
UNDERREPRESENTATION OF CHINESE CANADIAN LEADERSHIP IN THE GREATER TORONTO AREA

2021





ABOUT CPAC INSTITUTE

CPAC Institute is an independent research, education and training organization that provides research-based support for the understanding and elimination of systemic barriers to equity, diversity, and inclusion in Canadian society and for addressing specific issues concerning the well-being of Chinese Canadians.

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Executive Summary

This report summarizes the findings of a study done by CPAC Institute between January 2020 and June 2021. It is the first of its kind that identifies the representation of Chinese Canadians in senior leadership positions in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), Canada's largest metropolitan area with the most ethnically diverse population and workforce. This study also explored the observations and insights of Chinese Canadian leaders on their leadership journeys – the barriers and obstacles they have to overcome, the impact of systemic racism and personal biases on their career advancement, and possible strategies at the government and organizational levels to enhance workplace equity, diversity and inclusion (EDI).

Methodologically, this two-phase study employs both quantitative (Phase I) and qualitative (Phase II) analyses. In Phase I, senior leaders of Chinese descent were identified from the largest organizations in eight major sectors in the GTA – public service, judicial, corporate, core health care, education, charitable, elected office and agencies, boards, and commissions (ABCs). In this report, Tier 1 leaders in most cases refer to the board of directors and the most senior management executives as defined by each organization. Where data are available, Chinese Canadians in Tier 2 leadership positions were also identified, with the aim of illuminating whether a leadership pipeline has been developed. The representation of Chinese Canadian women was examined as well to shed light on the multifaceted intersections of gender, race and other factors that have created additional challenges for women of color on their path towards senior leadership. "Woman" instead of "female" is used to distinguish gender (socially constructed) from sex (biologically determined).

Our findings suggest that Chinese Canadians, representing 11.1% of the population in the GTA, are severely underrepresented in leadership positions in all eight sectors. Of the 8,998 Tier 1 leaders examined, only 195, or 2.17%, are of Chinese descent. There is zero representation at the senior executive level in all the big accounting and law firms, or among the Directors or Associate Directors of Education in all 10 public and Catholic school boards.

The picture of Chinese representation in Tier 2 leadership is even more grim. The data of Tier 2 leadership was available only in three sectors - public service, judicial and post-secondary education. Of the 1,734 Tier 2 leaders examined, only 33, or 1.90%, are Chinese Canadians, even lower than in Tier 1. Chinese Canadians' extremely low representation in pipeline leadership positions will make it even harder for them to break the existing "bamboo" ceiling, if the issue is not addressed immediately and adequately.

Chinese Canadian women's representation in Tier 1 leadership is 0.97%, lower than that of men's (1.20%). They represent one fifth of Chinese Canadian leaders in the public service sector, and one third of those in the corporate sector. Excluding the judicial sector, Chinese Canadian women represent less than men in all sectors at Tier 1.

Among the Tier 2 leaders of Chinese descent, however, 24 out of 33 are women.

In Phase II of the study, in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 17 senior leaders identified in Phase I to provide a deeper understanding of the causes of Chinese Canadians' underrepresentation in leadership and identify possible strategies to enhance workplace equity, diversity and inclusion. Another 7 senior leaders of Chinese descent, who were not part of the quantitative study, were also invited to share their experiences and perspectives to enrich the discussion.

As reflected from the interviews, racial and gender biases, stereotypes and discrimination persist in the workplace, which have hindered Chinese Canadians, particularly women, from advancing to senior leadership. There are biases and discrimination at both the individual and systemic levels, implicit and explicit, which not only discourage and restrain Chinese Canadians from pursuing senior leadership, but may also result in lowered self-esteem and a sense of inferiority, thereby reinforcing and perpetuating racial biases and stereotypes.

Another major barrier experienced by Chinese Canadians is the masculinized and westernized leadership culture to which they struggle to conform. As leaders, some participants were given negative comments as not being assertive or aggressive enough. Paradoxically, they sometimes face backlash for failing to meet the expected stereotype of a quiet, submissive “model minority” when they do show assertiveness.

The lack of mentorship support and role models at the senior executive level is another barrier recognized by most participants, which results in an inability of the racialized people to see themselves in top leadership roles.

The interviews with women leaders confirm the interplay of racial and gender biases, which has reduced Chinese Canadian women to double minorities. The qualitative data collected echo existing literature which found Chinese or East-Asian women were less likely to be considered leaders, as a result of centuries-long westernized portrayals of them as being submissive, passive, and obedient.

This study has identified several key strategies to increase equity, diversity and inclusion in the workplace. They are 1) promoting true understanding and appreciation of the value and benefits of diversity; 2) enacting meaningful, effective and systemic EDI policies and practices that produce sustained results; 3) demonstrating a strong commitment to EDI from the top and backing it up with a designated EDI leader and strong EDI infrastructure; 4) being intentional and concrete in designing and implementing EDI policies and practices; and ultimately 5) cultivating an organizational culture of EDI and infusing EDI values into every part of the organization's business.

Governments also have a substantial part to play, mainly in shaping dominant narratives and advocating and nudging changes through legislation, regulations and policies. Governments can



also fund research, education, training and other support programs and activities. Finally, as large employers, governments can model the desired behaviours for all other employers.

Introduction

Underrepresentation of Chinese Canadians in Leadership

The importance, value and benefits of diversity and inclusion in the workplace have garnered extensive attention in numerous research studies. Diversity management, if well-executed, can “strengthen organisational innovation, customer focus, retention and working relationships, with positive cost, revenue and productivity implications” (Parker, Arrowsmith, & Haar, 2017, p. 34), help organizations improve both performance and financial outcomes (Gomez & Bernet, 2019), and “effectively predict workplace happiness” (Mousa, 2021, p. 119).

With 22.3% of the population being “visible minorities” (Statistics Canada, 2016a), Canada is one of the most diverse countries in the world. Promotion of inclusion and respect for diversity have been deemed and advocated as a core national value which is frequently discussed and emphasized in the media, government documents, school curricula, scholarly articles, and other public discourses. The stereotypical perspectives of and prejudices against racialized people, however, continue to persist and create biases and discriminatory behaviours in the workplace (Caron, Asseline, & Beaudoin, 2019; Hassen, Lofters, Michael, et al., 2021; Mill, 2011; Vazir, Newman, Kispal, et al., 2019). According to a 2017 survey examining the state of human rights in Ontario, 66% of respondents thought “discrimination is at least somewhat of a problem in Ontario,” 63% of respondents chose race or colour as “the most common reasons” for discrimination or harassment in Ontario, and 45% of respondents exposed to discrimination or harassment in the last five years reported that the incidents happened at work (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2017).

Racial biases and discrimination make it particularly challenging for people of colour to make their way to senior leadership positions. Underrepresentation of racialized people in senior leadership roles has been revealed in a series of studies conducted by the Diversity Institute (2009, 2012, 2014, 2020) of Ryerson University. In one of its studies, “visible minorities” were found to hold only 12.8% of the senior leadership positions, though representing 53.7% of the population in the Greater Toronto Area (Diversity Institute, 2014, p. 2). Another study found that racialized people occupied 10.4% of board positions across eight major Canadian cities (Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Calgary, Halifax, Hamilton, London, and Ottawa), while representing 28.4% of the population across these cities (Diversity Institute, 2020, p. iii).

The realities faced by racialized women are even more gloomy. Statistics suggest that women have been underrepresented in leadership positions, even though they have higher educational attainment than men in terms of completing high school (Statistics Canada, 2016b), being



admitted by post-secondary educational institutions (Statistics Canada, 2019), and obtaining post-secondary qualifications (Statistics Canada, 2016c). The proportion of women at the management level is much lower (35.9%) than that of men (64.1%) nationally (Statistics Canada, 2020a). Across Canada, women represent only 18.3% of the board members (Statistics Canada, 2018), and take up 29.0% of the seats in the national Parliament (Statistics Canada, 2020b). Only 18.44% of businesses are majority-owned by women (Statistics Canada, 2013). With an increasing emphasis of gender equity in the workplace, women have been landing more leadership positions in recent years, but the situation faced by racialized women has hardly been improved. In a 2020 survey (The Prosperity Project & KPMG, 2021) directed to 48 public and profit-sector companies in Canada, women were found to take up 40.9% of board roles, 30.8% of the executive officer roles, and 41.7% of the pipeline to executive officer roles. Racialized women, however, only took up a combined total of 10.5% of the board, executive and pipeline roles (p. 9).

While existing research and writings are mostly focused on the underrepresentation of racialized Canadians in general, or Black and Indigenous communities in particular, who are considered the most underprivileged groups, insufficient public and academic attention has been given to the situation of Asian Canadians, or specifically Chinese Canadians, the largest racialized ethnic group in Canada, who have been portrayed as a “model minority” but have “historically been targets of stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination” (Leong & Okazaki, 2009; as cited in Padgett, Lou, Lalonde, & Ssaki, 2020, p. 223). Empirical observation and existing literature both suggest a lower representation of Chinese Canadians in senior leadership positions compared to Caucasians and some other ethnic groups in Canada. However, no study has been done to quantify the actual numbers of senior Chinese leaders, although the Chinese community has been known to suffer from various forms of racial discrimination throughout history. Due attention is thus needed to raise the critical awareness of systemic and individual biases and discrimination against Chinese Canadians as a prerequisite to the realization of a fully diverse and inclusive Canadian society.

Purpose

This study aims at fulfilling the following tasks:

- Fill an empirical gap by identifying the representation of Chinese Canadians in senior leadership positions in all major sectors in the GTA, where 11.1% of the population is Chinese;
- Explore individual experiences and perspectives on underrepresentation of Chinese Canadian leadership;
- Examine barriers to reaching senior leadership experienced by Chinese Canadians; and,
- Identify possible measures that organizations and governments can take to enhance workplace equity, diversity and inclusion.

Historical Context

A glimpse of the history of racism against Chinese Canadians sheds light on how colonialism and white supremacy continue to create social imageries of what it means to be a Chinese Canadian, or who could be desirable leaders.

Even though the earliest record of Chinese settlement in Canada was in 1788 (Ganz, 2017), the history of Chinese Canadians is largely absent and erased, mostly marked with legislated racism and social exclusion.

- In the late 1800s, the government passed over 100 racist laws, regulations and policies against Chinese Canadians (Chan, 2014. P. 20).
- The *Qualification and Registration of Voters Act, 1872*, deprived the Chinese settlers of their voting right in provincial elections (Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, n.d.).
- The *Dominion Elections Act, 1920*, further deprived Chinese Canadians of their federal voting rights (Government of Canada, n.d.).
- In 1880s, Chinese railroad workers completed the Canadian Pacific Railway that saved the Confederation. After the last spike was struck, the Canadian Government proclaimed the *Chinese Immigration Act, 1885*, imposing a head tax on every Chinese immigrant to deter Chinese immigration (Government of Canada, n.d.).
- In 1923, the government enacted the infamous *Chinese Immigration Act* (commonly known as *Chinese Exclusion Act*), outright banning Chinese immigration to Canada (Ganz, 2017).
- Hundreds of Chinese volunteered in both World War I and World II for Canada, even before Canada recognized them as citizens. It was not until 1947 that Chinese were allowed to gain Canadian citizenship and not until 1949 were they permitted to vote federally and provincially and live anywhere in Canada (Government of Canada, n.d.).

For over one and a half centuries, Chinese Canadians have suffered from every form of overt and covert racism and discrimination, despite the enormous contributions made by generations of Chinese to this country. Chinese Canadians have been labeled as “yellow peril” and treated as “perpetual foreigners,” deprived of various types of opportunities across all sectors of Canadian society. The recent surge of anti-Chinese and anti-Asian racism during the COVID-19 pandemic is a painful reminder of the racist reality endured by Chinese Canadians. This study is urgently needed to help raise the critical awareness and combat racial stereotypes, biases and discrimination against Chinese Canadians in the workplace and elsewhere in Canadian society.

Research Context

This study examines the representation of Chinese Canadians in senior leadership positions in a metropolitan area with the largest Chinese Canadian population – the Greater Toronto Area



(GTA). According to the 2016 Census, Chinese Canadians take up 11.1% of the GTA population. Table 1 provides an overview of the Chinese population in the 25 GTA municipalities.

Table 1: Population of Chinese Canadians in the GTA¹

Municipality	Total Population in 2016	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians
Ajax	119,677	5,510	4.60%
Aurora	55,445	6,060	10.93%
Brampton	593,638	15,195	2.56%
Brock	11,642	60	0.52%
Burlington	183,314	4,675	2.55%
Caledon	66,502	1,000	1.50%
Clarington	92,013	780	0.85%
East Gwillimbury	23,991	785	3.27%
Georgina	45,418	805	1.77%
Halton Hills	61,161	695	1.14%
King	24,512	510	2.08%
Markham	328,966	152,090	46.23%
Milton	110,128	3,765	3.42%
Mississauga	721,599	64,965	9.00%
Newmarket	84,224	6,405	7.60%
Oakville	193,832	14,840	7.66%
Oshawa	159,458	3,275	2.05%
Pickering	91,771	3,915	4.27%
Richmond Hill	195,022	58,485	29.99%
Scugog	21,617	155	0.72%
Toronto	2,731,571	332,825	12.18%
Uxbridge	21,176	330	1.56%
Vaughan	306,233	24,130	7.88%
Whitby	128,377	4,525	3.52%
Whitchurch-Stouffville	45,837	6,690	14.60%
Total	6,417,124	712,470	11.10%

Definitions

When discussed in the context of population, “Canadians” in this study refer to the target population enumerated in the Statistics Canada census, consisting of “usual residents of Canada who are Canadian citizens (by birth or by naturalization), landed immigrants and non-permanent residents and their families living with them in Canada” (Statistics Canada, 2021). Chinese

¹ Table 1 was created based on the 2016 Census data provided by Statistics Canada. A summary of the GTA census profile is not directly available. The data of each municipality listed was collected from the census data of each individual municipality.

Canadians in this study refer to the usual residents of Canada who are of full or partial Chinese ancestry.

Research Scope and Methodology

This study comprises two phases. Phase I is a quantitative study that identifies the percentage of senior leaders of Chinese descent in the largest organizations across eight major sectors – public service, judicial, corporate, core health care, education, charitable, elected office, and agencies, boards, and commissions (ABCs) in the Greater Toronto Area. Phase II of the study involves conducting and analyzing interviews with Chinese Canadian leaders.

Table 2 sets out the detailed scope of the data collection, providing a summary of the selection criteria for the organizations and the senior leaders analyzed in this study.

Table 2: Definition of Samples for Each Sector

Sector	Sample Data and Selection Criteria
1. Public Service Sector	1) Municipal Senior Leaders in the Top Populated GTA Municipalities² Tier 1: chief administrative officers or city managers, deputy city managers or commissioners, and others that are defined as Tier 1 leaders by each individual municipality. Tier 2: chief department officials, directors and equivalents.
	2) Police Senior Leaders of Toronto Police Service, Peel Regional Police, York Regional Police, Halton Regional Police and Durham Regional Police Tier 1: chiefs and deputy chiefs Tier 2: superintendents and equivalents
	3) Ontario Government Senior Officials Tier 1: Secretary of the Cabinet, deputy ministers, associate ministers, associate deputy ministers, assistant deputy ministers Tier 2: directors and equivalents from all Ontario government organizations except for agencies, which were examined in a separate sector
	4) Federal Government Senior Officials Based in the GTA Tier 1: assistant deputy ministers Tier 2: regional directors, directors and equivalents

² Municipalities with a population of 100,000 or more were examined, including Toronto, Mississauga, Brampton, Markham, Vaughan, Richmond Hill, Oakville, Burlington, Oshawa, Whitby, Ajax, and Milton.

