affect all members of the community. There is a growing body of research that highlights the benefits of workplace and leadership diversity not just in terms of fairness, but also in terms of **better decision-making and organizational performance, and greater institutional legitimacy.**

One set of arguments in this vein highlights the **business case** for diversity. Having more women and minorities in the workplace and in firm leadership has been shown to increase creativity and innovation, and to improve organizational and financial performance. Workplace diversity helps firms to be better connected to domestic and global markets and to recruit from domestic and global labour pools. Firms that are committed to gender equity have a wide range of programs aimed at reducing the challenges of balancing work and family obligations. These programs benefit both men and women, and lead to higher rates of employee satisfaction and lower rates of attrition. Attrition is costly to both firms and employees who leave. Employers incur significant costs in hiring and developing new talent. Turnover also implies high costs due to missed contributions of experienced employees, instability of departments or teams, disruptions to trusted relationships between firms and clients, and loss of proficiency. For employees, leaving also carries personal and economic costs. It interrupts individuals' lives in the short term, and may have long-term consequences in terms of career advancement and earnings.

Another set of arguments concerns **social and technological innovation**. In particular, the STEM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics and computing) fields are considered key to social innovation, economic productivity, and general prosperity. Experts in these fields are working to solve some of the most vexing challenges of our time — finding cures for diseases like cancer, tackling global warming, providing people with clean

drinking water, developing renewable energy sources. Yet there is evidence that when women are underrepresented in these fields, the needs, experiences and daily problems facing women tend to be overlooked. For instance, a predominantly male group of engineers tailored the first generation of automotive airbags to adult male bodies, resulting in avoidable deaths for women and children (Margolis & Fisher, 2002, pp. 2–3). With a more diverse workforce, the direction of scientific inquiry will be guided by a broader array of experiences. In turn, scientific and technological products, services, and solutions are likely to be better designed and more likely to represent all users.

Research in the area of politics and law points to the benefits of diversity for **better deliberation and decision-making and greater trust in political and legal institutions**. Having a more diverse judicial body is better insofar as it brings distinctive life experiences to the bench. Without a diversity of backgrounds and life experiences, there may be a systematic failure by the courts to assess certain claims as plausible. Furthermore, there may be less than complete trust, particularly among women and racialized persons, in a system composed exclusively or predominantly white men. In politics as well, greater diversity amongst an elected body allows for the expression of a wider range of ideas in the course of deliberation among legislators. There is evidence that male and female legislators tend to espouse different policy priorities, and that the presence of more female legislators can lead to changes in political discourse, and shifts in parliamentary practices such as working hours. Likewise, there is evidence that ethnic and racial minority legislators are more responsive to the interests and preferences of minority constituents. Researchers in the U.S. have also shown that Black and Latino voters are more trusting of elected officials who share their racial background, and are more likely to when

residing in states with a higher percentage of black or Latino lawmakers.

PROJECT SCOPE & METHODOLOGY

In this report, we provide a summary of our findings on women's representation among senior leadership positions in the City of Hamilton and the Halton Regional Municipality as of 2014. To compile this report, we have identified and recorded gender data for 2,565 leaders across nine sectors using publicly available data including photographs, names, and biographies. Three trained researchers identified the gender of the selected leaders based on available information. To ensure accuracy and inter-coder reliability, all analyzed leadership data (e.g., the names, photographs, and gender codes of a senior management team) were checked by two researchers. A third researcher then checked 10% of all analyzed biographic data to ensure accuracy of identified names and organizations.

This methodology was developed in Cukier *et al*. 2012 's *Diversity Leads: Women in Senior Leadership Positions in the Greater Toronto Area,* and has been applied in Greater Montreal (Cukier *et al.*, 2013) and again in the Greater Toronto Area (Cukier *et al.*, 2014). The use of publicly available data in broad analyses of gender representation has been acknowledged for its ability to produce rigorous and credible data by the Ontario Human Rights Commission (2010). Using this methodology in the Women & Diversity EXCLerator Project also facilitates comparison

between Hamilton, Halton, Toronto, and Montreal.

Hamilton and Halton are adjacent communities of relatively similar population size. Hamilton's population is 519,950, while Halton Region (including the municipalities of Burlington, Oakville, and Milton) has a total population of 495,440. In addition to their size and geographic proximity, Hamilton and Halton are roughly comparable in terms of their overall socio-demographic profiles. According to the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS), women account for 51.2% and 51.3% of the population of Hamilton and Halton, respectively. The population of Halton is slightly more diverse in ethnoracial composition, with visible minorities comprising 18.1% of the populace, compared to 15.7% in Hamilton. However diversity in both communities is lower than in Ontario overall, as 22.8% of the province's population are racialized persons. Halton's median household income (before tax) of $91,955 compared to $60,259 in Hamilton. On average, persons in Halton are more likely to attain post-secondary education: 37.6% of residents aged 25-65 hold a university degree (at bachelor level or higher), compared to 22.4% in Hamilton.

Located just outside of the GTA, Hamilton and Halton are not included in the scope of the studies undertaken by the Diversity Leads project (Cukier *et al*., 2012, 2014). While the diversity of senior leadership in Hamilton and Halton can of course be compared that of the GTA, we must keep in mind that the former communities are considerably smaller. This presents certain limitations to the scope of our analysis, as well as some opportunities. One limitation is that we do not report fine-grained subsector details where the sample size is less than 10. For example, this prevents us from describing the gender composition of school board directors (of whom there are only 4); we instead report the results for all senior school board management including directors and superintendents, where the numbers are more robust. In this respect, not all subsector results we report may be directly comparable with results reported for the larger regions examined by the Diversity Leads project. At the same time, the smaller size of our communities provides an opportunity to probe across a wider range of leadership areas that those covered by the Diversity Leads project. The health sector now makes up the largest employer in Hamilton, and so it seemed important to examine the diversity of senior leadership in this area. The organized labour sector is also one that has been important to the history and identity of Hamilton, and thus was added to the analysis.

Differences in the scale of communities also raises the question whether there might be different barriers to access. In smaller populations such as Hamilton and Halton, persons from underrepresented groups may face additional barriers when vying for top positions. While research indicates that social and business networking is often critical to climbing the organizational ladder (e.g., Linehan & Scullion, 2008), there are often high barriers to entry in areas with firmly established networks or 'old boys clubs' (McDonald, 2011). Without targeted efforts to include minority groups in such networks and a commitment to diversifying representation, leadership may remain largely homogenous. Such homogeneity may be self-enforcing by creating a role model vacuum

and impacting the leadership aspirations of underrepresented groups, including women.