2. Judicial Sector	<p>Judges and Deputy Judges of Court of Appeal for Ontario, Superior Court of Justice (Central East, Central West, and Toronto Regions), and Ontario Court of Justice (Central East, Central West, and Toronto Regions)</p> <p>Tier 1: justices and judges</p> <p>Tier 2: deputy judges</p>
3. Corporate Sector	<p>1) Senior Leaders of Top 183 GTA-Based Corporations by Revenue, excluding the big 4 accounting firms</p> <p>Tier 1: board of directors, C-Suite executives and other Tier 1 leaders as defined by each individual corporation</p>
	<p>2) Senior Leaders of Top 7 Canadian Law Firms (Gowlings, Osler, Blakes, McCarthy, Fasken, BLG and Stikeman)</p> <p>Tier 1 leaders as defined by each individual firm</p>
	<p>3) Senior Leaders of Big 4 Accounting Firms (Deloitte, EY, KPMG, and PricewaterhouseCoopers)</p> <p>Tier 1 leaders as defined by each individual firm</p>
4. Core Health Care Sector	<p>Senior leaders of 32 largest hospitals and other core health care institutions in the GTA, with full-time employee numbers of 300 or more</p> <p>Tier 1: board of directors and Tier 1 executives as defined by each individual organization (e.g., presidents, executive vice presidents, vice presidents, surgeons-in-chief, physicians-in-chief)</p>
5. Education Sector	<p>1) Senior Leaders of the 10 District School Boards</p> <p>Tier 1: Education directors and associate directors, superintendents and equivalents.</p>
	<p>2) Senior leaders of Post-Secondary Educational Institutions - college and university leaders from GTA post-secondary institutions with full-time employee numbers of 450 or greater</p> <p>Tier 1: boards of governors ³and university/college executives that are defined as Tier 1 leaders by each individual organization (e.g., President, Chancellor, VP, Associate VP, Provost, Vice-Provost)</p> <p>Tier 2: assistant VPs, deans, college heads/principals, and other senior executive leaders as defined by each institution (e.g., chief of staff, university librarian, <i>etc.</i>)</p>
6. Charitable Sector	<p>Senior Leaders in the 30 largest registered charities in GTA with a minimum of 200 full-time employees, excluding educational institutions, core health care organizations, religious and ethno-cultural organizations</p> <p>Tier 1: board of directors, C-Suite leaders and others defined as Tier 1 leaders by each individual organization</p>

³ For University of Toronto's Governing Council, only appointed members were included.



7. Provincial and Toronto Agencies, Boards, and Commissions	1) Appointments to Ontario ABCs Full-time and part-time appointments made to 496 agencies, boards, commissions, excluding boards of governors of universities and colleges, and organizations analyzed in the corporate and charitable sectors.
	2) City of Toronto Appointments Appointments made to 70 City of Toronto boards, committees and tribunals, excluding organizations analyzed in the corporate and charitable sectors.
8. Elected Office	1) School Board Trustees (from all 10 school boards in the GTA)
	2) Municipal Councillors and Mayors (from 25 municipalities in the GTA)
	3) Members of Provincial Parliament from GTA
	4) Members of Parliament from GTA

The methodology for Phase I of this study was informed by the data collection method developed by the Diversity Institute (2009) at Ryerson University. Data were collected through publicly available data sources, such as the Employee and Organization Directory (INFO-GO), the Government Electronic Directory Services (GEDS), the Canada Revenue Agency, Ontario Sunshine List, the website of each organization being analyzed, and all other channels that contain information about the senior leadership structures of the organizations, or the ethnicity information of the senior leaders.

Chinese Canadian leaders were identified through their first and last names (Chinese surnames are mostly identifiable), photos, profiles, and all other information posted to their social media platforms and other places that may allow their ethnicity to be identified. Those whose ethnicity could not be confirmed via publicly available sources were contacted further to verify their ethnicity, provided that their contact information could be obtained. Those whose ethnic background could not be verified by any means (7 out of 9005 Tier 1 leaders, and 3 out of 1737 Tier 2 leaders) were excluded from the analysis. Gender was identified based on the gender presentation or expression of the leaders through their publicly available profiles, photos and the titles prefixing their names.

In Phase II, a recruitment email was sent to all senior leaders who had been confirmed as Chinese Canadians in Phase I, if their contact information was available. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 17 senior leaders who voluntarily participated in the study via videoconferencing. Each interview lasted from 30 to 60 minutes for the participant to share their perspectives of Chinese Canadians' underrepresentation in senior leadership roles, and further, what steps they believe should be taken to enhance workplace equity, diversity and inclusion. To obtain more academic and professional insight into this issue, we also invited 7 senior leaders of Chinese descent, who are not part of the quantitative analysis, to share their experiences and perspectives.



The interview data were analyzed using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Patton, 2014) informed by a critical lens (Foucault, 1980a, 1980b).

Delimitation and Limitation

We delimited this study through examining only the largest organizations in the eight major sectors in the GTA. Our findings therefore only represent the situations of the organizations included in this study.

The quantitative data were collected from each organization at a specific time point between January 2020 and June 2021, and therefore may not represent the current leadership structures of the organizations.

Senior leaders of Chinese descent were mostly identified from their demographic profiles, including surnames, photos, and background experiences obtained from the websites of their affiliated organizations, their social media platforms, news articles, videos and other publicly available sources. Even though we have made extensive effort to ensure the accuracy of data through conducting name search, there is a minimal chance that we may fail to identify the Chinese Canadian leaders with surnames not exclusive to people of Chinese descent, if their demographic information other than names is publicly unavailable.

Chinese Canadians in Leadership Positions – A Quantitative Analysis

Public Service Sector

In this sector, we examined the representation of Chinese Canadians among municipal senior leaders, police regional senior leaders, Government of Ontario senior officials and federal government senior officials working in the GTA.

Municipal Senior Leaders

Tier 1 leaders in this subsector include chief administrative officers or city managers, deputy city managers or commissioners, and others that are defined as Tier 1 leaders by each individual municipality.

Tier 2 leaders include directors, chief officers, city solicitors, city/town clerks and others defined as Tier 2 leaders by the individual municipality.

As shown in Figure 1 and Table 3, Chinese Canadians are severely underrepresented in both Tier 1 and Tier 2 leadership positions. Of the 59 Tier 1 leaders examined, 3.39% are of Chinese

descent. Of the 248 Tier 2 leaders analyzed, 1.61% are of Chinese descent. Chinese Canadian men and women are equally represented in both Tier 1 and Tier 2 leadership in the municipal sector.

Figure 1: Representation in the Public Service Sector - Municipal Senior Leadership

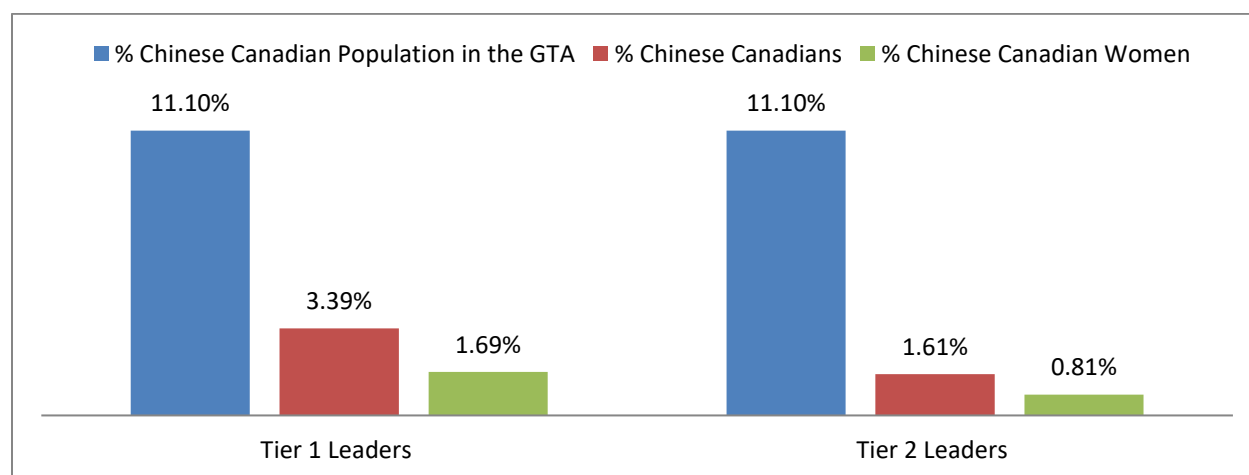


Table 3: Representation in the Public Service Sector – Municipal Senior Leadership

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Tier 1 Leaders	59	59	2	3.39%	1	1.69%
Tier 2 Leaders	248	248	4	1.61%	2	0.81%

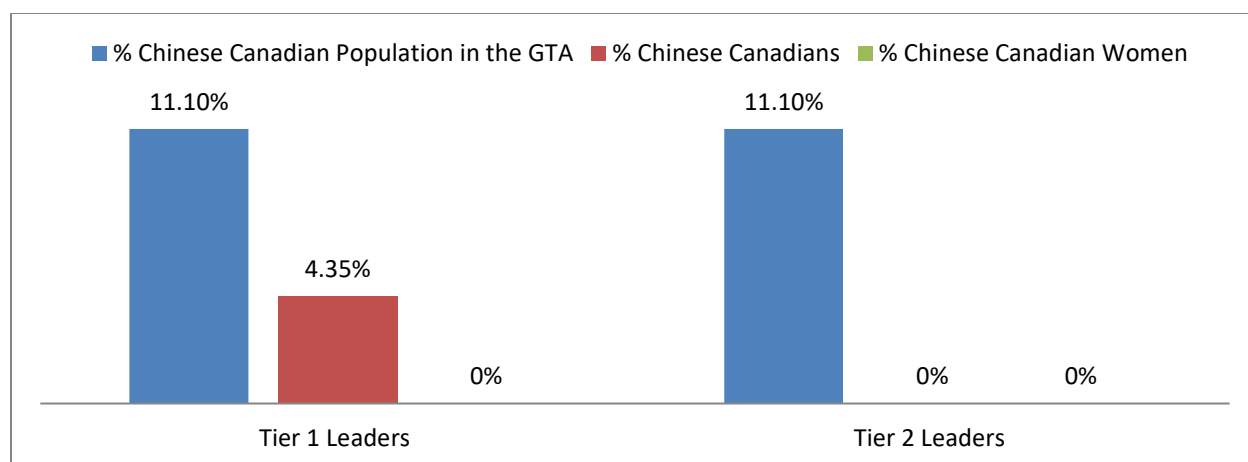
Police Senior Leaders

As illustrated in Table 4 and Figure 2, among 23 Tier 1 leaders (chiefs and deputy chiefs) only one deputy chief in all five regional police services is of Chinese descent. Chinese Canadians are nonexistent among 76 Tier 2 leaders (superintendents). No Chinese Canadian woman was identified in any of the senior police leadership teams.

Table 4: Representation in the Public Service Sector – Police Senior Leadership

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Tier 1 Leaders	23	23	1	4.35%	0	0%
Tier 2 Leaders	76	76	0	0%	0	0%

Figure 2: Representation in the Public Service Sector – Police Senior Leadership



Government of Ontario Senior Officials

Tier 1 senior officials analyzed in this subsector include the Secretary of the Cabinet, deputy ministers, associate ministers, associate deputy ministers, and assistant deputy ministers in 24 ministries. Tier 2 officials analyzed include directors and equivalents in all Ontario public service organizations excluding those working in provincial agencies, which were examined under Agencies, Boards and Commissions.

Chinese Canadians, as shown in Figure 3 and Table 5, are severely underrepresented in both Tier 1 and Tier 2 leadership. Only 2, or 1.07%, of the 187 Tier 1 officials are of Chinese descent; 19, or 2.08%, of the 915 Tier 2 officials are of Chinese descent. Chinese Canadian women are absent in Tier 1 leadership, but represent 1.53% of Tier 2 leaders in Ontario Public Service, higher than men (0.55%).

Figure 3: Representation in the Public Service Sector – Government of Ontario Senior Leadership

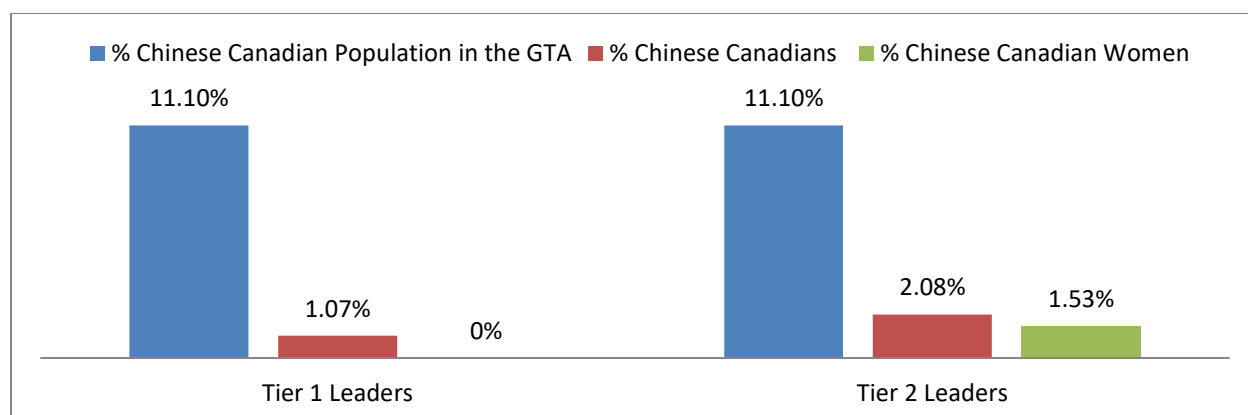


Table 5: Representation in the Public Service Sector – Government of Ontario Senior Leadership

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Tier 1 Leaders	187	187	2	1.07%	0	0%
Tier 2 Leaders	916	915	19	2.08%	14	1.53%

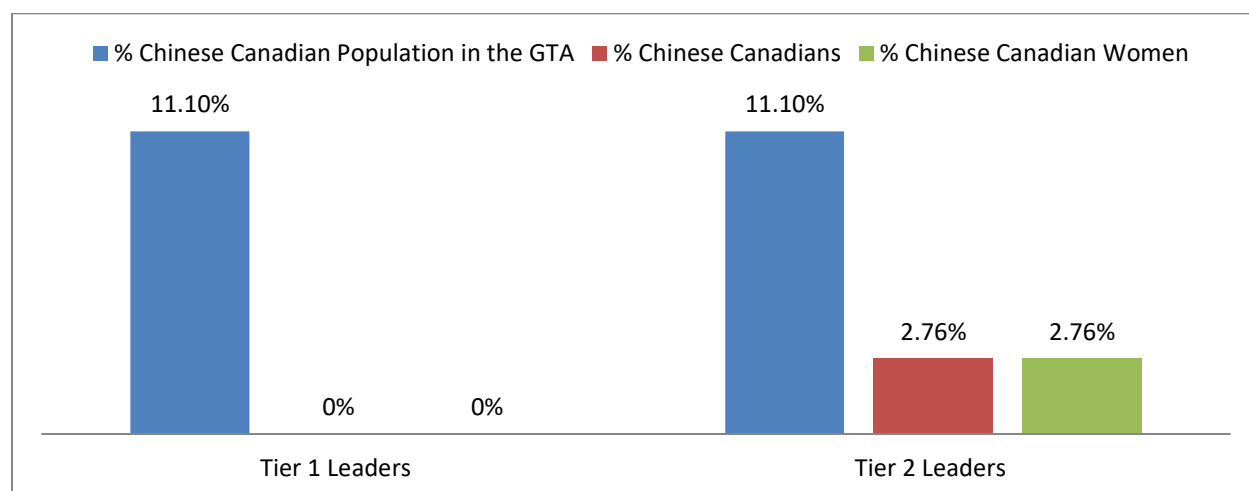
Federal Government Senior Officials

Our analysis of federal government senior officials is restricted to assistant deputy ministers, directors and equivalents who work in the GTA regional offices. As illustrated in Table 6 and Figure 4, Chinese Canadians are nonexistent in Tier 1 leadership. Among the Tier 2 leaders, only 4, or 2.76%, are of Chinese descent, all being women.

Table 6: Representation in the Public Service Sector – Federal Government Senior Leadership (GTA-Based)

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Tier 1 Leaders	1	1	0	0%	0	0%
Tier 2 Leaders	147	145	4	2.76%	4	2.76%

Figure 4: Representation in the Public Service Sector – Federal Government Senior Leadership (GTA-Based)



Public Service Sector Summary

Overall, Chinese Canadians are severely underrepresented in senior leadership positions in the public service sector. As summarized in Tables 7, 8 and Figure 5, Chinese Canadians hold only 1.85% of the 270 Tier 1 leadership positions and 1.95% of the 1384 Tier 2 leadership positions.

Chinese women are nonexistent in the top echelon of public sector leadership except one person in the municipal service subsector. Their representation improves in Tier 2 leadership (1.45%) and surpasses men (0.51%), although the overall numbers remain dismal for both Chinese men and women.

Figure 5: Representation in Tier 1 leadership in the Public Service Sector – Summary

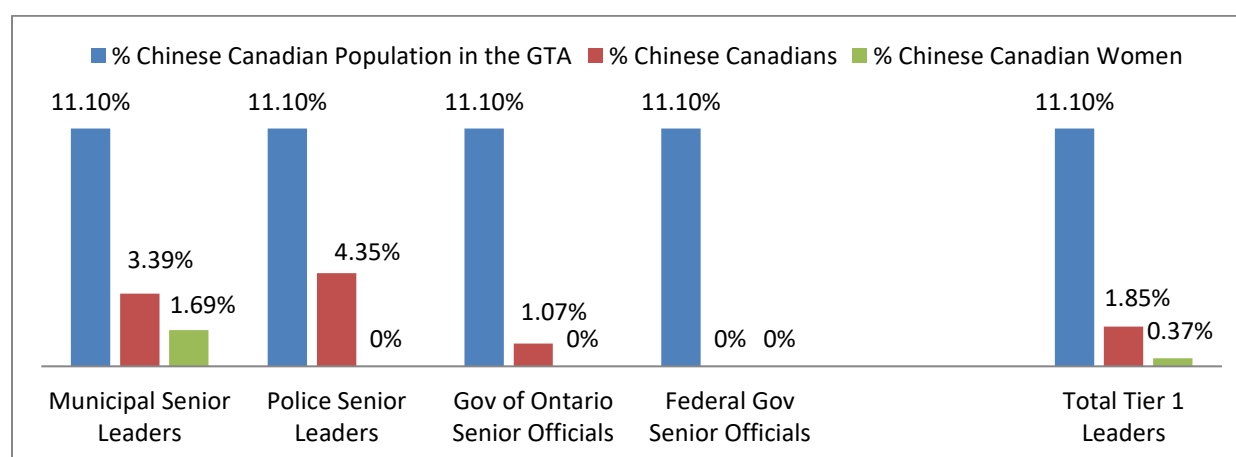


Table 7: Representation in Tier 1 Leadership in the Public Service Sector – Summary

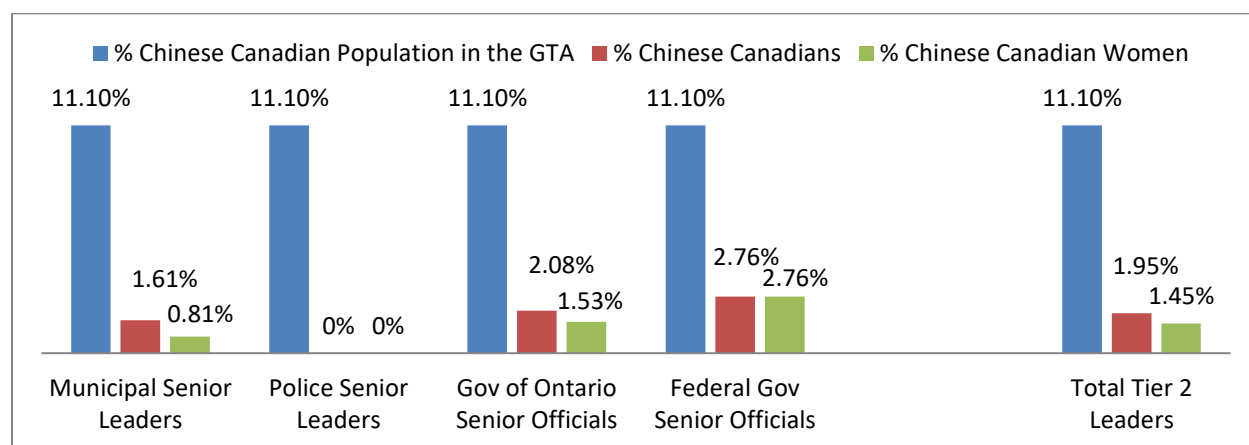
	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Municipal Senior Leaders	59	59	2	3.39%	1	1.69%
Police Senior Leaders	23	23	1	4.35%	0	0%
Gov of Ontario Senior Officials	187	187	2	1.07%	0	0%
Federal Gov Senior Officials	1	1	0	0%	0	0%
Total	270	270	5	1.85%	1	0.37%

Table 8: Representation in Tier 2 Leadership in the Public Service Sector – Summary

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Municipal Senior Leaders	248	248	4	1.61%	2	0.81%
Police Senior Leaders	76	76	0	0%	0	0%
Gov of Ontario Senior Officials	916	915	19	2.08%	14	1.53%
Federal Gov Senior Officials	147	145	4	2.76%	4	2.76%
Total	1387	1384	27	1.95%	20	1.45%

Figure 6 provides a glimpse of Chinese Canadian representation in Tier 2 positions across subsectors of public service. They represent highest in the federal government but are nonexistent in all police services.

It is worrisome that the percentage of Chinese Canadians in Tier 2 leadership is even lower than in Tier 1 in a number of subsectors, indicating serious underdevelopment of an inclusive leadership pipeline.

Figure 6: Representation in Tier 2 Leadership in the Public Service Sector – Summary

Judicial Sector

As illustrated in Table 9 and Figure 7, Chinese Canadians are nonexistent among the 31 judges of the Court of Appeal for Ontario. Of the 190 judges of the Superior Court of Justice, only 1 supernumerary judge is of Chinese descent (Taddese, 2015, February 9). Of the 182 judges of the

Ontario Court of Justice, only 2, or 1.10%, are of Chinese descent. Two of the 3 judges identified as Chinese Canadians are women.

Table 9: Representation in Tier 1 Positions in the Judicial Sector

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Court of Appeal for Ontario	31	31	0	0%	0	0%
Superior Court of Justice	190	190	1	0.53%	1	0.53%
Ontario Court of Justice	182	182	2	1.10%	1	0.55%
Total	403	403	3	0.74%	2	0.50%

Figure 7: Representation in Tier 1 Positions in the Judicial Sector

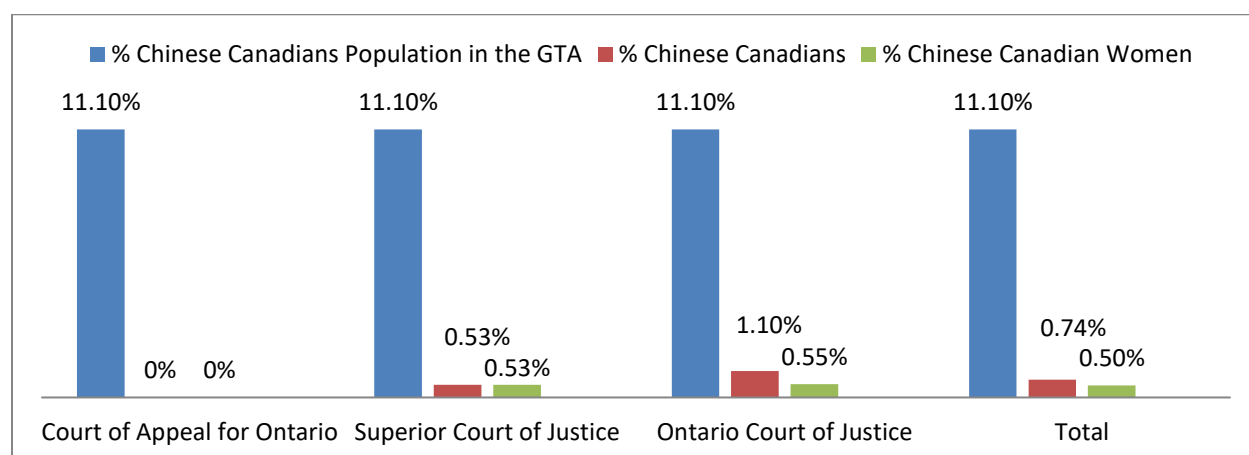
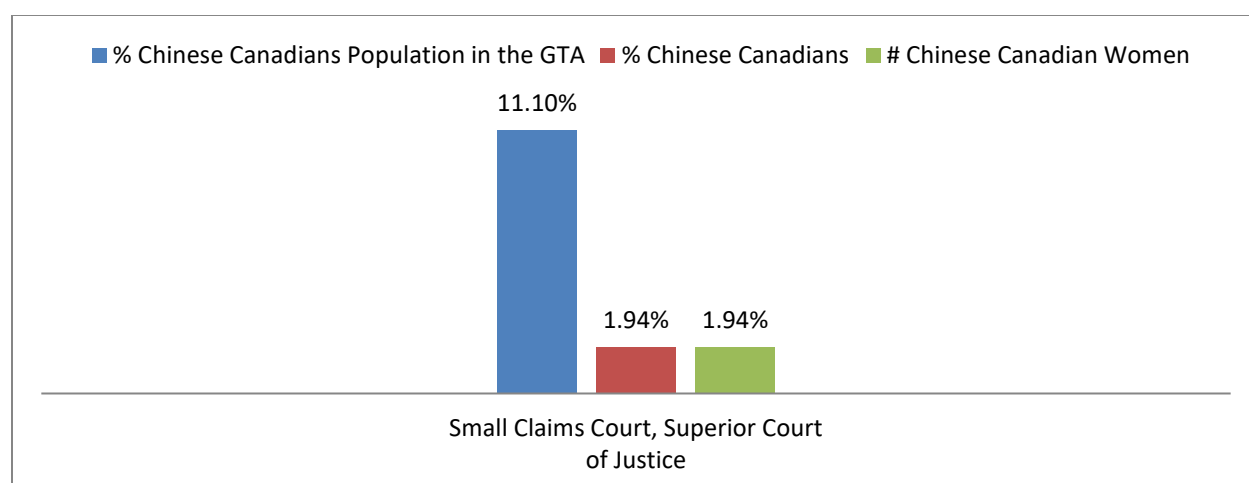


Table 10: Representation in Tier 2 Leadership in the Judicial Sector

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Small Claims Court, Superior Court of Justice	155	155	3	1.94%	3	1.94%

As shown in Table 10 and Figure 8, of the 155 deputy judges in the Small Claims Court branch of the Superior Court of Justice, only 3, or 1.94%, are of Chinese descent, all being women.

Figure 8: Representation in Tier 2 Positions in the Judicial Sector

Corporate Sector

According to FP500, among the top 500 Canadian corporations ranked by revenue in 2017, 187 of them (including the big four accounting firms) have headquarters in the GTA. Our examination of the corporate sector therefore included the board of directors and C-suite executives of the top 183 GTA-based corporations⁴, Tier 1 executives of the big 4 accounting firms in Canada, as well as the Tier 1 executives of the largest 7 Canadian law firms (all Toronto-based) by revenue in 2017.

Our data included only Canadian leadership teams. Leaders based outside of Canada were excluded.

A number of Ontario and Toronto agencies, boards and commissions (ABCs) were on the list of the top 183 corporations ranked by Financial Post. These ABCs included the Workplace Safety and Insurance Board, Liquor Control Board of Ontario, Ontario Power Generation Inc., Toronto Hydro Corp., Toronto Transit Commission, and the Greater Toronto Airports Authority. These organizations were examined in the corporate sector and excluded from the data of the ABC sector to avoid duplication.

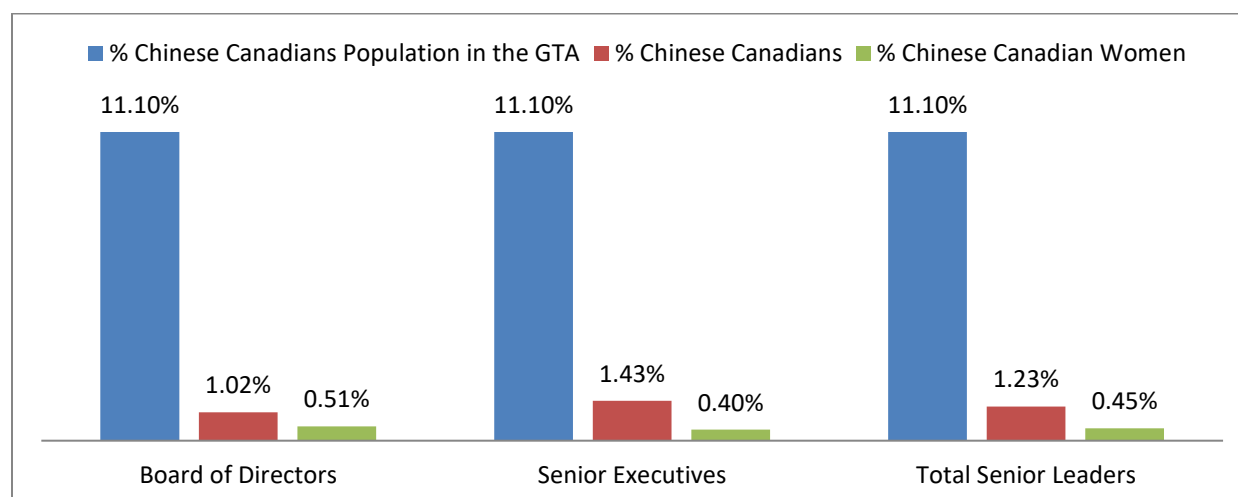
As illustrated in Table 11, and Figures 9 and 10, Chinese Canadians in the top 183 GTA corporations hold only 12, or 1.02%, of the 1182 board member positions.

Of the 1259 senior executives in the top 183 GTA corporations, 18, or 1.43%, of the positions are held by Chinese Canadians.

⁴ See Appendix 1 for the complete list of the 183 corporations.

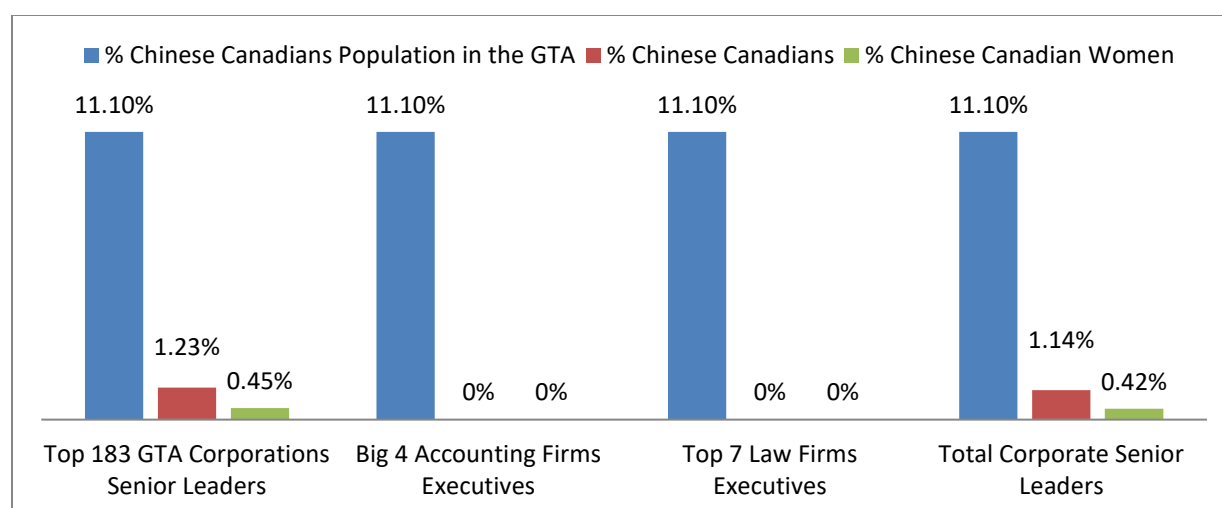
Table 11: Representation in the Corporate Sector – Summary

		Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Top 183 GTA Corporations by Revenue	Board of Directors	1182	1182	12	1.02%	6	0.51%
	Senior Executives	1261	1259	18	1.43%	5	0.40%
	Total	2443	2441	30	1.23%	11	0.45%
Big 4 Accounting Firm Executives		63	63	0	0%	0	0%
Top 7 Law Firm Executives		125	125	0	0%	0	0%
Total Corporate Executives		2631	2629	30	1.14%	11	0.42%

Figure 9: Representation in the Corporate Sector – Top 183 GTA Corporations by Revenue

In the executive teams of the big four accounting firms and top 7 law firms, Chinese Canadians are nonexistent.

Overall, Chinese Canadians represent 1.14% of the executive leaders in the corporate sector. Chinese Canadian women's representation on boards is the same as men, but they represent only 0.40% of senior executive positions, significantly lower than that of men (1.03%).

Figure 10: Representation in the Corporate Sector – Summary

Core Health Care Sector

This study examined the 32 largest GTA-based core health care organizations⁵ with 300 or more full-time employees based on a 2018 list provided by the Canada Revenue Agency. Senior leaders identified in this sector included board of directors and executives that are defined as Tier 1 leaders by the individual organizations.