Examining the qualifications of women in the leadership pipeline provides evidence-based justifications for questioning why women are not holding top leadership positions. For example, in Hamilton, women hold 56.7% of bachelor and 52.6% of graduate degrees; in Halton, these proportions are 53.3% and 49.8%, respectively (Statistics Canada, 2011a, 2011b). Yet as this report indicates, despite women attaining higher or nearly at-par levels of education, men outnumber women in senior leadership positions across all sectors except the voluntary sector. While education is but one indicator of leadership preparedness, this discrepancy suggests that women's underrepresentation cannot be attributed to individual characteristics, and is indicative of greater systemic issues impacting women's advancement opportunities.

Advancing women to leadership positions requires targeted efforts on part of organizations, including strong commitment from actors of influence such as government. Local governments analyzed in the EXCLerator Project exhibited varying degrees of public commitment to advancing diverse groups generally or women in particular. For example, Hamilton funds a Status of Women Committee as an advisory body, while the HRM has a Diversity Advisory Committee that works to enhance awareness and understanding of diversity issues, access and inclusivity. Burlington and Oakville advertise hiring mandates that value diversity and aim for equitable representation, while Hamilton signals that it is an equal opportunity employer that is committed to inclusive, barrier-free recruitment and selection processes. Iimportantly, the HRM and the City of Hamilton are the only two governments analyzed to employ a person in a Diversity Advisor or Access and Equity role. Grassroots groups that advocate for women's advancement are also active in all municipalities, playing an important role shaping public awareness of issues that continue to face women and lobbying for systemic change.

STUDY RESULTS

Women are underrepresented in senior leadership positions across eight of the nine sectors analysed in both Hamilton and Halton.

Table 1: Representation of Women in Senior Leadership Positions by Sector, 2014.

SECTOR (2014)	OVERALL AVERAGE	HAMILTON AVERAGE	HALTON AVERAGE
Elected officials	35.1%	33.3%	36.4%
Agencies, Boards and Commissions (ABCs)	37.1%	28.7%	40.8%
Education boards and executives	36.1%	38.6%	29.8%
Health boards and executives	37.7%	35.9%	40.0%
Public sector executives	36.2%	34.8%	37.3%
Corporate boards and executives	17.8%	19.0%	17.2%
Voluntary boards and executives	51.0%	46.1%	53.4%
Union leaders	35.7	31.3%	N/A
Legal sector leaders	28.0%	28.6%	25.0%
TOTAL	36.1%	34.9%	38.6%

ELECTED OFFICIALS

Overview

The presence of women, racialized persons, and other marginalized groups in elected office is considered by many political scientists and democratic theorists to be an important measure of the inclusiveness of democratic political processes. Those who study this issue present a number of reasons why the "politics of presence" matters (Phillips, 1995; Mansbridge, 1999; Williams, 1998). First, there appear to be direct advantages for democracy. More diverse representation among elected members can enhance the quality of deliberation by bringing new perspectives to bear in the course of legislative debate. It can also strengthen vertical linkages of trust and communication between legislators and constituents, for example making it more likely that a citizen will contact their representative, thus helping them feel more connected to the political process and more satisfied that their perspectives and interests are being accounted for. This, in turn, can bolster the overall legitimacy of the polity, and reduce tensions and strains that might be expressed through less democratic, and potentially more violent behaviour. For example, there is evidence that the lack of racial diversity among the political class in France has contributed to intense feelings of exclusion among ethnic minority and immigrant-origin youth, which boiled over into violent protest and wide-scale rioting in many urban centres in 2004 (Murray, 2006; Geisser & Soum, 2012). Finally, the presence of women and minorities at the pinnacle of political leadership can help to dispel cultural

and gender stereotypes. It can improve the socially constructed image or meaning of groups that have heretofore been excluded or marginalized from positions of leadership and power, and can provide important role models for the next generation.

Second, researchers have found substantive differences in policy outcomes where more women or minorities are elected of office. Women and minority legislators can play a critical role by reaching out to other legislative allies who may not be aware of the intricacies of a policy issues, but may have the political will to push for a given policy. Female legislators have been shown to espouse different policy priorities compared to men (Thomas & Welch, 1991; Swers, 1998), and are likely to propose bills that address issues of concern to women (Bratton & Ray, 2001; Childs, 2004). Women's presence in legislatures can lead to changes in political discourse and the civility of the political arena (Grey, 2002). Having more elected women has also led to shifts in parliamentary practices and working hours, in some instances (Skjeie, 1991). Part of these effects may also be related to the tendency of left-wing parties to elect more women (Tremblay & Pelletier, 2000).

In Canada, women remain substantially underrepresented at all levels of elected office. At the federal level, the number of female MPs remained under 10% until 1988. It has risen slowly to around 21 to 22%, topping out at just under 25% in the 2011 elections. Yet Canada has fallen sharply behind other countries in rates of female representation. Ranked 21st in the world for women's representation in national parliament in 1997, by 2014 Canada had slipped to 55th place (IPU, 2014). Rising rates

of women's representation worldwide owe much to the adoption of gender quotas (Krook, 2009). There is also strong evidence that women do better in electoral systems where voters choose among multi-candidate lists and seats are assigned based on proportional representation, rather than in first-past-the-post systems where candidates face off in single-member districts (Matland, 2005; Norris, 2004, 2006; Rule, 1994; Tremblay, 2005). While the NDP and Liberal parties have adopted informal party quotas for female candidates, there is little taste for statutory electoral quotas in Canada. Nor has there been much support for electoral reform, despite evidence that a shift to a PR or mixed-member proportional system would be advantageous for women (Arsenault, 1997; Studlar, 1999).

A common assumption is that there should be fewer barriers to diversity in elected office at the municipal level in Canada. For instance, in Ontario cities (as in most other Canadian provinces), a person can enter a municipal contest directly without having to first secure a party nomination and without an extensive political résumé. Electoral wards are typically small, which makes campaigns for municipal office less costly. Finally, election to municipal council does not impose the hardships of travel and absence from family experienced by elected members at the federal and provincial level, thus making it a potentially viable option for a wider range of the population. In fact, the evidence shows that the proportion of women in elected office is no better at the municipal level (Tolley, 2011), while visible minority representation in local politics is substantially lower than at the federal or provincial levels (Andrew *et al*., 2008; Siemiatycki, 2011; Bird, 2014). There

are several reasons why the municipal level of government does not stand out for greater representation of women and visible minorities. One is the longstanding power of incumbency and low rate of turnover in municipal politics. Another is the dramatically reduced number of seats available due to recent municipal amalgamations in various cities (e.g., Hamilton, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal). Another factor at play has been the renewed effort of federal and provincial parties to run female and minority candidates.

Extensive research shows that when women run for office in competitive ridings, they perform just as well as men. The main barriers are thus present not at the electoral stage, but rather at the candidate nomination stage. Women are less likely than men to be recruited to run for office, or to be nominated to winnable ridings (Matland, 2005; Norris & Lovenduski, 1995). Women may also be less willing than men to be willing to endure the rigours of a political campaign. They are less likely than men to have the freedom to reconcile work and family obligations with a political career. They are less likely than men to think they are "qualified" to run for office. And they are less likely than men to perceive a fair political environment (Lawless & Fox, 2008).

Findings

Members of municipal and regional councils, federal Members of Parliament, Members of Provincial Parliament, and elected School Board Trustees for Public and Catholic boards headquartered within the targeted areas were analyzed.

Our analysis includes a total of 114 elected officials across the two communities. In Hamilton, we identified 48 elected officials. These include 16 members of Hamilton City Council, 10 members of provincial or federal parliament, and 22 elected school board trustees (across the Hamilton Wentworth Public and Catholic Boards). In Halton, there are 66 elected officials. These include 38 members of the Municipal and/or Regional Council, 8 members of provincial or federal parliament, and 20 elected school board trustees (across the Halton Public and Catholic Boards).

In 2014, women made up 35.1% of elected officials, across all communities in our study. There is little difference between the communities, with women comprising 33.3% of elected officials in Hamilton, and 36.4% in Halton.

There are notable differences among subsectors. Across both communities, women are best represented at the level of school board, where they comprise 57.1% of elected trustees. They are least well represented at the level of municipal/regional government, where they comprise just 18.5% of elected members across all councils. Women's representation at the national level was also low, at just 22.2% for the two communities overall. It was considerably higher at the provincial level, with 44.4% of provincial seats across the two communities held by women.

Figure 1: Representation of Women Senior Leaders in Elected Office, Hamilton & Halton, 2014
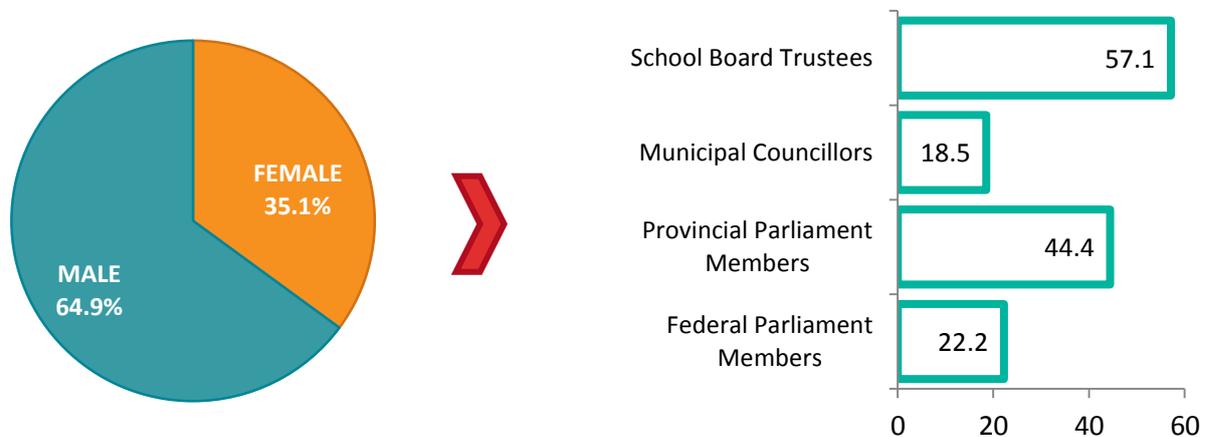
AGENCIES, BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

Overview

Agencies, boards, and commissions (ABCs) are entities established by governments to fulfil a variety of mandates. ABCs include advisory bodies, administrative tribunals, funding authorities, and professional organizations, and vary in size, from the Liquor Control Board of Ontario to the Hamilton Waterfront Trust. Though established by an act of government and accountable to government, ABCs are not a part of a ministry and instead have assigned, delegated, or statutory authority/responsibility (Aucoin & Jarvis, 2005). Limited research has been conducted on ABCs and representation in Ontario, despite the sector constituting some of Canada's largest corporations with the government as sole or major shareholders (Cukier *et al.*, 2012).

ABCs have powerful and often highly visible mandates. They play a key role in shaping accessibility to different products and services for Ontarians, policy outcomes, and labour market entry points for regulated professions, among other issues of public interest. In light of this, it is critical that ABCs reflect the communities they serve. Given the role governments play in both ABC oversight and member selection, equitable gender representation is of utmost importance. Who gets appointed to ABCs by provinces and municipalities sends a strong signal regarding

government's commitment to diversity and gender equity at the senior leadership level. While the Ontario Public Appointments Secretariat states that appointments "must reflect the true face of Ontario in terms of diversity and regional representation," province-wide data on ABC appointment demographics is not currently available (Government of Ontario, 2014).

Findings

Municipal websites were analyzed to determine a comprehensive list of agencies, boards, and commissions (ABCs) with municipally appointed members. The Public Appointments Secretariat website was used to discern the names of provincially appointed members of ABCs serving within the relevant municipalities.

The findings are based on analysis of 666 appointees whose gender could be identified. Among them, 37.1% are women. The representation of women to ABCs at all levels in the Hamilton area was lower than in the Halton area: 28.7% and 40.6%, respectively. Much of the disparity was due to the very low level of women's appointment to municipal-level ABCs in Hamilton: only 20.7% of appointees at this level were women, compared to 40.5% in Halton.

Overall, provincial appointees were much more gender balanced, with women comprising 43.3% of all provincial members serving across the communities in our study. Among all municipal appointees, just 34.1% were women. As noted, the City Hamilton performed especially poorly in this subsector, with women comprising a mere 20.7% of positions within municipal level ABCs.

Owing in part to policies reserving seats for sitting members of municipal or regional councils, which are constituted primarily by men, ABCs in Hamilton and Halton present fewer opportunities for women. When ABC appointments are made, gender balance and representation must be of primary concern.

Figure 2: Representation of Women among Agencies, Boards and Commissions, Hamilton & Halton, 2014

EDUCATION SECTOR

Overview

Women make up the majority of teachers at the elementary and secondary school level across Canada. There is relatively equitable gender representation at the level of school principal, with women comprising about 47% of leaders at that level (Statistics Canada, 2006). However the numbers dip as we move into more senior administrative positions in the education sector.