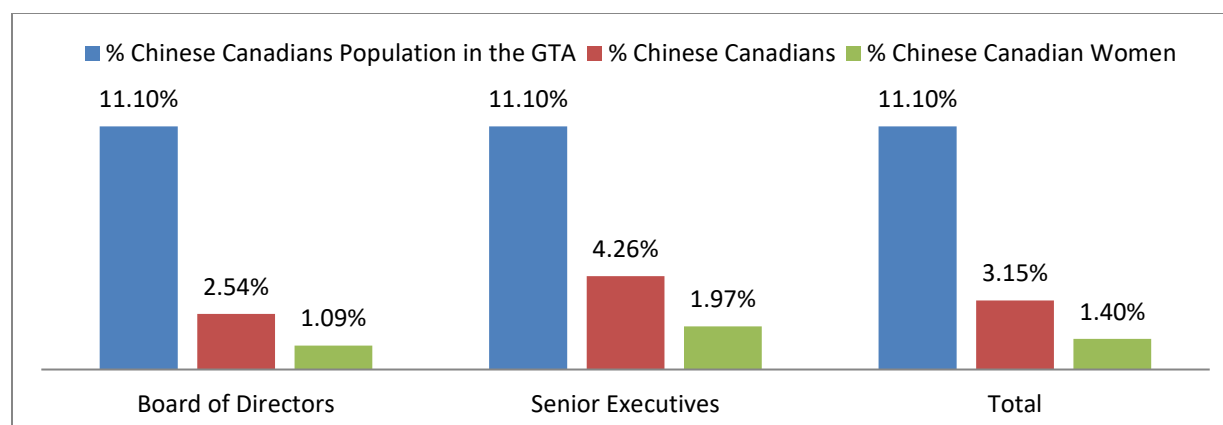
As presented in Table 12 and Figure 11, Chinese Canadians hold 2.54% of the 551 board positions in the 32 largest core health care organizations in GTA. Of the 305 senior executives, 4.26% are of Chinese ancestry.

Overall, Chinese Canadians hold 3.15% of all senior leader positions in the core health care sector. Chinese Canadian women represent slightly less than men on both board and senior executive teams.

Table 12: Representation in the Core Health Care Sector

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Board of Directors	551	551	14	2.54%	6	1.09%
Senior Executives	305	305	13	4.26%	6	1.97%
Total	856	856	27	3.15%	12	1.40%

⁵ See Appendix 2 for the full list of the organizations.

Figure 11: Representation in the Core Health Care Sector

Education Sector

Post-Secondary Educational Institutions

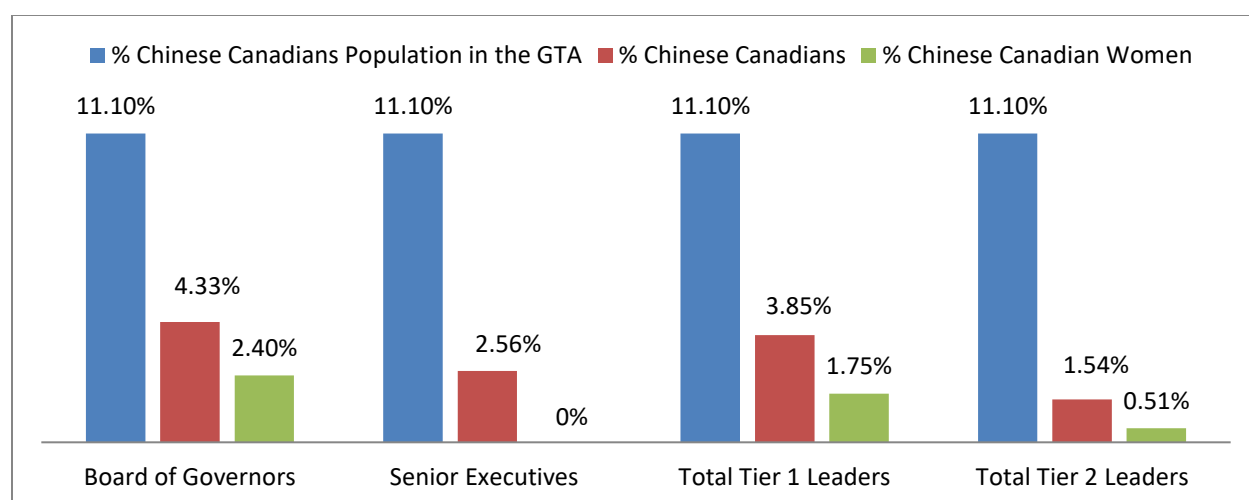
The following post-secondary educational institutions with an full-time employee number of 450 or more were analyzed: University of Toronto, York University, Ryerson University, Humber College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning, Sheridan College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning, Seneca College of Applied Arts and Technology, George Brown College of Applied Arts and Technology, Centennial College of Applied Arts and Technology, Durham College of Applied Arts & Technology, Ontario Tech University, and Ontario College of Art and Design University.

We were able to identify both Tier 1 leaders, including board of governors and senior executives (presidents, chancellors, VPs, associate VPs, provosts, vice-provosts), and Tier 2 leaders (assistant VPs, deans, college heads/principals and equivalents).

As illustrated in Figure 12 and Table 13, Chinese Canadians hold 9, or 4.33%, of the 208 board positions and 2, or 2.56%, of the 78 senior executive positions. Overall, Chinese Canadians hold 11, or 3.85%, of the first-tier leadership positions in the post-secondary sector.

Of the 195 Tier 2 leaders analyzed, 3, or 1.54%, are of Chinese descent. Similar to the public service sector, Chinese Canadian representation is even lower in the pipeline positions than in Tier 1 leadership.

Chinese Canadian women represent slightly higher than men on boards, but are completely missing in Tier 1 executive positions. At the Tier 2 level, only 1 position is held by a Chinese Canadian woman.

Figure 12: Representation in Post-Secondary Institutions**Table 13: Representation in Post-Secondary Institutions**

		Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Tier 1 Leaders	Board of Directors	208	208	9	4.33%	5	2.40%
	Senior Executives	78	78	2	2.56%	0	0%
	Total	286	286	11	3.85%	5	1.75%
Tier 2 Leaders		195	195	3	1.54%	1	0.51%

School Boards

Senior leaders (school district directors, associate directors, superintendents and equivalents) in all 10 public and Catholic district school boards in the five regions (Toronto, York, Peel, Halton and Durham) of the GTA were included in the analysis.

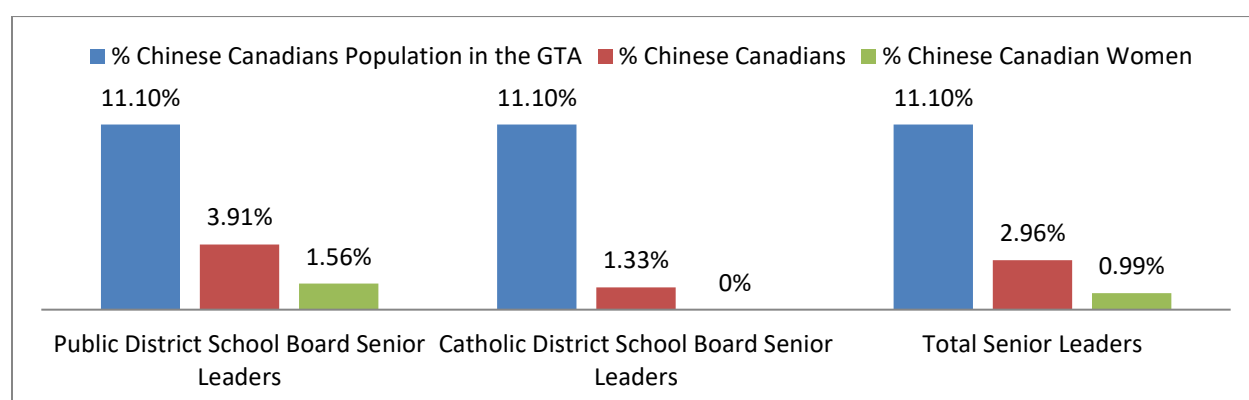
As presented in Figure 13 and Table 14, Chinese Canadians hold 5, or 3.91%, of the 128 senior leadership positions in public district school boards, and 1, or 1.33%, of the 75 senior leadership positions in Catholic district school boards. The overall representation is 2.96%.

In the 5 public school boards, 2 of the 5 Chinese Canadian leaders identified are women. In the 5 Catholic school boards, however, no Chinese Canadian women were identified.

Significantly, none of the school board directors or associate directors are Chinese in any of the 10 school boards.

Table 14: Representation in School Boards

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Public School Board Senior Leaders	128	128	5	3.91%	2	1.56%
Catholic School Board Senior Leaders	75	75	1	1.33%	0	0%
Total	203	203	6	2.96%	2	0.99%

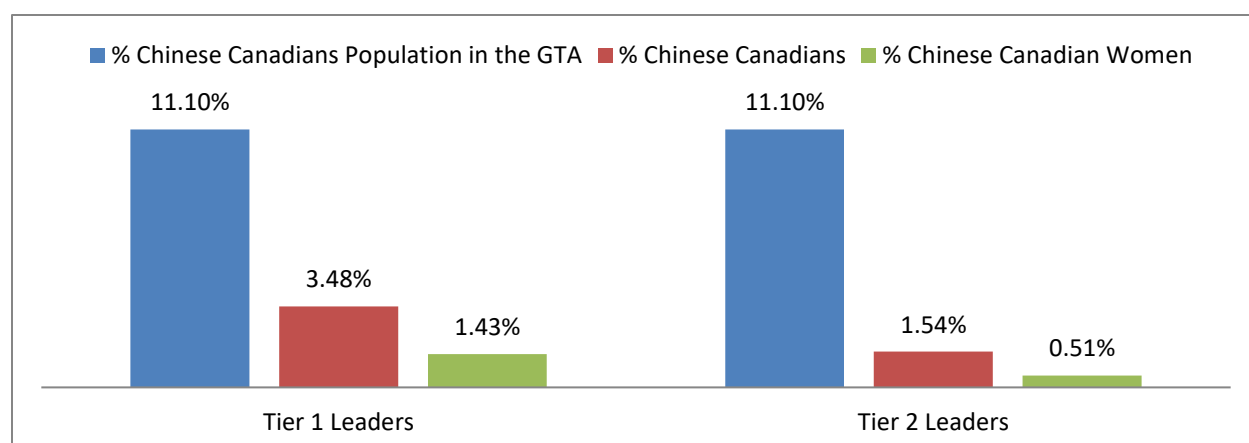
Figure 13: Representation in School Boards

Education Sector Summary

Figure 14 and Table 15 show the overall Chinese Canadian leadership representation in the education sector. They represent 17, or 3.48%, of the 489 Tier 1 leaders, and 3, or 1.54%, of the 195 Tier 2 leaders. They represent slightly higher in the post-secondary institutions than in the school boards. Chinese Canadian women's representation is much lower than men in both the post-secondary institutions and the school boards.

Table 15: Representation in the Education Sector-Summary

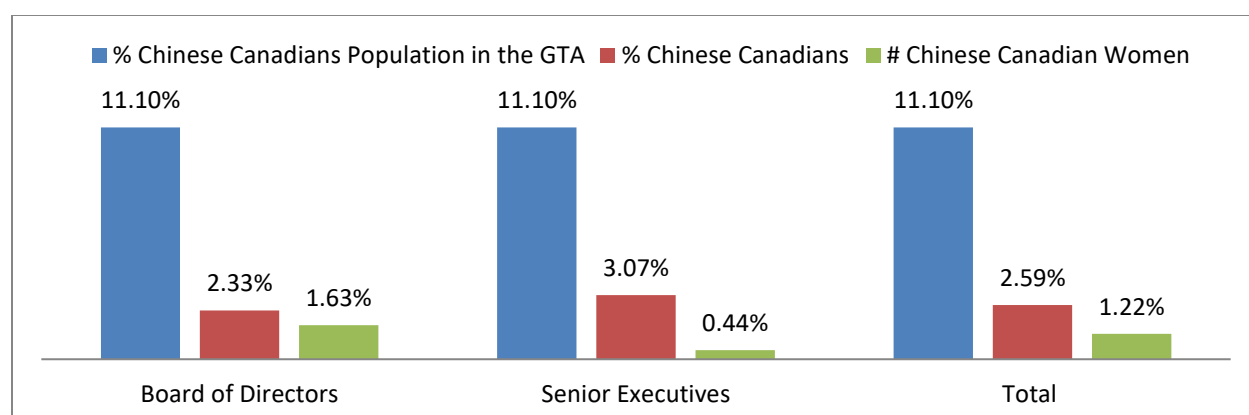
		Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Tier 1	Post-Secondary Institutions	286	286	11	3.85%	5	1.75%
	District School Boards	203	203	6	2.96%	2	0.99%
	Total	489	489	17	3.48%	7	1.43%
Tier 2	Post-Secondary Institutions	195	195	3	1.54%	1	0.51%

Figure 14: Representation in the Education Sector - Summary

Charitable Sector

Our analysis in this sector was restricted to the board members and senior executives in the 30 largest registered charities (ranked by full-time employee numbers) in the GTA with a minimum of 200 full-time employees, excluding educational institutions, core health care organizations, religious and ethno-cultural organizations. The list of largest charities was obtained from the Canada Revenue Agency.

A number of ABCs, such as Art Gallery of Ontario and Royal Ontario Museum, were also categorized and analyzed in this sector, and were therefore excluded from the Agencies, Boards and Commissions.

Figure 15: Representation in the Charitable Sector**Table 16: Representation in the Charitable Sector**

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Board of Directors	429	429	10	2.33%	7	1.63%
Senior Executives	228	228	7	3.07%	1	0.44%
Total	657	657	17	2.59%	8	1.22%

As depicted in Figure 15 and Table 16, Chinese Canadians hold 2.33% of the 429 board positions, and 3.07% of the 228 senior executive positions. Overall, they represent 2.59% of the senior leaders in the charitable sector.

Chinese Canadian women's representation in board positions is significantly higher than that of men's. Of the 228 senior executives, however, there is only 1 woman of Chinese descent.

Ontario and Toronto Agencies, Boards and Commissions

Ontario and Toronto agencies, boards and commissions play a critical role in delivering key services across the GTA and influencing policy making and enactment.

A total of 496 Ontario agencies, boards and commissions⁶ were examined, excluding university and college boards of governors and the organizations already analyzed in the corporate and

⁶ See Appendix 5 for the complete list of Ontario agencies, boards and commissions examined in this study.

charitable sectors. The list of provincial ABCs was obtained from the website of the Government of Ontario.

A total of 70 City of Toronto boards, committees and tribunals⁷ were analyzed, excluding those already examined in other sectors. The list of Toronto ABCs was obtained from the website of the City of Toronto.

Figure 16 and Table 17 summarize the results of the government appointments on ABCs. Of the 2677 appointments made by the Government of Ontario, only 1.46% are of Chinese descent. Of the 552 appointments made to Toronto boards, committees and tribunals, 6.16% are of Chinese descent. Chinese Canadian women represent a mere 0.67% of appointments made to Ontario ABCs, which is slightly lower than men. For Toronto ABCs, Chinese Canadian women represent 3.26%, slightly higher than men.

Overall, Chinese Canadians represent 2.26% of the 3229 Ontario and Toronto ABC appointments.

Figure 16: Representation in the Ontario and Toronto Agencies, Boards and Commissions

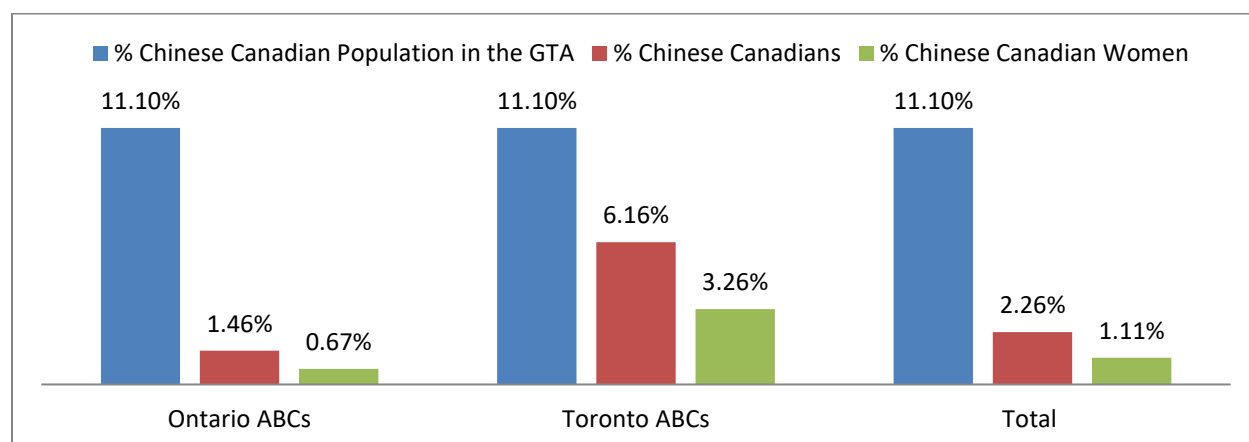


Table 17: Representation in the Ontario and Toronto Agencies, Boards and Commissions

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Ontario ABCs	2682	2677	39	1.46%	18	0.67%
Toronto ABCs	552	552	34	6.16%	18	3.26%
Total	3234	3229	73	2.26%	36	1.11%

⁷ See Appendix 6 for the complete list of Toronto boards, committees and tribunals examined in this study.