One area that has received little attention is the level of school board administrators. A study of educational leadership in Alberta reported that, in 1996-97, just 19% of school board directors and superintendents across the province were women. The authors noted a marked reduction in the share of women among senior administrators over the previous decade, corresponding with major restructuring of school boards (Young & Ansara, 1998). A study looking at superintendents and high school principals in Ontario shows that women remain a minority at that level, despite the fact that more women than men have obtained the supervisory officer qualifications that the Ministry requires of school administrators (Crosby-Hillier, 2012).

There has been more focus on the gender balance at the university level. Women now make up a majority of university graduates. Across Canada in 2008-09, women comprised 47% of those enrolled in doctoral programs, and 44% of all graduates from doctoral

programs. However women accounted for only one-third (33%) of all full-time university teaching staff with doctorates (Statistics Canada, 2011). Women are significantly under-represented in academic leadership positions, absolutely and relative to the eligible pool of tenured women. They are especially rare among chief academic officers, that is, in positions such as university president, provost, vice president for research and academic affairs, or among academic deans (Doyle Watson & McDade, 2001). In Canada, a study charting the representation of women among university presidents over time shows that until the late 1980s, there was rarely more than a single female president across all Canadian universities. The percentage of women increased slowly since then, but has held relatively constant at around 18 to 19% since 1998 (Turpin, 2012).

Several root causes of women's underrepresentation in senior academic leadership roles have been identified (Nidiffer & Bashaw, 2001; Marsden, 2010; Yates, 2014). One is the lower rate of appointment of women to the rank of full professor. Women take longer to reach full professor because of family responsibilities, and the fact that fewer women than men can rely on a stay-at-home spouse (Coe, 2013). Women also tend to delay appointment to full professor longer than men, in part because the dearth of women at this level leads to higher demands on women at this rank to assume various committee responsibilities. Women also enjoy less access to the starting administrative positions (such as department chairs), where they can develop leadership skills. As in many sectors, there is an incompatibility between the high workload

expected of senior academic leaders, and the desire of many women (and increasing numbers of men) for a balanced lifestyle allowing work-family integration. Finally, there is often a lack of recognition of women's leadership roles and academic achievements, including mentoring activities and research agendas that may be more community-based.

Findings

Leadership in the education sector is comprised university and college senior management teams and boards of governors. The senior management is comprised of chief academic officers from President through to and including Deans. This sector also includes School Board Directors and Superintendents of the public and Catholic school boards, across Hamilton and Halton.

Our analysis includes 135 individuals, among whom 36.1% were women. There is some difference between the two communities, with women comprising 38.6% of this sector in Hamilton, compared to 29.8% in Halton. Much of this difference is the result of disparities in gender representation at the school board level between the two regions. In the 2013-14 school year, women comprised 56.3% of senior school board administrators in Hamilton, compared to just 24.0% in Halton.

Looking at different levels of education, women comprise 36.6% of senior school board administration overall, compared to 42.0% of senior leaders at the college level, and 28.6% at the level of universities. There are also differences among the different types of senior leadership positions at the postsecondary level. Women made up 37.3% of members of the boards of governors, compared to 33.3% of chief academic officers across all colleges and universities in our study.

Figure 3: Representation of Women Senior Leaders in the Education Sector, Hamilton & Halton, 2014
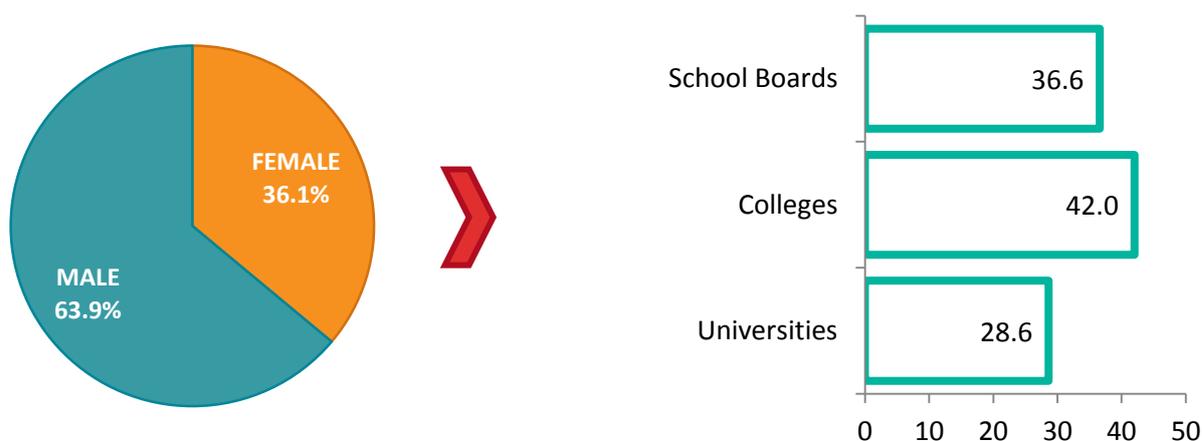
HEALTH SECTOR

Overview

Canada's healthcare system is publicly funded, though hospital management structure often parallels the private system seen in the United States. Hospital leadership teams analyzed in this study are managed by a Chief Executive Officer and senior management team, and receive strategic oversight from a board of directors.

Like other sectors analyzed in this study, opportunities for women to advance to healthcare leadership positions "tend to shrink for women and expand for men" (Borkowski & Walsh, 1992 p. 47). In healthcare delivery, women constituted 92.8% of nurses and 36.0% of physicians in 2011, yet face barriers to attaining senior administrative decision-making positions (Statistics Canada, 2013; CIHI, 2012). When women do hold management roles in healthcare, they are less likely to be promoted to senior leadership roles and experience salary differentials when compared to men, even when education, age, and experience are accounted for (Lantz, 2008).

Gendered understandings of healthcare leadership, alongside a historic precedent of men in senior health positions, may also shape perceptions regarding women's 'fit' as health leaders (Garman & Johnson, 2006). Women in health leadership face obstacles similar to women in other industries, including limited access to mentorship and networking; however, women are more likely to engage such opportunities when made available (Conference Board of Canada, 2013). Importantly, systemic barriers are also experienced outside of the workplace; a United States-based study found that female healthcare leaders are more likely than their male counterparts to have spouses who work full time, yet still perform the majority of family care, limiting opportunities for networking and social capital accumulation (Lantz, 2008).

While engaging in less face-to-face time with hospital users than their clinician counterparts, it is still critical that hospital management be reflective of the gender diverse communities they serve due to the often gender-specific nature of healthcare needs (Dreachslin, 2007). For example, women in Ontario have less access to healthcare than men, as well as poorer health outcomes, yet still play a lead role in supporting the health of their families and communities. Such issues are compounded for racialized and Aboriginal women, and women with disabilities (ECHO 2012). As hospital executives and board members shape policy and execute critical budget decisions affecting healthcare, there is a clear need for gender balance and equitable representation (Mitchell & Lassiter, 2006). In Canada, where healthcare is often perceived as a social right, hospitals could lead the way by removing barriers preventing women's advancement and demonstrate a concerted effort to promoting highly qualified women to top administrative ranks.

Findings

All senior management teams and boards of directors for hospitals located in Hamilton and Halton were analyzed. Importantly,

members of senior management teams also frequently hold seats on hospital boards of governors, limiting opportunities for gender diversity.

In total, 114 senior leaders were identified for gender, of whom 43 were women (37.7%).

The representation of women in this sector is somewhat lower in Hamilton at 35.9%, compared to 40.0% in Halton. Women comprise 35.1% of hospital senior management, and 40.4% of boards of directors, across the two regions.

Figure 4: Representation of Women Senior Leaders in the Health Sector, Hamilton & Halton, 2014
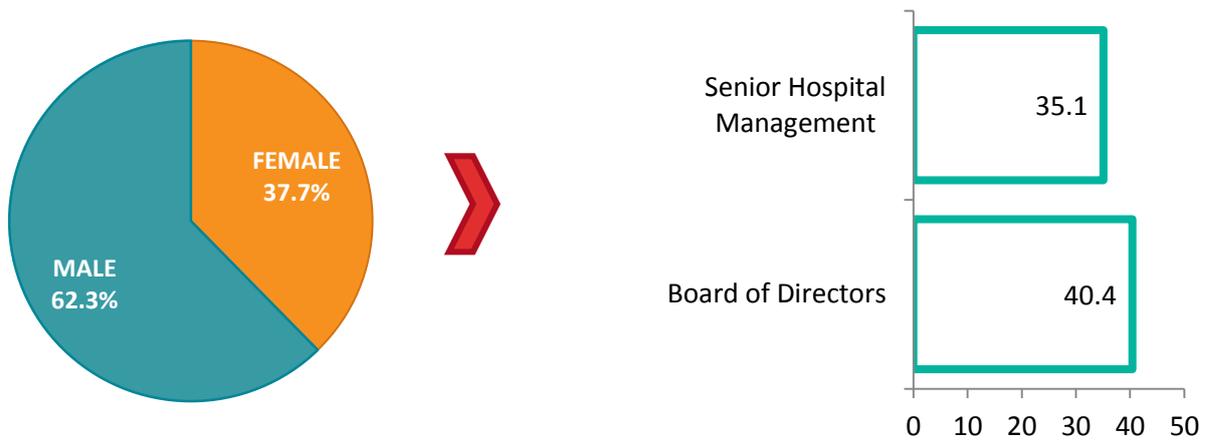
PUBLIC SECTOR

Overview

While having women and minorities elected to political office can make a difference in policy outcomes and the overall quality of democracy, having gender and ethnic diversity in the bureaucracy also impacts the public good. Equitable representation in the public service is considered to have an important impact on the public good along two dimensions: passive and active representation. Passive representation refers to a diverse public service that stands as a symbolic commitment to equal access to power, and that draws on the widest possible pool of candidates when making public service appointments. Active representation refers to the benefits of bringing a broader scope of perspectives, knowledge and experiences to bear on decision-making processes. The argument for a diverse public sector in terms of active representation focuses on the policymaking power and discretion that is exercised within the bureaucracy, especially at the senior level. Senior bureaucrats, under the guidance of elected officials, exert significant influence in areas such as resource allocation and priority setting. The power wielded by senior bureaucrats makes their accountability a cause for concern, as the public cannot remove them through regular elections, as they can elected officials. While there are a variety of prescriptions for controlling potentially dangerous administrative behaviour, one vein of this literature argues that it is particularly important to have a representative civil service. A bureaucracy that mirrors the public in demographic traits is thought to produce public policy that more closely reflects the interests and desires of the public (Krislov & Rosenbloom, 1981). In Canada, the main argument for a representative bureaucracy has historically focussed on linguistic representation pertaining to the French language, and the relationship of the public service to issues of national unity (Kernaghan, 1978).

Consistent with the principles of representative bureaucracy, the Canadian Public Service Employment Act (PSEA) mandates a federal public service that reflects Canada's diversity. Specifically, the PSEA draws upon the Employment Equity Act to address the underrepresentation of four designated groups, namely women, Aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and visible minorities. Reports published annually on the demographic composition of the federal public service show that women's representation has increased overall, from 41.8% in 1983 to 55.0% in 2013. The representation of women at the executive level of the federal public service was 45.0% in 2013 (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat 2014). However these figures for executive leaders include both senior leaders (e.g., Deputy Ministers, Directors General, and Directors) who fulfill the executive function and are responsible for managing first line or other managers, as well as managers and/or supervisors who are considered to make up the feeder groups for the executive cadre. By comparison, the methodology we have used in this report does not include managers or supervisors.

Evidence shows that female senior bureaucrats tend to bring different

perspectives to the public service than do their male colleagues, and that they are more likely to advance policy actions that benefit women (Dolan, 2014). Furthermore, having more women in top administrative positions appears to correlate with more sensitivity among senior male bureaucrats to the gender dimensions of policy issues. Interestingly, there is less evidence that female bureaucrats in the lower echelons of the civil service assume an advocacy role on behalf of women. Potentially, this is because public servants at lower levels feel greater pressure to conform to the bureaucratic ethic of neutrality, and consider it more risky to take particular efforts geared toward improving women's status. While having more women at executive levels within the public service is important, research has also focussed on the importance of having an office within the bureaucracy devoted to women's issues. (Stetson & Mazur, 1995). In this research, women women who staff women's policy agencies are sometimes referred to as "femocrats," in order to distinguish them from other women in government. The effectiveness of so-called "state feminism" appears to vary from country to country, however some studies have shown that having government structures that are formally charged with furthering women's status and rights can help to create bonds between women's organizations and the state, and can strengthen non-governmental groups' influence over policy (Sawer, 1996).

Findings

Senior leaders within the public sector include General Managers and Commissioners,

followed by Directors within each municipal/regional government department, as well Chiefs and Deputy Chiefs of police, fire and emergency services. Leaders were identified using publicly available organizational charts as well as web-based public sector documents and departmental websites, for the Municipalities of Hamilton, Burlington, Oakville and Milton, along with the Regional Municipality of Halton.