Elected Office

The following elected officials in the GTA were analyzed:

- School Board Trustees (from all 10 school boards)
- Municipal Councillors and Mayors (from 25 municipalities)
- Members of Provincial Parliament
- Members of Parliament

School Board Trustees

As presented in Figure 16 and Table 18, Chinese Canadians represent 9.09% of the trustee positions in the Toronto District School Board and 25% in the York Region District School Board, but are completely absent in the rest of the eight school boards. In total, Chinese Canadians hold 7.35% of the 68 trustee positions on the five public school boards. Two out of the 5 Chinese trustees are women.

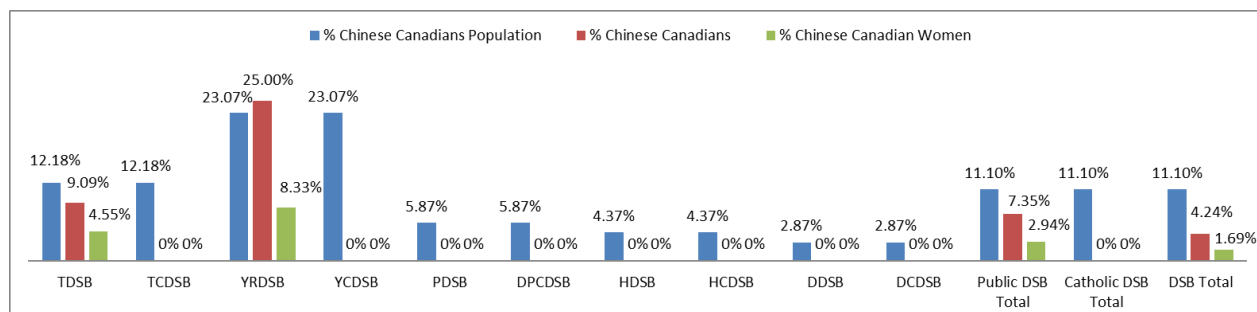
There is no Chinese Canadian representation among the 50 Catholic school board trustees.

Table 18: Representation in Elected Office – School Board Trustees

School Board	Population % Chinese Canadians	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Toronto DSB	12.18%	22	22	2	9.09%	1	4.55%
Toronto Catholic DSB		12	12	0	0%	0	0%
York Region DSB	23.07%	12	12	3	25.00%	1	8.33%
York Catholic DSB		10	10	0	0%	0	0%
Peel DSB	5.87%	12	12	0	0%	0	0%
Dufferin-Peel Catholic DSB		11	11	0	0%	0	0%
Halton DSB	4.37%	11	11	0	0%	0	0%
Halton Catholic DSB		9	9	0	0%	0	0%
Durham DSB	2.87%	11	11	0	0%	0	0%
Durham Catholic DSB		8	8	0	0%	0	0%

Public DSB Total	11.1%	68	68	5	7.35%	2	2.94%
Catholic DSB Total		50	50	0	0%	0	0%
DSB Total		118	118	5	4.24%	2	1.69%

Figure 17: Representation in Elected Office – School Board Trustees



Municipal Councillors and Mayors

As shown in Table 19, 4.64% of the 237 municipal councillors and mayors are of Chinese descent. They are elected in Ajax, Markham, Richmond Hill, Toronto and Vaughan, but hold no seats in the rest of the 20 municipalities. Chinese Canadian women's representation (2.11%) is slightly lower than that of men (2.53%).

Table 19: Representation in Elected Office - Municipal Councillors and Mayors

Municipality	Population % Chinese Canadians	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Ajax	4.60%	7	7	1	14.29%	0	0%
Aurora	10.93%	7	7	0	0%	0	0%
Brampton	2.56%	11	11	0	0%	0	0%
Brock	0.52%	7	7	0	0%	0	0%
Burlington	2.55%	7	7	0	0%	0	0%
Caledon	1.50%	9	9	0	0%	0	0%
Clarington	0.85%	7	7	0	0%	0	0%
East Gwillimbury	3.27%	7	7	0	0%	0	0%
Georgina	1.77%	7	7	0	0%	0	0%
Halton Hills	1.14%	11	11	0	0%	0	0%
King	2.08%	7	7	0	0%	0	0%
Markham	46.23%	13	13	4	30.77%	2	15.38%

Milton	3.42%	9	9	0	0%	0	0%
Mississauga	9.00%	12	12	0	0%	0	0%
Newmarket	7.60%	9	9	0	0%	0	0%
Oakville	7.66%	15	15	0	0%	0	0%
Oshawa	2.05%	11	11	0	0%	0	0%
Pickering	4.27%	7	7	0	0%	0	0%
Richmond Hill	29.99%	9	9	2	22.22%	0	0%
Scugog	0.72%	7	7	0	0%	0	0%
Toronto	12.18%	26	26	3	11.54%	2	7.69%
Uxbridge	1.56%	7	7	0	0%	0	0%
Vaughan	7.88%	9	9	1	11.11%	1	11.11%
Whitby	3.52%	9	9	0	0%	0	0%
Whitchurch-Stouffville	14.60%	7	7	0	0%	0	0%
Total	11.10%	237	237	11	4.64%	5	2.11%

Members of Provincial Parliament and Members of Parliament

Figure 18 and Table 20 show the results of elected representatives to the provincial and national parliaments. Of the 55 GTA MPPs, 3, or 5.45%, are Chinese Canadians; of the 55 GTA MPs, 4, or 7.27%, are Chinese Canadians. Representation of Chinese Canadian women in the provincial Parliament is 1.82%, lower than that of men (3.64%). Their representation in the national Parliament is the same as men (3.64%).

Figure 18: Representation in Elected Office – MPPs and MPs

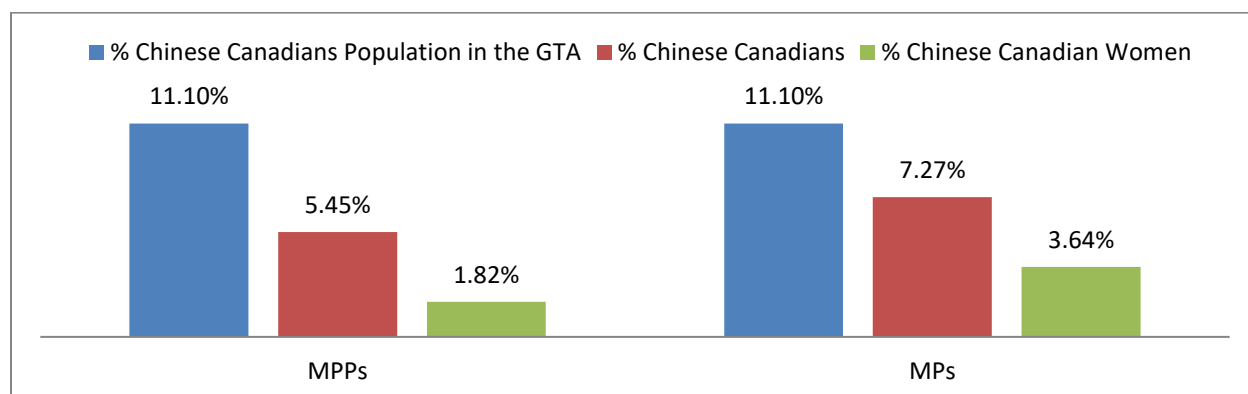


Table 20: Representation in Elected Office – MPPs and MPs

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
MPPs	55	55	3	5.45%	1	1.82%
MPs	55	55	4	7.27%	2	3.64%

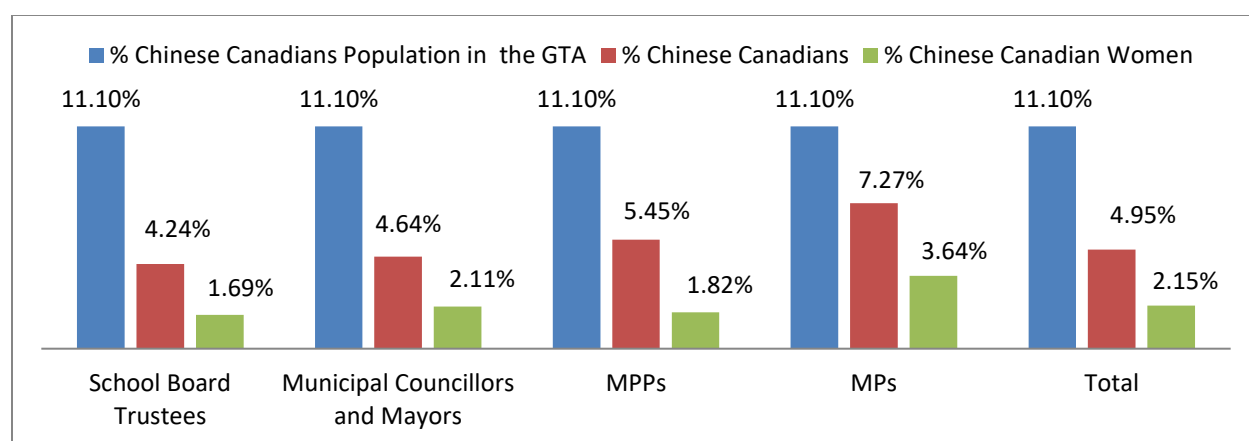
Elected Office Summary

As summed up in Table 21 and Figure 19, Chinese Canadians represent 4.95% of elected officials in the GTA. Women's representation (2.15%) is slightly lower than that of men's (2.80%).

Table 21: Representation in Elected Office – Summary

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
School Board Trustees	118	118	5	4.24%	2	1.69%
Municipal Councillors & Mayors	237	237	11	4.64%	5	2.11%
MPPs	55	55	3	5.45%	1	1.82%
MPs	55	55	4	7.27%	2	3.64%
Total	465	465	23	4.95%	10	2.15%

Figure 19: Representation in Elected Office – Summary



Summary of Quantitative Data

The quantitative data collected in this study suggest that Chinese Canadians are extremely underrepresented in senior leadership positions in all eight sectors in the GTA.

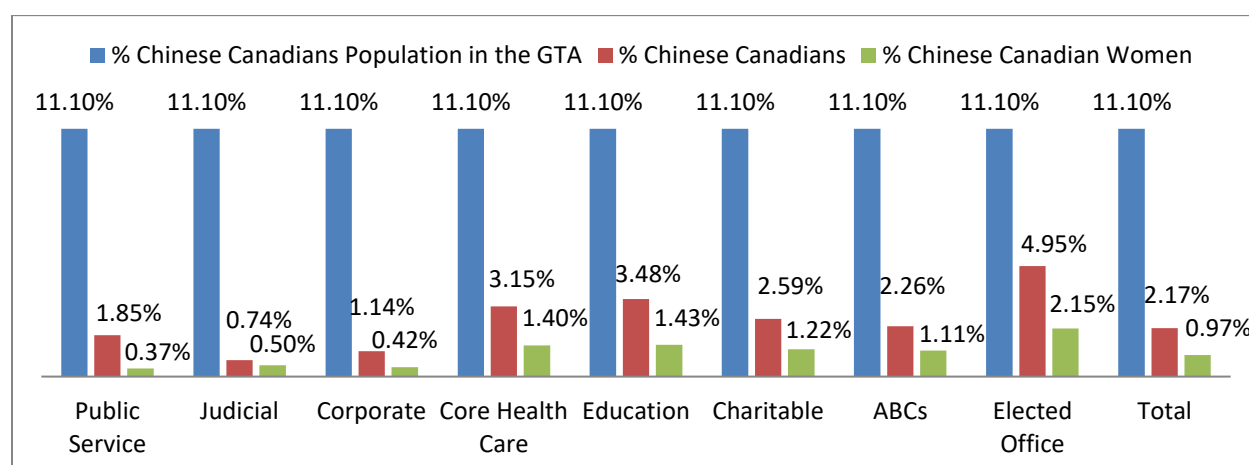
Table 22 provides a summary of Chinese Canadian representation in Tier 1 leadership positions. Of the 8,998 Tier 1 leaders examined, only 2.17% are of Chinese descent, which means that they have 80.45% lower representation compared to the percentage of their population (11.1%).

Table 22: Representation of Chinese Canadians in Tier 1 Leadership Positions

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Public Service	270	270	5	1.85%	1	0.37%
Judicial	403	403	3	0.74%	2	0.50%
Corporate	2631	2629	30	1.14%	11	0.42%
Core Health Care	856	856	27	3.15%	12	1.40%
Education	489	489	17	3.48%	7	1.43%
Charitable	657	657	17	2.59%	8	1.22%
ABCs	3234	3229	73	2.26%	36	1.11%
Elected Office	465	465	23	4.95%	10	2.15%
Total	9005	8998	195	2.17%	87	0.97%

In a similar study conducted by Ryerson University's Diversity Institute (2014), racialized people, who represented 53.7% of the GTA population, took up 12.8% of senior leadership positions in six sectors across the GTA (p. 2), which amounted to 76.16% lower representation when compared to their population. Even though these two studies did not examine exactly the same groups of organizations, they are comparable in many ways. The findings of our study indicate that Chinese Canadian leadership representation in the GTA is even lower than that of racialized Canadians seven years ago.

Chinese Canadian women represent only 0.97% of Tier 1 leadership positions, lower than that of men (1.20%). Except for the judicial sector, women representation is lower than men in all sectors. Their representation is extremely low in the public service (0.37%) and corporate (0.42%) sectors.

Figure 20: Chinese Canadians' Representation in Tier 1 Leadership Positions

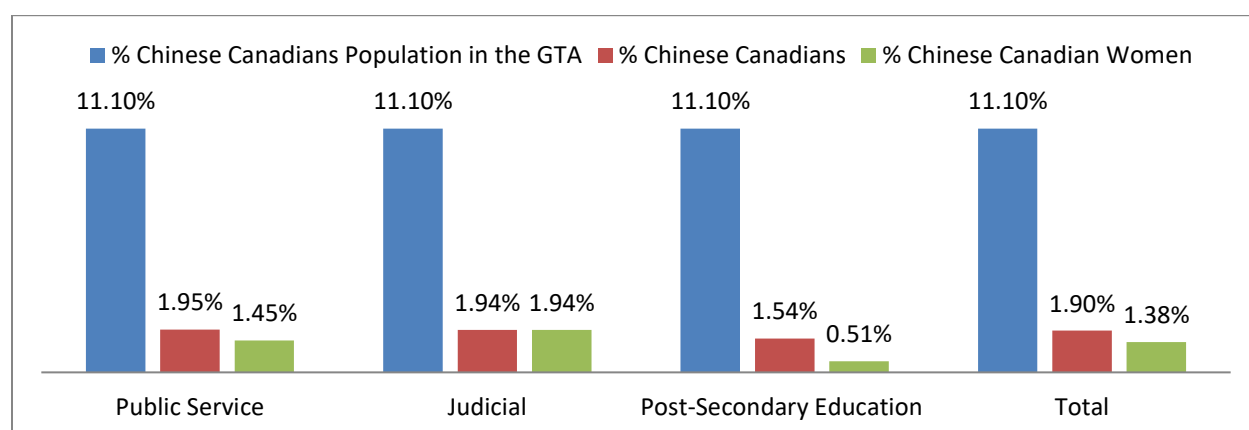
Across sectors, as depicted in Figure 20, Chinese Canadians hold the highest percentage of seats in elected office, which is 4.95%, and lowest in the judicial sector, which is only 0.74%.

Tier 2 leadership data were collected in only public service, judicial and higher education sectors, due to the unavailability of information from other sectors. As shown in Table 23 and Figure 21, of the 1,734 Tier 2 leaders examined, only 1.90% are of Chinese descent, which is equivalent to 82.88% lower representation compared to the percentage of their population.

Table 23: Representation of Chinese Canadians in Tier 2 Leadership Positions

	Total Collected	Total Analyzed	# Chinese Canadians	% Chinese Canadians	# Chinese Canadian Women	% Chinese Canadian Women
Public Service	1387	1384	27	1.95%	20	1.45%
Judicial	155	155	3	1.94%	3	1.94%
Post-Secondary Education	195	195	3	1.54%	1	0.51%
Total	1737	1734	33	1.90%	24	1.38%

Figure 21: Chinese Canadians in Tier 2 Leadership Positions



The most alarming discovery of this study is that the overall representation of Chinese Canadians in the Tier 2 pipeline positions (1.90%) is even lower than that in Tier 1 leadership (2.17%), a composite of the fact that there is a reduction in Chinese representation in most of the workplaces in the three sectors examined. Among the municipal senior leaders, for example, Chinese Canadians represent 3.39% in Tier 1, but only 1.61% in Tier 2. In the police sector, there is one deputy chief of Chinese descent among the 23 Tier 1 police leaders, but no Chinese Canadian was identified among the 76 Tier 2 leaders. In post-secondary educational institutions, 3.85% of the 286 Tier 1 leaders are Chinese, but only 1.54% of the 195 Tier 2 leaders are of

Chinese descent. These numbers underscore the gravity of the situation faced by Chinese Canadians and the urgency of addressing the issue of underrepresentation by Chinese Canadians.

Chinese Canadian women represent much higher than men in Tier 2 leadership, taking up over 70% of the total number of Chinese Canadian leaders. Future studies are desired to examine the causes of the extremely low percentage of pipeline positions held by Chinese Canadian men.

It should also be noted that in the corporate, charitable and education sectors, most Chinese Canadian women identified in Tier 1 leadership are board members, not senior executives. In fact, they are largely absent in executive positions.

In a recent study by Diversity Institute (2020), researchers examined the board representation of women, Black and other racialized people among 9,843 board members in the corporate, voluntary, hospital and education sectors and municipal and provincial ABCs in Toronto and seven other big cities in Canada. As displayed in Table 24, in terms of percentage of lower representation compared to population, Chinese Canadians have lower representation in four of the six sectors than racialized people overall.

Table 24: Representation on Boards of Directors in the GTA: Racialized People (51.4% of population) vs. Chinese Canadians (11.1% of population)

	% in Board Positions		% Lower Representation Compared to Population	
	Racialized People (Diversity Institute, 2020)	Chinese Canadians (Current Study)	Racialized People (Diversity Institute, 2020)	Chinese Canadians (Current Study)
Corporate Sector	4.3%	1.02%	91.63%	90.81%
Hospital Sector	18.1%	2.54%	64.79%	77.12%
Voluntary Sector	16.2%	2.33%	68.48%	79.01%
Universities and Colleges	25.3%	4.33%	50.78%	60.99%
Ontario ABCs	10.7%	1.46%	79.18%	86.85%
Toronto ABCs	21.7%	6.16%	57.78%	44.50%

There findings confirm the existence of the “bamboo ceiling” for Chinese Canadians, who are usually portrayed as successful, model minorities in the contemporary popular media. The following section attempts to unveil the “model minority” myth and explore the challenges and barriers Chinese Canadians have encountered in the workplace, as an effort to broaden and deepen the discussion of workplace diversity and inclusion in Canada.



Perspectives of Chinese Canadian Leaders – A Qualitative Analysis

In order to gain an understanding of the quantitative data, we invited the senior leaders of Chinese descent identified in the quantitative study to share their life experiences, observations and perspectives. This has been beneficial in at least two ways. First, it provided important information that enriched our understanding of the issue examined. Secondly, as noted by most participants, the interviews afforded reflective opportunities for them that may bring about potential personal development and positive changes in their own leadership practices.

The number of participants recruited was limited by the overall low number of Chinese leaders identified, the difficulty in obtaining their contact information, and the low response rate. Nonetheless, 17 leaders (9 women and 8 men), identified in Phase I of the study, participated in the research. They covered all eight sectors and provided valuable data to elucidate the issue of underrepresentation of Chinese Canadians in senior leadership. To deepen our understanding of this issue, we interviewed an additional 7 Chinese Canadians across Canada, who were not part of the quantitative study but have senior leadership experience in large organizations.

Findings

Our study has identified four main obstacles faced by Chinese Canadians on their leadership journey:

- The struggle to fit in the non-inclusive work environments, or fit the “preferred” leadership prototypes;
- Racial and gender biases and discrimination;
- Internalized racism; and,
- Lack of mentorship support.

These challenges are heavily related to the misrepresentation of Chinese Canadians, especially women, in the media, the masculinized and westernized leadership prototypes, and most fundamentally, the tremendous impact of racism on shaping the perspectives and identities of Chinese and other racialized Canadians.

With regard to solutions, participants recommended possible initiatives that may be taken at the government and organizational levels to enhance workplace equity, diversity and inclusion.

The Struggle to Fit in

Discussions and calls for embracing a culture of diversity instead of expecting or requiring racialized people to fit into a monoculture has gone on for decades (Kamenou & Fearfull, 2006). However, Chinese Canadians still face the same old issue of “fitting in.” Some participants

shared their challenges in trying to find an organization that they feel “comfortable” to stay, one that has a work environment respecting and supporting diversity. One participant became emotional when recalling how he had been feeling excluded in a number of organizations before finally joined an organization where he started to “feel at home” for the first time.

Another participant remarked that much of her success in advancing her career had been because she had downplayed her Chinese culture at work, and “very much tried to conform to the culture of the organization.” She reflected,

Now that I'm in a much more senior role, I've realized that I've had to compromise a lot of who I am, in order to advance. And I don't think that is right. How much we value diversity in this country! And so, it is something that I think needs to be changed for future generations. Everyone should be celebrated for who they are. And there shouldn't be a need to, you know, diminish your heritage, in order to be seen, as you know, like everybody else in order to be advanced professionally.

Another participant described how she had to step outside her culture in order to get promoted to leadership. She believed that the way she grew up, and the things she had been taught, such as being humble and “waiting for an opportunity to express your opinions,” were in conflict with the larger workplace culture that “promotes self-promotion.” People with values cherished in traditional Chinese culture, such as showing respect for elders and people of senior positions, working hard without complaining, making peace and avoiding conflicts, may sometimes be interpreted as “non-leadership material” in the Canadian workplace.

Consistent with findings in existing literature, especially in gender studies (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, et al., 2011; Hoyt & Burnette, 2013; Koburtay & Syed, 2020; Rosette, de Leon, Koval & Harrison, 2018), participants’ responses suggest that leadership is still largely stereotyped, and “predominantly masculine, predominantly Western.” One participant commented that in some charitable organizations, there are now new ways of articulating leadership, such as emotional intelligence, thoughtfulness, caring, being visionary and decisive, but such norms are not yet accepted in private, public or other for-profit sectors, “not even in the academic areas.”

The masculinized and westernized leadership prototype poses problems for Chinese Canadians, especially women. For participants who were raised in a traditional Chinese culture, certain merits and values they were taught are in conflict with the expectations of leaders in many Canadian work settings, which makes it challenging for them to fit the cultural construal of leadership.

The perceived “lack of assertiveness” among East Asians is another barrier identified by participants, which aligns with the findings by Lu, Nisbett, & Morris (2020) that examined the causes of the underrepresentation in leadership positions of East Asians in the United States. Lu, Nisbett and Morris (2020) found that East Asians’ underrepresentation in leadership positions



resulted from “their low assertiveness,” which is “incongruent with American norms concerning how leaders should communicate” (p. 4590).

Such “norms,” however, are neither the only nor better standards of leadership qualities, especially when compared with alternatives informed by cultural diversities. A respectful, collaborative and/or contemplative leadership style rooted in the Chinese or East-Asian cultures can be just as effective and productive. Understanding cultural differences and embracing different prototypes of leadership that exploit the strengths of different cultures would be particularly beneficial for organizations.

One of the participants believed that Chinese culture has in reality helped her to become a better leader:

I don't think a leader needs to be the loudest voice in the world. And I certainly think a lot of things that have been instilled in me as a child and how I've grown up enhanced my leadership. And so family has always been instilled in me as really important. Loyalty, having really good values, respecting each other – respect is a big component of how I've grown... Those are, to me, are our strengths that I bring to the table. I'm not the loudest person in the room. I'm a quiet leader, actually. But I was also taught, if you listen more, you talk less – it actually brings you much more respect and credibility as a leader.

Such findings further confirm the importance of integrating diversity throughout the value chain in an organization, including modifying existing norms, in order to leverage diverse talents in an increasingly globalized society.

Even for participants whose upbringing had not been strongly influenced by East-Asian culture, they nevertheless struggled to fit in, because they had to work extra harder to overcome the stereotypes that Chinese or East-Asians are not assertive and dynamic enough to lead. “Even if the same words and the same expressions come from my mouth,” said one participant about how East-Asian stereotypes shaped the way he was perceived, “people talk about how you’re expressionless and we need somebody more dynamic.”

An additional barrier that Chinese Canadians have to overcome to fit in is the “stereotype backlash,” a term used by scholars to describe the backlash experienced by counter-stereotypical talents. When a Chinese Canadian fails to conform to the stereotypes that people hold towards them, s/he may be criticized for violating the stereotypes. For example, assertiveness and competitiveness in white men are often associated with notions of being competent and authoritative, but the same traits can be interpreted as being overly aggressive or untrustworthy for East Asians (Nie, Xiao & Barsoux, 2017, May 16; TEDx Talks, 2021). Racialized people, especially women, are expected to meet the stereotypical expectations, and “know your place,” as noted by a participant. Such backlash “functions as a mechanism to maintain racial stereotypes” (Phelan & Rudman, 2010, p. 265), and is extremely harmful to both the racialized people and the organizations they work in.



Racial Stereotypes and Biases

Our study confirms that ethnic generalization or stereotyping plays a substantial role in forming the assumptions about who is appropriate for leadership. “Ethnic identity is proven to be a barrier for many communities, and there’s no question about that,” concluded one participant,

...when people see you as Chinese, they tend to brand you right away that you're either going to have a career in IT, in finance, in engineering, or become a doctor. And so anything that's really related to academia is what you get stereotyping.

Part of it is because of that perception that Chinese don't communicate well. They are often not considered in other areas, right, like HR, marketing, corporate communication, etc.

One participant shared an example of how racial biases may sometimes lead to devaluation of an individual’s skills and qualifications. This participant’s presentation skills have been highly rated by public speaking professionals, but he was once given very negative feedbacks by a consulting firm hired by his organization to help senior leaders with their public speaking skills. The only reason he could think of was a judgment based on how he looked, since he was the only person of colour at the executive level in his organization.

Bias and discrimination against Chinese Canadians can seriously stifle an individuals’ career advancement. Summarized one participant,

I've been interviewed for many positions at the highest leadership levels. And, people will say straight out to my face that I'm not qualified, and they picked people who, by any measure, are far less qualified for these positions, meaning they've had a decade less leadership experience, they don't have the degrees, they've managed smaller portfolios, they've had smaller number of people they're responsible for. So I see it all the time, absolutely see it all the time.

Quite a number of participants mentioned that they had to work extra hard to prove their “worth,” and there was “a higher bar that they need to reach to be considered compared to someone else.” However, such racism is “unspeakable - although it’s a race thing, everybody would instantly deny it,” remarked one participant.

Stereotypes and discrimination against Chinese and other Asian Canadians at the management and leadership levels tend to be subtle and implicit, and those on the receiving end may or may not be completely aware of it. A number of participants stated that systemic racism does exist, but they had never personally experienced racial discrimination. However, these same individuals would later on share instances that were actually cases of various forms of racism.

As observed by Yu (2021), racist behaviours in contemporary society are not “Ku Klux Klan and Nazis and angry mobs with flaming torches,” they are “invisible,” unspoken yet can still be felt

and cause harm. While overt racism causes intense pain, it is “more straightforward to address” (Mohamed & Beagan, 2019, p. 338). Implicit, sometimes unnamable racism, however, puts people, especially those who are influenced by the Chinese values such as tolerance and resilience, in an even more vulnerable and helpless position. One participant reflected,

...partly because you don't know how to name it (racism), and partly because even if you knew how to name it, there's a cultural value that says, yeah, just push through that adversity, just get through it like that. Don't, don't challenge it., Just get over it. Find your way to get around it.

Stereotypes and discrimination have made it extremely difficult for Chinese Canadians to reach the executive leadership level, and virtually prohibitive to get to the top position, even with a growing body of racialized people taking middle-level management roles. One interviewee observed,

... they (Chinese Canadians) haven't been brought in for higher leadership positions stereotypically, whereas we see people being recruited in for higher leadership positions all the time from the US, from Europe.

There are a lot of Chinese professionals and engineers or doctors or professors. People see that's enough representation... And you can get up to a certain level of leadership. So [it's] fine to be a vice chair, but to have you be the chair? Oh, I don't know. It's fine for you to be a vice president, but to have you be the president? I'm not so sure we could do that. So I think that's what I see a lot of, and that final hurdle or having somebody at the highest level is really difficult.

Several participants pointed out the lack of genuine support for Chinese Canadians to reach the highest level of leadership. Chinese Canadians are “good enough for the number two spot, but never good enough in the number one spot,” because “number one is the barrier,” and besides, “you cannot be the face of an organization.”

One participant recalled his experience in a corporation which he eventually left because of the constraints put on him in reaching any higher.

According to some participants, the inability to move upward also caused some Chinese Canadians to leave their corporate jobs and build their own companies. These individuals have proven that they are effective leaders of very successful companies, but they would never have had a chance to get to the top in the organizations where they had been employed.

Internalized Racism

Internalized racism, as defined by Williams and Williams-Morris (2000), “refers to the acceptance, by marginalized racial populations, of the negative societal beliefs and stereotypes



about themselves” (p. 255). One of its common manifestations is the limiting belief that they cannot be someone in a certain position. In the realm of leadership development, one of such limiting beliefs accepted by many racialized people is they cannot be capable leaders and managers. One participant summarized,

I've seen people who are very capable, second generation, third generation, well educated. And you know what they say? – “I just can't see myself doing that.” ... for anyone who could achieve what they set out to do, they have to be able to visualize that they can actually be doing what they wanted to do.

This is similar to imposter syndrome, a term coined by psychologists Suzanne Imes and Pauline Rose Clance in 1970s, when they wrote about students at a women’s college who had the feeling of inadequacy and attributed their success to luck rather than competence, despite external proof of their abilities and skills (Weir, 2013). In a study examining the experience of women in technical services and minority librarians, Lee and Morfitt (2020) found that people in the study with imposter syndrome “all experience a sense of exclusion” (p. 145). Similarly, imposter syndrome was found among underrepresented minorities in medicine who felt they were inadequate for their positions, or “their opinions and concerns are not as important” (Campbell, Hudson & Tumin, 2019, p. 203).

This sense of exclusion or inadequacy is closely related to the socially constructed image of racialized people, especially women. Such stereotypical perception, inflicted upon them through their life and work experience, may seriously influence the ways they perceive themselves. One participant reflected,

“Maybe people don't see me as a credible leader,” I've had those dialogues in my head my entire life. And so, it does take a certain amount of mental resiliency to be able to squash that inner voice because we have it to this day, I mean, imposter syndrome of I'm not, I'm not credible enough to be a lead at a senior level in a major organization.

Racism is not merely about repression, but also about forming knowledge and producing discourse through a “productive network which runs through the whole social body much more than a negative instance whose function in repression” (Foucault, 1980a, p. 119). It is during such processes of racialization that individuals are constituted and constituting themselves as particular subjects with values and beliefs formed along the way. Internalized racism, in many cases, can lead to even more negative impact on racialized people than pure prejudice or discrimination.

One participant recalled the message she received as a child from her father, who is a well-educated professional but would still thus advise her, “You're an Asian woman. No one is ever going to take you seriously. Just get a good job that pays well.” And she lamented:



I, having that instilled in my head growing up, it limited me, and I didn't even realize it. And so coming into my job, in the beginning, it was all about, do a good job, don't make any waves.

She also shared the story of her mother, who was once offered a managerial position but declined, because she thought, as a Chinese immigrant woman, “I don’t think people would follow me.” Beyond internalization of racism, her mother’s concern was also a reflection of the reality racialized Canadians live in. There is an immense amount of evidence of the existence of stereotypical perceptions and attitude against women and racialized people in the workplace.

Another participant shared how his competence and decisions as a leader were questioned and challenged, simply because he doesn’t “look like a typical leader.”

An obvious reason for racialized people and women to have imposter feelings is the lack of role models – they have rarely seen a senior leader with a background similar to theirs. Having people of diverse cultural backgrounds in leadership positions would do a great deal in enabling racialized people and women to see themselves in those positions.