Altogether 141 municipal and regional executives were identified. In 2014, women comprised 36.2% of the senior leadership within this sector. The representation of women in the public sector is higher across the municipal and regional governments of Halton (37.3%) than in Hamilton (34.8%). However the overall trend across the two regions is consistent with findings in the GTA, where 39.2% of the public sector overall was comprised of women (Cukier, 2014). One issue in this sector is the persistently low representation of women among the senior leadership in fire, police and emergency services. In 2014 there were no women among 18 Chief and Deputy Chief positions across the two regions. Across the GTA, 7.7% of police executives in 2011 were women (Cukier, 2012).

When analyzing only General Managers and Commissioners, the senior most public sector positions across municipalities, women's representation is lower still. Of the 30 analyzed top executives, just 23.3% are women, while 47.3% of Directors are women. This difference at the senior most level evidences the need to disaggregate representation statistics by seniority and position, as averages may be misleading.

Figure 5: Representation of Women Senior Leaders in the Public Sector, Hamilton & Halton, 2014

Pie chart:
- FEMALE 36.2%
- MALE 63.8%

Bar chart:
- Directors of Municipal & Regional Departments: 47.3
- General Managers & Commissioners: 23.3
- Police & Fire Chiefs, Deputy Chiefs: 0

CORPORATE LEADERS

Overview

Across Canadian cities, the corporate sector has been identified as the least representative for women among both senior management teams and boards of directors (Cukier *et al*., 2012, 2013, 2014). Despite the well-established commercial and social benefits of women holding corporate seats, women remain underrepresented in top leadership positions. In Canada, women hold just 15.9% of corporate seats of the Financial Post 500 list of public and private firms; alarmingly, 40% of publicly traded Canadian companies do not have any women on their board (Ontario Women's Directorate, 2014). Canada slipped from 6th place in 2006 to 9th in 2011 among major industrialized nations with regards to women's representation on boards (Conference Board of Canada, 2014). This is in spite of a well-established business case for women in corporate leadership; corporate diversity has been linked to improved financial performance (Joy *et al*., 2007), more effective decision-making and collaboration between leaders (Bart & McQueen, 2013), and an improved ability to innovate and reach creative solutions (Deloitte, 2011). A gender diverse corporate board may also mitigate reputational and legal risks (Terjesen *et al*., 2009), and have been linked to increased corporate social responsibility (CSR) activity (Fernandez-Feijoo, Romero, & Ruiz, 2012).

While many countries have enacted policies to encourage equitable female representation, Canada lacks such legislative mechanisms. For example, in Norway, gender board quotas are mandated for publicly traded companies, and 36% of corporate seats are held by women (Status of Women Canada, 2014). While Canada has yet to enact proactive board policies at the provincial or federal level, in June 2014, the federal government released a voluntary target of 30% female representation on boards, though stopped short of mandating equity as a requirement (Advisory Council for Women on Boards, 2014). Regulatory and voluntary organizations may instead be taking the lead on gender equity. For example, the Ontario Securities Commission announced plans to institute a comply or explain requirement for women on boards (OSC, 2014), while the Catalyst Accord represents corporations' voluntary commitment to appointing at least 25% female board members (Catalyst, 2014).

Correspondingly, organizations such as Women on Board fight to dispel the myth that there are no qualified women in the pipeline by preparing a list of women prepared to join the corporate sector's top leadership ranks. While research indicates that firms with more 'family-friendly' policies, including telecommuting and flexible family time, may be better able to recruit and retain top women, firms must move beyond simply attributing a lack of women to family concerns. To recruit competitive female leaders, corporations must make gender and diverse representation a formal priority, including demonstrating leadership buy-in and a commitment to tracking progress (Cukier *et al*., 2013). Corporations must also look beyond CEOs and similar 'C-suite' positions (which are historically held by men)

to broaden the scope of eligible board members (Conference Board of Canada, 2014). Mentoring relationships and a commitment to building women's careers along the leadership pipeline (McDonald & Westphal, 2013), as well as bias-free board selection committees (CBOC, 2014), have also been linked in increased female board representation.

Findings

Hamilton and Halton's largest corporations were identified using the Canadian Business Database. Corporations were included if they recorded annual revenue of $50 million or more, and had 50 or more employees. Organizations that were determined to have a global senior management team or board of directors are not included in the analysis. The analysis is based on 270 individuals who were identified as part of the senior management team, or the board of directors, in large firms across the two communities.

In Hamilton and Halton, as in other cities across Canada, the corporate sector persists as the most laggard in advancing women to leadership positions. In 2014, 17.8% of corporate sector leaders analyzed across Hamilton and Halton were women. This finding is consistent with results that look at the gender ratio among corporate leaders in the GTA (17.4% in 2011 (Cukier *et al*., 2012); 19.9% in 2014 (Cukier *et al*., 2014)), and Greater Montreal (15.1% in 2011-12 (Cukier *et al*., 2013)).

There was little difference between the two communities. Women comprised 19.0% of total corporate sector senior leaders among firms that were analyzed in Hamilton, and 17.2% for firms in Halton. There was slightly better inclusion of women among senior management, compared to among boards of directors; women comprised 18.6% and 15.5% of these leadership positions, respectively, across our entire study.

Figure 6: Representation of Women Senior Leaders in the Corporate Sector, Hamilton & Halton, 2014

VOLUNTARY SECTOR

Overview

More than 1.5 million Canadians work in 161,000 not-for-profit organizations, of which 86,000 are registered charities (Canada Revenue Agency, 2014). Ontario's voluntary organizations alone provide more than 600,000 jobs (Mowat Centre, 2011), and generate $50 billion in annual revenue (Trillium Foundation, 2011). The voluntary sector is comprised of organizations characterized by their non-profit, non-governmental, and/or charitable status; whereas senior management positions are often paid, members of the Board are volunteers (Scott *et al*., 2006). Leadership plays a key role in steering the direction of voluntary organizations, a factor of increasing importance as non-profit organizations play a growing role in the delivery of services previously under the purview of government (Mowat Centre, 2011). At the same time however, non-profit organizations are also facing increased reporting requirements and funding precarity (Baines *et al*., 2014).

Historically, the voluntary sector has provided an avenue through which women reach top leadership positions in the non-profit and for-profit arenas. However, political and economic power derived from voluntary sector leadership positions is constantly at risk to be "undercut by longstanding under-funding of the sector" (Mailloux *et al*., 2002, p. iii). A 'leadership deficit' has been identified among women in the Canadian voluntary sector, fuelled by high turnover, demographic shifts and an aging workforce, as well as issues with recruiting and retaining top talent. Such issues stem from perceptions of high demands on voluntary services and concern regarding work-life balance (McInnes, 2013). Certainly, the professional and emotional demands of voluntary sector leadership are great; voluntary leaders must operate within limited resources, build relationships within and outside the sector, and deal with increasing societal complexity in service delivery (National Learning Initiative, 2003). Evidently, notwithstanding women's historical success in voluntary leadership, a concerted effort for gender leadership parity is still needed.

Ensuring women are adequately represented in volunteer leadership is also critical because of the role played by the non-profit sector in democratic governance by creating a group 'voice' for individualized concerns (Guo & Musso, 2007), and by lobbying to shape public policy (LeRoux & Goerdel, 2009). Importantly, the presence of feminist voluntary agencies play a critical role in shaping the women's movement in Canada, shedding light on issues relating to women's health, reproductive rights, and violence against women (Mailloux *et al*., 2002). Voluntary organizations also address issues of mainstream concern or of importance to particular populations. In fulfilling these roles, voluntary organizations serve diverse communities and thus, require representative leadership structures to foster a sense of trust and legitimacy and better respond to their constituencies (Everett *et al*., 2012; Brown, 2002).

Findings

Using data from the Canadian Revenue Agency, target organizations were identified as the top 20 registered charities by 2013 revenue with major operations in each of our target communities, including Hamilton, Oakville and Burlington. In total, the analysis includes 60 organizations.

Among these voluntary sector organizations, our study identified 923 senior leaders. In 2014, more than half (51.0%) of all senior leaders in this sector are women. This is the only sector of the nine analyzed in this study that includes women in proportion to their share of the overall population. Women's representation is slightly lower in Hamilton at 46.1%, compared to Halton at 53.4%.

Women are especially well represented among senior management positions in the voluntary sector, where they make up 70.1% overall. This strong level of representation is consistent across municipalities, ranging from between 62.7% in Hamilton to 76.5% in Burlington. Women are less well represented among voluntary boards of directors, where they comprise on average 41.2% of board members. Again, the numbers are fairly consistent across communities, ranging from 40.0% in Burlington to 42.0% in Hamilton.

Figure 7: Representation of Women Senior Leaders in the Voluntary Sector, Hamilton & Halton, 2014

UNION SECTOR

Overview

Canadian unions have a history of leading the fight against social and labour market exclusion of marginalized groups, including women and visible minorities (Briskin, 1998; Hunt & Rayside, 2007). Members of those groups are thus benefited by union membership. They tend to enjoy higher wages compared to similar individuals who are non-unionized, and they have access to robust workplace justice procedures. Women make up 53% of union members in Canada today. However, as in other sectors, the most high-ranking leadership positions in unions continue to be dominated by men. While data on the gender composition of union leadership is scarce, one survey of local unions in Canada found that about 34% of leaders were women, while numbers are even lower among national level executives. This study also showed that women who served as leaders in local unions tended to hold lower level positions, to hold offices in smaller locals, have fewer hours and receive less pay for their union work, compared to their male counterparts (Chaison & Andiappan, 1987, p. 282).

Given the scarcity of research on the gender composition of union leadership, researchers have turned to the literature on diversity in leadership in other sectors for general principles that are likely to apply within unions as well. Indeed, diversity of representation among union leaders should be important for many of the same reasons that diversity matters among elected officials, senior civil servants, corporate executives and leaders of non-profit organizations. For example, we can expect that female union leaders would tend to advocate for different issues than men do. And just as firms with more gender-balanced leadership tend to have better performance outcomes, we might expect more gender-balanced union leadership to produce better organizational outcomes. Equality in union leadership is also important for union renewal and growth. Organized labour is facing shrinking coverage across Canada's work force, and confronts the challenge of regaining public support in an era when many Canadians think union members have excessive entitlements, or that union leaders have unrealistic demands. Promoting more diverse representation among leadership can serve as a signal that unions are strongly engaged in issues of basic equality. It can help to rebuild support by showing advocacy on issues that affect all workers, but especially low-income workers – the majority of whom are women (Statistics Canada, nd).

As leaders of social change, unions are making efforts to support the advancement of highly qualified women. For example, the Hamilton and District Labour Council promotes its Sisters in Solidarity women's committee, while Canada's largest private sector union, Unifor, has a Local 5555 Women's Committee in Hamilton. Important research is also being done to gauge the climate of inclusivity for women in Canadian unions, including the Leadership, Feminism, and Equality in Unions project at York University (e.g., Briskin *et al.*, 2013).

These efforts are important because research suggests that certain elements of the culture and organizational structure of unions make it

more difficult for women to achieve leadership positions, compared to their male comrades. The literature identifies four major barriers: family responsibilities; job segregation; masculine union cultures, and traditional stereotypes (Briskin, 2006, pp 3-9). Women more often than men bear the primary responsibility for home and family work, and these duties are especially difficult to reconcile with the heavy workload expected of union leaders (Paavo, 2004, 2006). Round-the-clock bargaining is just one practice that appears to assume that leaders have no young dependents, or at least have a spouse who is willing to take on the primary caregiving role. Women's disproportionate responsibilities for childcare and domestic work may also result in an interrupted pattern of waged work, and thereby less access to union leadership positions. Job segregation also raises a barrier to women's participation. Women's segregation in low-paid work with unrecognized skills and little flexibility means that they are often not encouraged or chosen to be union leaders. Studies also point to the masculine or "macho" culture of unions as an impediment to women's leadership. In many unions, yelling, bullying and table-pounding continue to characterize leadership behaviour. Women, whose leadership style is more likely to be based on relationship building, communication and collaboration, may not be able to find a place for themselves in the leadership structure. Or they may feel pressure to conform to tactics at which they are less adept, or for which women are assessed more harshly. Finally, women union leaders are less likely than men to report that they receive mentorship or training, or feel valued by their peers (Kaminski & Pauly,

2010). Women report encountering exclusion from formal and informal decision-making processes, as well as outright hostility, harassment and bullying directed at them on account of their sex (Briskin *et al.,* 2013). All of these factors make it less likely that women in the labour movement will have the same opportunities as men to rise to senior leadership positions.

Findings

This study looks at the gender representation among presidents for the 82 union locals affiliated with the Hamilton and District Labour Council. The president is a member of the larger executive board of a local union, made up of elected members from within the workplaces of the local. The president and executive board are responsible for the running and decision making of the local on behalf of the local union and its members. We chose to look exclusively at presidents, due to considerable challenges to identifying the executive board membership of union locals. This is especially the case among the many smaller locals that do not maintain a website with current information about local executive membership. We were able to identify the gender of the local president in just 43 cases. Women comprised 31.3% of local presidents

The scarcity of data on the gender composition of senior union leaders at the local level is a general problem that has been noted in the scholarship in this domain. We recognized the need for further research in this area, but also the necessity for union locals to provide accessible data on the local leadership.