Lack of Mentorship

One of the biggest challenges on the leadership journeys of Chinese Canadians identified by the participants is the lack of mentorship, especially at the senior levels. Mentors offer guidance, motivation and resources, which are usually scarce among racialized people. For them, it is crucially important to have mentors who would “look out for you, and to tell you what's in the organization or outside, and say you know you’re given this opportunity, this is what you could do more,” stated one interviewee.

For those who have made it to the executive level, most credited mentorship as an extremely important factor and shared their stories of how mentors have changed their career path for the better. They believe there should not only be mentorship programs within the organization, but also a bonus system encouraging and incentivizing mentoring.

Almost all the participants interviewed have been mentors to others, and believe it is important to provide such support whenever one has an opportunity to do so. One participant remarked it is important to “share our experiences, our skill sets, to others, so that they will continue.”

Chinese Canadian Women as Double Minorities

There is a consensus in both the academic world and the general public that women are still largely underrepresented in leadership positions across the world. While our quantitative data obtained in Phase I aligns with this consensus, the responses from participants in the interviews shed some light on the why. An interviewee described her corporate experience, as a Chinese Canadian woman, as follows:

...a lot of times I've sat in rooms in meetings and realize, I am the only Asian, and I'm the only Asian woman.

I can't tell you how many times I have said something and then suddenly a man says it, and it's accepted. It happened to me last night!

You know there are times in a Zoom meeting, I have put up my hand ...and yet I am still being ignored. I used to think it was me until I spoke to other women.

The majority of the women in this study, if not all of them, have mentioned instances in which their voices were undervalued or ignored.

The sense of exclusion experienced by women leaders of Chinese descent was more devastating than that experienced by men. The interplay of race and gender creates an even bigger barrier to their career advancement.

Chinese or East-Asian women, as portrayed in the mass media, are usually “submissive,” “passive,” “obedient,” “fragile,” and of “extreme femininity” (Rosette, de Leon, Koval, & Harrison, 2018, p. 5). Even though they are also stereotyped as model minorities who are hard-working, intelligent, and competent, which may “convey certain advantages in organizations that are inaccessible to Black or White women,” these benefits may not help them to reach senior leadership positions which require “assertive or controlling behavior” (Rosette, de Leon, Koval, & Harrison, 2018, p. 5). Even when they made to the top leadership positions, they are more likely to experience backlash, compared with Black or white women, because of the stereotypes of Asian women as submissive (Rosette, de Leon, Koval, & Harrison, 2018). Existing studies of such explained why Chinese Canadian women, as identified in our study, outnumber Chinese Canadian men in Tier 2 leadership positions, but are extremely underrepresented in Tier 1 leadership.

In an anecdote shared by a participant, a visitor wanted to meet her (the top leader of the unit), but when seeing her in the office, the guest decided she must be the secretary and asked her to make an appointment with the leader. This story is not uncommon. Throughout our research we have heard similar stories many times. In the prejudiced minds of many Canadians, an Asian woman, and for many Asian men as well, does not conform to the conventional stereotype of a leader.

The ways racialized women are portrayed, perceived and treated have continuous and long-lasting effect in shaping the dominant gender and racial narratives. Such images and perceptions often become internalized by women, and thereby hinder their leadership development. For example, a number of participants stated, “I hope I was not promoted because of my race or gender.” Such “imposter feelings” are more commonly seen among women than men in this study.



Equity, Diversity and Inclusion in the Workplace

One of the objectives of this study is to explore strategies to remove the barriers to accessing senior leadership positions by racialized Canadians and to increase workplace equity, diversity, and inclusion in general. Participants provided insights, shared experience, and made a number of recommendations.

An improved understanding of diversity as an essential step to remove barriers

One participant commented on a “very deeply entrenched,” prevailing narrative, which considers diversity as somehow a trade off with excellence. He believes such a narrative is a big barrier to diversity work. He pointed out that even though empirically, diversity in workforce and diversity in leadership have proven to bring greater revenue, “contribute to greater output,” and lead to “greater public impact,” such a narrative still exists. “Until we actually buy into the second narrative, which is diversity is excellence,” remarked the participant, “there will always be barriers, conscious or subconscious.”

Another participant suggested that having a different perspective should be considered a merit in recruitment:

... And then you have interviews, and you end up hiring the person who is not racialized. And people will say, well, it's all based on merit. I think in order to have a culture shift that really makes an impact and that really values diversity, you need to have as one of the factors in the criteria for merit is a different perspective.

She further provided examples of how a different perspective could energize the organization – no matter it is for government officials to make policies for immigrants, or for businesses to become global players. “People who simply say, well, it's only based on merit, maybe have a very narrow view of what merit really means,” commented the woman leader.

Enacting EDI policies beyond skin colour

In today’s sociopolitical environment, having EDI announcements and policies in place has become a common practice in many organizations. However, EDI policies have been enacted with drastic differences across different organizations.

One of the participants was from an organization ranked as one of the top diversity employers in Canada. In his organization, there is “a whole host of EDI initiatives that are built right into the HR training and HR socialization and so on, and so that's a set of resources that are available to everyone.” Apart from inclusive hiring practices and organizational resources facilitate more equity and diversity, the employer’s hiring process is also “very deliberate and intentional.”

Unfortunately, such organizations are in the rare minority. As reported by many participants, EDI initiatives in their organizations have been “poorly-enacted,” without genuine support to the racialized people. Participants pointed out that embracing EDI does not merely mean a few

hours' diversity training, or getting the quota right, but that diversity should be understood beyond skin colour or as just a numbers game. It requires a systemic, whole organizational approach that produces sustained results. Stressed one participant,

It cannot be the number of Chinese leaders we want in our organization. That is just one indicator. What is even deeper, and somewhat harder, work is the strategy that an organization takes to reflect and look at historical practices, understand, and then analyze those historical practices in an authentic way, to say we are taking responsibility for our hiring practices, our promotion practices, the ways in which we conduct meetings, the ways in which we foster staff relationships across the organization - we're taking responsibility for that. And we're looking for where we need to do, where we need to do better work and where our practices act as barriers for people.

The whole point of having diversity in boards and leadership positions surely is not just to have different colours of skin on a board. The whole point surely is a variety of ideas, perspectives in decision making of major organizations... superficial diversity is just another way of creating uniformity in thinking.

Superficial diversity practices, as noted by the participants, may even intensify the stereotypes against marginalized people. As suggested by Moysiuk (2019), “focusing on proposed policy objectives rather than their impact can create barriers to meaningful and lasting change” (p. 65). If the organization’s focus is simply to meet a quota without examining the issues of racism in a critical way or making any concrete plans to address it, marginalized people may be portrayed as “victims in need of assistance,” which may further divides marginalized groups from the dominant group (Moysiuk , 2019, p. 69).

During the past year, there has been an increased awareness of racism in the United States, Canada and around the world. Many organizations are now posting anti-racism announcements or policies on their websites. Such announcements and policies, if not supported by systemic, concrete initiatives, will become non-performative (Ahmed, 2007). As long as the underlying causes for the underrepresentation of Chinese and other racialized Canadians in leadership are unexamined and unaddressed, such anti-racism or EDI announcements and policies will only be speech acts or part of bureaucratic agendas. Such perfunctory acts can be even counterproductive to achieving the goal of EDI, as the well-drafted policy documents may allow the organizations to rest assured that they are already doing well enough in promoting EDI.

Top leaders' commitment to EDI

More than one participant made reference to the crucial role that top leaders play in addressing racism and promoting EDI within an organization. Without an EDI mindset and commitment from the top, it is practically impossible to have diversity at the senior leadership levels.

To enhance EDI, as noted by a participant, there is “a responsibility at multiple levels within an organization from the board through the senior leadership team.”



One participant attributed his leadership opportunities to several top leaders in his career path who “opened the door” for him. He believed top leaders with an EDI mindset could play a vital role in shaping the EDI culture of an organization by “putting a strong equity, diversity and inclusion framework there.”

Top leaders, however, do not always have all the answers. They need to work with others to build solutions by “allowing them along a framework where they have a voice,” noted a participant. A dedicated EDI leader and an EDI infrastructure involving multiple stakeholders is indispensable in developing, promoting, and enacting EDI policies and practices.

Being concrete and intentional

Participants believed that diversity needed to be translated into “tangible things” for various organizations. There need to be concrete and implementable plans and strategies to ensure positive changes. EDI announcements or policies, as discussed previously, without being supported by concrete and implementable strategies will simply become speech acts.

Concrete measures identified by participants include setting targets, ongoing monitoring and evaluation, continuous training, adequate financial and human resources, and inclusive hiring, promotion and leadership development programs and practices.

Developing and implementing such specific, effective strategies require leaders to be not only committed, but also deliberate.

One participant, for example, shared how his organization created diversity-friendly job descriptions, set up a diversity searching committee and provides intentional training and mentorship to develop the leadership pipeline. Rather than directly posting out a leadership position for people to apply for, the management team would identify potential senior leaders of diverse backgrounds, and intentionally provide them with mentoring and support. Added the participant,

Many of them (people of colour) would not see themselves in these positions because of historical inequities, because of messages that our organization has sent, intentionally or unintentionally. They would not even be going to try - I don't see people like me up there.

Fostering a culture of equity, diversity and inclusion

Contextual dimensions play a substantial role in shaping the ways policies can be interpreted and translated in local settings (Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012). The leading narrative within the organizational culture, therefore, can profoundly affect the policy enactment process and outcomes. When it comes to diversity, fostering a culture of EDI is critical to achieving the desired goals.



As emphasized by some participants, organizations need to embed the spirit of EDI in all policies and practices, make EDI an automatic mindset, and infuse these values into the organization's daily routines.

One important element for cultivating and maintaining such a culture, as proposed by a participant, is to identify “what is no longer applicable and acceptable within this culture”, name the problems in a very explicit way, and then develop strategies with “measurable outcomes, measurable targets” on how to improve the organizational culture. Leaders, he said, need to institute and constantly practice such measures across organizations by doing the following:

One, a constant awareness and interrogation of our behaviours and our practices in organization that perpetuate barriers and inequities. Two, a documentation of those practices and behaviours that perpetuate inequities. And three, a cultural strategy that will, over time, transform the organization into a better place in regard to understanding the issues.

Leaders, he believed, should keep this awareness alive, find ways to help shift attitudes around, and take real actions to ensure that attitude is changing.

The Role of Government

Policies, as Ball (1993) argues, are both “textual interventions into practice” (p. 12), and discourses that produce “truth” and “knowledge” (p. 14). In other words, government actions at the policy and legislative levels play a tremendous role not only in regulating practices, but also in shaping dominant public discourses or ideologies, which is substantial in producing meaningful changes in the long run.

The role of government, as identified by the participants, is crucial in increasing workplace EDI and eliminating racism. These objectives can be realized through initiatives such as:

- Making and improving legislation and policies to prohibit racial discrimination, foster greater equity, diversity and inclusion, and set targets for compliance;
- Supporting research, education and other programs that enhance the understanding of racism, encourage conversations between different cultural groups, and provide training and mentorship to directly increase equity, diversity and representation;
- Encouraging and supporting the education system to implement inclusive curricula that include the history and contributions of Chinese and other racialized Canadians; and
- As large employers, modeling the desired behaviours ahead of all other sectors

It is worth noting that more than one participant made reference to the Trudeau government's gender-balanced cabinet, which they believed created “one of the powerful narratives in the media at the time.” The media and public tend to interpret it as something progressive or politically correct, pointed out a participant, but what is missing in the conversation is that



“really it's just about picking excellent people... and being very deliberate to pick the most excellent leaders you have, and [it] shouldn't surprise us that 50% of them are women.”

While legislation could “shape the conversation,” legislation alone is not enough. Governments, as suggested by some interviewees, need to work with other sectors and reach the communities. Many believe raising awareness of anti-Asian racism is an essential step. One of the ways governments can help raise awareness is through race-based data collection. One participant wondered,

I think there's better data for the Black community and for Indigenous [peoples]. I'm not sure for other people of colour, especially Asians were perceived as not to suffer as much. Right? That is also a stereotype, because, look what happened in Vancouver - 717% increase [in reported anti-Asian hate crimes].

To sum up, the participants believe governments can play an essential role in shaping dominant narratives and catalyzing paradigm shifts, although it is up to organizations to do the actual work and make real changes, as the impact of any policies or initiatives largely depends on how they are interpreted, translated and enacted. A genuine commitment to EDI is required at both the government and organizational levels. As governments are also large employers, they can model the desired behaviours for all other employers.

Chinese Canadians as Part of the Canadian Community

A number of participants emphasized that the value of rectifying the underrepresentation of Chinese Canadians is beyond serving the Chinese community – it serves the entire Canadian community. Imagined one participant,

Chinese Canadian community is such a powerful community, in terms of resources, in terms of numbers, in terms of density and so on. And it can make a huge contribution to all of society, if we can mobilize, you know, this relatively underrepresented group.

Within the Canadian cultural mosaic, when one community does well, the entire society does well. When one community is sufficiently mobilized through unbiased, regularized and normalized inclusion into all echelons of leadership across sectors, other racialized communities will naturally benefit from the same policies and practices, and the combined released potential can be enormous.

In an increasingly diverse Canada and globalized world, having the voices and perspectives from people of diverse backgrounds is essential for organizations to thrive or even survive. Promoting EDI is not just a moral obligation, as concluded by many studies (Roberge, & van Dick, 2010; Shugart et al., 2018), but a business imperative. When everyone can realize their full potential in a truly equitable and inclusive environment, we all benefit as a society as well as an organization.



Summary of the Qualitative Data

The findings of this study from the interviews confirm the existence of racial biases, stereotypes and discrimination against Chinese Canadians, which have created barriers and constraints to their career advancement. These inequities, though sometimes subtle or implicit, have shaped the participants' career experiences and how they perceive themselves as Chinese Canadians and leaders.

Four major barriers faced by Chinese Canadians have been identified: struggle to fit in, racial and gender biases, internalized racism, and a lack of mentorship. These obstacles are interrelated and closely linked to the hegemony of racism and the persistence of stereotypes. The participants' responses highlight the importance of eliminating biases, recognizing different types of leadership, and appreciating and promoting a diversity of leadership prototypes.

The findings suggest that diversity initiatives at the government and organizational levels need to not only shape leading discourses, but also go beyond the surface level to effect genuine changes. Positive outcomes from diversity policies and initiatives depend on proper interpretation, translation and intentional enactment, and most importantly, top leadership commitment and accountability.

Conclusions and Implications

Trends over the last two decades have shown an increasing emphasis on leadership diversity. But to reach true diversity, our society still has a long way to go. The findings of this study reveal that Chinese Canadians, who have long been portrayed as a “model minority,” are extremely underrepresented in senior leadership positions in all eight sectors across the GTA, our nation's largest metropolis with the largest Chinese population. While representing 11.1% of the general population, Chinese Canadians occupy only 2.17% of Tier 1 leadership positions, which is below the average of racialized Canadians in the GTA. There is zero representation at the senior executive level in all the big accounting and law firms, or among the Directors or Associate Directors of Education in all 10 public and Catholic school boards.

Chinese Canadian women represent lower than men in all sectors except for the judiciary sector in Tier 1 leadership positions. They are largely absent in executive positions in the corporate, charitable and post-secondary sectors. However, among the Tier 2 leaders in the public service, judicial and post-secondary education sectors, over two-thirds of Chinese leaders are women.

Inequity caused by individual and systemic racism is a major barrier to the access to executive leadership positions for Chinese Canadians, especially women. Other obstacles experienced by Chinese Canadians include the masculinized and westernized leadership prototype that disadvantages Chinese Canadians, especially women, ethnic stereotyping that precludes Chinese

Canadians from leadership, internalized racism that creates limiting beliefs and deprives confidence in one's suitability for leadership, and a lack of mentorship, especially at the senior leadership level.

The findings of this study point to the urgency of eliminating racial and gender biases and recognizing and promoting diversity of leadership prototypes.

For organizations, it is critical to understand and embrace the values of equity, diversity and inclusion, and deliberately address the underlying causes of the underrepresentation of racialized people in leadership positions.

Organizational leaders need to realize that diversity is not simply meeting a quota, providing a few training workshops, and checking off boxes; rather, it is a mindset and a source of inspiration that leads to accountable and sustainable outcomes. True diversity is about raising awareness and cultivating a culture of equity, diversity and inclusion that permeates every corner of the organization and informs every policy and practice throughout the organization. To that end, leaders need to identify all forms of biases and discriminatory practices, document them, and take steps to replace them with new policies and practices that foster an EDI culture.