Figure 8: Representation of Women Senior Leaders in the Union Sector, Hamilton & Halton, 2014

FEMALE
31.1%

MALE
68.9%
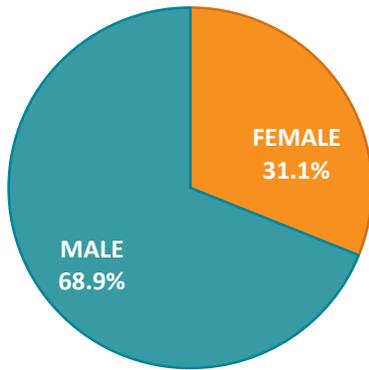
LEGAL SECTOR

Overview

The legal sector occupies a unique and influential role as a pathway to many positions of power and authority. As such, the representation of women and diversity in the legal profession has a profound impact on the composition of leadership across Canadian society.

In Ontario, more than half of all law school graduates are now women. However women comprise only 38% of the practicing bar (Ornstein, 2010). A large part of the problem appears to be a high rate of attrition of women from private practice. Research into this issue suggests that both cultural and institutional factors are at work. Studies document women's lack of mentors and developmental experiences and reduced promotion prospects in law firms (Beckman & Phillips, 2005; Kay & Hagan, 1998; Reichman & Sterling, 2002; Rhode, 2001). They show that women lawyers are more likely to be challenged about their career commitment after having children, especially when they have more than two children, while men with growing families enjoy longer-term continuity with their law firms (Kay *et al*., 2013). And they show that individuals' choices are bound by organizational structures and cultures that define the possibilities for career advancement in inflexible terms, such as placing strong emphasis on billable hours as an indicator of work commitment, productivity and quality (Clegg, 1989; Moen *et al.,* 2011; Mossman, 1994; Weisselberg & Li, 2011). Studies into the culture of private law firms suggest that flexibility policies are

often 'on the books' but not widely available in practice (Kelly & Moen, 2007; Schieman & Glavin, 2008). They recommend fundamental changes to the temporal organization of work, more than simply drafting policies that are frowned upon by firm management if accessed by lawyers (Moen *et al.*, 2011:70).

Another issue in the legal field is the low rate of appointment of women to the judiciary. Until recently, Canada had the most gender-equitable Supreme Court in the world, with four female justices (including the Chief Justice, Beverley McLachlin) among the nine member Court. Today, three of the nine Justices are women. While the record of women's appointment to the Supreme Court has been quite good, there have as yet been no racialized minorities or Aboriginal judges on Canada's highest court. Beyond the Supreme Court, the record of gender and ethnic diversity in appointments across the federal and provincial benches is uneven. As of 2014, there were 382 women out of 1,120 federally appointed judges. The lack of diversity among federal court appointments has garnered increasing attention (Makin, 2012; Fine, 2014; Lautens, 2014). Media scrutiny grew this past year after the federal government announced 10 new federal court appointments, nine of whom were men. Controversy erupted when, in response to questions about the lack of diversity in appointments, the Federal Minister of Justice appeared to suggest that women were not applying to be judges because the work would separate them from their family responsibilities (CBC News, 2014). Researchers have been calling for more transparent data on gender and racial differences in applications and appointments

to the federal bench (Cairns Way, 2014). Ontario has been held out as a model for judicial appointments. Here, the appointment process includes a requirement that the advisory committee recognize the desirability of reflecting the diversity of the province's population. Ontario also makes public data on appointments to the provincial bench, which show that rates of female applicants have been rising and reached 58% in 2012 (Ontario, 2013).

Findings

The analysis looks at the gender profile among Judges, Crown and/or Deputy Crown Attorneys, along with partners in Hamilton and Halton's largest private law firms. Law firms with 20 or more employees and 2013 revenues exceeding $1 million were discerned using the Canadian Business Database. Members of the Ontario Court of Justice and

Superior Court of Justice were provided by each respective court, while Crown Attorneys were identified using the Government of Ontario Employee and Organization Directory.

The study has identified 161 leaders in this sector, among whom 45 are women (28.0%). There is a modest difference between the two communities, with women comprising 28.6% of the senior legal sector in Hamilton compared to 25.0% in Halton.

There are important differences among subsectors. Our evidence suggests that the judicial appointment process is working relatively well to achieve gender diversity, as women comprise 40.5% of all local judges. In comparison, women are far less well represented among private firms, where they make up only 24.2% of partners across the two regions.

Figure 9: Representation of Women Senior Leaders in the Legal Sector, Hamilton & Halton, 2014

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

What we have learned

▶ Women are underrepresented across all but one of the sectors analyzed in Hamilton and Halton.

▶ On average, Hamilton sectors are less equitable for women, though Halton's lead is minimal.

▶ Overall, some sectors are more representative than others:

　▷ The voluntary sector is the only sector with fair and proportionate female representation on boards and senior management teams.

　▷ The corporate sector is where women are the least represented.

▶ Women are more likely to achieve representation on boards than on senior management teams, and frequently excluded from the most senior leadership positions.

▶ Continued dedication on part of organizations and government is needed to maintain gains in leadership.

Where to go from here?

▶ Acknowledge that we need feminism – women are still not fairly represented and still face profound barriers to fully advancing in senior leadership.

▶ Women's advancement requires more than just efforts from individuals – explicit commitment on part of organizations and government is necessary to achieving parity.

▶ "Women can't be what they don't see" – we must celebrate women who have achieved leadership positions and understand that this can shape other women's aspirations. However, organizations must avoid tokenism and the 'recycling' of women's stories and images of advancement. Instead, we must focus on continually recruiting and advancing women to top leadership positions.

▶ Organizations need to set goals and maintain their own statistics. Ensure numbers are 'honest' and transparent by distinguishing between women's representation at very senior management levels and in mid- or entry-level positions.

▶ Inclusiveness must be sought across ALL levels and ALL sectors – women's achievements in voluntary and social service organizations should be celebrated as motivation to continue, not reason to be complacent.

▶ We must commit to developing the women's leadership pipeline by mentoring and coaching highly talented women, and communicating the importance of equity and women in leadership to persons of all ages.

▶ Organizations should adapt and employ toolkits available online by EDGE, Catalyst, the Maytree Foundation, and the Conference Board of Canada to become a

gender friendly workplace. Leaders must be reflective in analyzing their organization's recruiting and advancement practices internally and externally, and ask, are we doing enough?

The EXCLerator Project: Moving forward

▶ This report will be the first in a series to benchmark and understand organizational progress over time.

▶ We will continue to collect, track, and analyze the representation of women in Hamilton and Halton's largest sectors.

▶ We must now examine how organizations in top-performing sectors are recruiting and retaining women leaders and why.

▶ Research is needed to understand how intersectionality and the role of race and disability impact women's representation.

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