Achieving diversity is more a journey than a sprint at this historical time. It cannot be done without an EDI infrastructure and continuous education and training. It requires engagement of leaders and employees alike at all levels and conversations between different groups within the organization. It entails a system of mentorship for racialized people and an intentionally developed leadership pipeline. It also needs constant data collection, measurement, monitoring, evaluation and improvement. And above all, the life and death of an organization's EDI program depends on the commitment of the top executive.

At the government level, making and improving legislation and policies plays an irreplaceable role in shaping public narratives and social values, and nudging and pushing progress in the workplace. Governments must be committed to continue their advocacy and financial support for diversity enhancing programs and initiatives, while maintaining regular communication with racialized communities and various industry sectors.



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Appendices

Appendix 1: GTA-Based FP500 Corporations

	Name of Organization	2018 Revenue (\$000s)	Board of Directors Information (N/A = Not Available)	Senior Executive Information (N/A = Not Available)
1	Brookfield Asset Management Inc., Toronto	77,310,288		
2	Royal Bank of Canada, Toronto (Oc18)	57,406,000		
3	Toronto-Dominion Bank, Toronto (Oc18)	53,017,000		
4	Magna International Inc., Aurora, Ont.	52,911,792		
5	George Weston Ltd., Toronto	48,568,000		
6	Manulife Financial Corp., Toronto	38,972,000		
7	Onex Corp., Toronto	30,825,360		
8	Sun Life Financial Inc., Toronto	26,997,000		
9	Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Toronto (Oc18)	25,274,000		
10	Walmart Canada Corp., Mississauga, Ont. (Ja19)	25,000,000	N/A	
11	Fairfax Financial Holdings Ltd., Toronto	23,013,980		
12	Samsung Electronics Canada Inc., Mississauga, Ont. (De17)4	17,596,000	N/A	N/A
13	Honda Canada Inc., Markham, Ont. (Mr18)	15,840,000	N/A	N/A
14	Rogers Communications Inc., Toronto	15,096,000		
15	Canadian Tire Corp. Ltd., Toronto	14,058,700		
16	Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd., Oakville, Ont.5	11,311,488	N/A	N/A
17	General Motors of Canada Co., Oshawa, Ont.5	10,700,000	N/A	
18	Intact Financial Corp., Toronto	10,624,000		
19	Amazon.com.ca Inc., Toronto (De17)4	9,442,000	N/A	N/A
20	Hudson's Bay Co., Toronto (Fe19)	9,376,000		
21	Barrick Gold Corp., Toronto	9,082,368		
22	Toyota Canada Inc., Toronto5	8,900,000	N/A	
23	Home Depot of Canada Inc., Toronto (Ja18)8	8,150,000	N/A	
24	Google Canada Inc., Toronto (De17)4	7,894,000	N/A	N/A
25	Workplace Safety and Insurance Board, Toronto (De17)	7,693,000		
26	Thomson Reuters Corp., Toronto	7,129,296		
27	Restaurant Brands International Inc., Oakville, Ont.	6,942,672		
28	Liquor Control Board of Ontario, Toronto (Mr18)	6,244,493		
29	Hydro One Ltd., Toronto	6,150,000		
30	Vale Canada Ltd., Toronto	5,974,560		
31	Sysco Canada Inc., Toronto (Jn18)1	5,920,251		
32	Ontario Power Generation Inc., Toronto	5,537,000		
33	IBM Canada Ltd., Markham, Ont. (De17)4	5,366,000	N/A	N/A
34	Enbridge Gas Inc., Toronto11	5,297,000		
35	Aviva Canada Inc., Markham, Ont.	5,248,201	N/A	
36	CCL Industries Inc., Toronto	5,161,500		
37	Winners Merchants International LP, Mississauga, Ont. (Fe19)12	5,046,480		
38	Russel Metals Inc., Mississauga, Ont.	4,165,000		
39	Kinross Gold Corp., Toronto	4,163,529		
40	Constellation Software Inc., Toronto	3,965,889		
41	Mercedes-Benz Canada Inc., Toronto	3,933,000	N/A	N/A
42	EllisDon Corp., Mississauga, Ont. (Fe19)	3,833,891		
43	Martinrea International Inc., Vaughan, Ont.	3,662,900		
44	Colliers International Group Inc., Toronto	3,661,753		
45	Just Energy Group Inc., Mississauga, Ont. (Mr18)	3,626,570		
46	PepsiCo Canada ULC, Mississauga, Ont.1	3,545,856	N/A	
47	Toromont Industries Ltd., Concord, Ont.	3,504,236		
48	Maple Leaf Foods Inc., Mississauga, Ont.	3,495,519		
49	Toronto Hydro Corp., Toronto	3,472,700		
50	Alectra Inc., Mississauga, Ont.	3,452,000		
51	Mattamy Asset Management Inc., Toronto (My18)	3,400,000		
52	Aecon Group Inc., Toronto	3,266,291		
53	Bruce Power Ltd. Partnership, Tiverton, Ont.	3,178,200		
54	Norbord Inc., Toronto	3,141,504		

55	Cott Corp., Mississauga, Ont.	3,075,278		
56	Sunwing Travel Group Inc., Toronto (Se18)17	2,964,823	N/A	N/A
57	GFL Environmental Inc., Vaughan, Ont.	2,950,000		
58	Kraft Heinz Canada ULC, Toronto (De17)1	2,842,620	N/A	
59	Agnico Eagle Mines Ltd., Toronto	2,839,822		
60	Lafarge Canada Inc., Mississauga, Ont.1	2,787,020	N/A	
61	Nestlé Canada Inc., Toronto1	2,732,736	N/A	
62	Superior Plus Corp., Toronto	2,726,700		
63	Bayer Inc., Mississauga, Ont.1	2,700,000	N/A	
64	Facebook Canada Ltd., Toronto (De17)4	2,692,000	N/A	
65	Stars Group Inc., Toronto	2,629,892		
66	RSA Canada Group, Toronto	2,515,360	N/A	
67	FirstService Corp., Toronto	2,503,189		
68	Procter & Gamble Inc., Toronto (Jn18)1	2,500,000	N/A	N/A
69	Labatt Brewing Co. Ltd., Toronto1	2,442,460		
70	Ikea Canada Ltd. Partnership, Burlington, Ont. (Au18)	2,390,000	N/A	N/A
71	Parmalat Canada Inc., Toronto (De17)	2,382,090	N/A	N/A
72	Yamana Gold Inc., Toronto	2,330,856		
73	Leon's Furniture Ltd., Toronto	2,241,437		
74	CI Financial Corp., Toronto	2,236,365		
75	Lundin Mining Corp., Toronto	2,208,415		
76	Algonquin Power & Utilities Corp., Oakville, Ont.	2,135,013		
77	Spin Master Corp., Toronto	2,114,472		
78	Hudbay Minerals Inc., Toronto	1,908,186		
79	Subaru Canada Inc., Mississauga, Ont. (Mr18)1	1,854,907	N/A	N/A
80	Intel of Canada Ltd., Toronto (De17)4	1,835,000	N/A	N/A
81	Softchoice Corp., Toronto (De17)4	1,819,000	N/A	N/A
82	Molson Coors Canada, Toronto	1,804,161	N/A	N/A
83	Pivot Technology Solutions Inc., Markham, Ont.	1,780,224		
84	Element Fleet Management Corp., Toronto	1,770,180		
85	Frontera Energy Corp., Toronto	1,711,348		
86	Ford Credit Canada Co., Oakville, Ont.1	1,687,392	N/A	N/A
87	Allstate Insurance Co. of Canada, Markham, Ont.19	1,675,473	N/A	N/A
88	Travelers Canada, Toronto20	1,675,303		
89	Corus Entertainment Inc., Toronto (Au18)	1,647,347		
90	SunOpta Inc., Mississauga, Ont.	1,634,064		
91	Cineplex Inc., Toronto	1,614,823		
92	Crius Energy Trust, Toronto	1,600,705	N/A	
93	Chemtrade Logistics Income Fund, Toronto	1,595,747		
94	Gap Canada Inc., Toronto (Fe19)1	1,555,672	N/A	
95	Northland Power Inc., Toronto	1,555,587		
96	Wolseley Canada Inc., Burlington, Ont. (Jl18)	1,484,961	N/A	
97	Wajax Corp., Mississauga, Ont.	1,481,597		
98	Greater Toronto Airports Authority, Mississauga, Ont.	1,471,728		
99	Centerra Gold Inc., Toronto	1,463,619		
100	Oracle Corp. Canada Inc., Mississauga, Ont. (My18)1	1,453,896	N/A	N/A
101	Independent Order of Foresters, Toronto	1,448,200		
102	Procom Consultants Group Ltd., Toronto (Mr18)	1,434,089	N/A	
103	Shawcor Ltd., Toronto	1,408,872		
104	Honeywell Ltd., Mississauga, Ont. (De17)4	1,396,000		
105	407 International Inc., Woodbridge, Ont.	1,390,300		
106	Bird Construction Inc., Mississauga, Ont.	1,381,784		
107	Iamgold Corp., Toronto	1,379,592		
108	Kruger Products LP, Mississauga, Ont.	1,370,432		
109	SAP Canada Inc., Toronto1	1,324,340	N/A	N/A
110	Hatch Ltd., Mississauga, Ont. (Se18)	1,260,129		
111	Toronto Transit Commission, Toronto (De17)21	1,243,202		
112	Noranda Income Fund, Toronto	1,206,962		
113	RioCan REIT, Toronto	1,197,914		
114	General Mills Canada Corp., Mississauga, Ont. (My18)1	1,182,960	N/A	N/A
115	First National Financial Corp., Toronto	1,181,510		
116	H&R REIT, Toronto	1,176,558		
117	Morguard Corp., Mississauga, Ont.	1,175,128		
118	Kirkland Lake Gold Ltd., Toronto	1,152,782		
119	Amex Bank of Canada, Toronto19	1,128,064	N/A	N/A
120	Extencare Inc., Markham, Ont.	1,120,007		



121	Indigo Books & Music Inc., Toronto (Mr18)	1,079,425		
122	E-L Financial Corp. Ltd., Toronto	1,076,692		
123	KGHM International Ltd., Vaughan, Ont.1	1,021,248	N/A	
124	Detour Gold Corp., Toronto	1,005,696	N/A	N/A
125	Export Packers Co. Ltd., Brampton, Ont. (Mr18)	996,751	N/A	
126	E.I. du Pont Canada Co., Mississauga, Ont.1	994,032		
127	Magellan Aerospace Corp., Mississauga, Ont.	966,753		
128	Veritiv Canada Inc., Mississauga, Ont.1	923,659	N/A	N/A
129	Equitable Group Inc., Toronto	887,722		
130	Genworth MI Canada Inc., Oakville, Ont.	869,724		
131	Thales Canada Inc., Toronto	868,000	N/A	N/A
132	Chartwell Retirement Residences, Mississauga, Ont.	866,654		
133	Franco-Nevada Corp., Toronto	846,547		
134	Acklands-Grainger Inc., Thornhill, Ont.1	846,288	N/A	N/A
135	Home Capital Group Inc., Toronto	830,399		
136	TMX Group Ltd., Toronto	817,100		
137	Alamos Gold Inc., Toronto	816,739		
138	Stanley Black & Decker Canada Corp., Mississauga, Ont.1	814,276	N/A	N/A
139	SmartCentres REIT, Vaughan, Ont.	790,178		
140	New Gold Inc., Toronto	778,896		
141	Ericsson Canada Inc., Mississauga, Ont. (De17)4	776,000	N/A	N/A
142	Sodexo Canada Ltd., Burlington, Ont. (Au18)1	758,454	N/A	N/A
143	Kubota Canada Ltd., Markham, Ont.	751,432	N/A	N/A
144	Xerox Canada Inc., Toronto1	737,424	N/A	
145	First Capital Realty Inc., Toronto	729,595		
146	Grant Thornton Canada, Toronto	724,000		
147	Morneau Shepell Inc., Toronto	722,284		
148	Advanz Pharma Corp., Mississauga, Ont.	695,933		
149	Canadian Apartment Properties REIT, Toronto	688,585		
150	Postmedia Network Canada Corp., Toronto (Au18)	676,293		
151	Compugen Inc., Richmond Hill, Ont.	671,000	N/A	N/A
152	BDO Canada LLP, Toronto	642,200	N/A	
153	Sienna Senior Living Inc., Markham, Ont.	641,984		
154	Michaels of Canada ULC, Brampton, Ont. (Fe19)1	635,917	N/A	N/A
155	AstraZeneca Canada Inc., Mississauga, Ont.	625,968	N/A	
156	Sleep Country Canada Holdings Inc., Brampton, Ont.	622,977		
157	Metrolinx, Toronto (Mr18)	598,140		
158	Canada Goose Holdings Inc., Toronto (Mr18)	591,181		
159	Neo Performance Materials Inc., Toronto	588,636		
160	CGC Inc., Mississauga, Ont.1	580,608	N/A	
161	Exco Technologies Ltd., Markham, Ont. (Se18)	575,554		
162	GoldMoney Inc., Toronto (Mr18)	574,876		
163	Medical Facilities Corp., Toronto	559,356		
164	Torex Gold Resources Inc., Toronto	556,891		
165	Smucker Foods of Canada Corp., Markham, Ont. (Ap18)1	551,840	N/A	N/A
166	Torstar Corp., Toronto	543,391		
167	Altus Group Ltd., Toronto	510,429		
168	Goeasy Ltd., Mississauga, Ont.	506,191		
169	Exp Global Inc., Brampton, Ont. (Mr18)	503,584	N/A	N/A
170	Largo Resources Ltd., Toronto	498,737		
171	Uranium One Inc., Toronto	492,350		
172	Zayo Canada Inc., Toronto (Jn18)1	487,934	N/A	
173	Points International Ltd., Toronto	487,613		
174	Imax Corp., Mississauga, Ont.	485,223	N/A	N/A
175	Dundee Precious Metals Inc., Toronto	479,465		
176	Chubb Insurance Co. of Canada, Toronto	476,652	N/A	N/A
177	Cargojet Inc., Mississauga, Ont.	454,900		
178	IBI Group Inc., Toronto	454,614		
179	Electrolux Canada Corp., Mississauga, Ont.1	452,822	N/A	
180	AGF Management Ltd., Toronto (No18)	450,203		
181	Tucows Inc., Toronto	448,432		
182	RGA Life Reinsurance Co. of Canada, Toronto	440,968	N/A	
183	Allied Properties REIT, Toronto	436,396		



Appendix 2: Largest GTA-Based Core Health Care Organizations Ranked by Number of Full-Time Employees

	Name of Organization	Location	Number of Full-Time Employees (2018) ⁸	Board of Directors Information (N/A = Not Available)	Senior Executive Information (N/A = Not Available)
1	University Health Network	Toronto	10692		
2	Unity Health Toronto	Toronto	5896		
3	Sunnybrook Health Sciences Centre	Toronto	5331		
4	The Hospital For Sick Children	Toronto	5119		
5	Saint Elizabeth Health Care	Markham	3848		
6	Sinai Health System	Toronto	3564		
7	William Osler Health System	Brampton	3262		
8	Lakeridge Health Corporation	Whitby	3069		
9	Vha Home Healthcare	Toronto	2107		
10	Centre For Addiction And Mental Health	Toronto	2038		
11	Southlake Regional Health Centre	Newmarket	2028		
12	Halton Healthcare Services Corporation	Oakville	1833		
13	North York General Hospital	Toronto	1735		
14	Mackenzie Health	Richmond Hill	1464		
15	Michael Garron Hospital	Toronto	1456		
16	Markham Stouffville Hospital	Markham	1096		
17	March Of Dimes Canada	Toronto	1058		
18	Joseph Brant Hospital	Burlington	981		
19	Cancer Care Ontario	Toronto	977		
20	Ontario Shores Centre For Mental Health Sciences	Whitby	818		
21	Community Living Toronto	Toronto	724		
22	Canadian Cancer Society - Société Canadienne Du Cancer	Toronto	651		
23	Kerry's Place Autism Services	Aurora	627		
24	West Park Healthcare Centre	Toronto	587		
25	Erinoakkids Centre For Treatment And Development	Mississauga	526	N/A	
26	Kinark Child And Family Services	Markham	506		
27	Women's College Hospital	Toronto	490		
28	Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Hospital	Toronto	448		
29	Runnymede Healthcare Centre	Toronto	402		
30	Surrey Place	Toronto	377		
31	Ornge	Mississauga	373		
32	Multiple Sclerosis Society Of Canada / Société Canadienne De La Sclérose En Plaques	Toronto	315		

⁸ Data were obtained from the Canada Revenue Agency.

Appendix 3: Largest GTA-Based Charitable Organizations Ranked by Number of Full-Time Employees

	Name of Organization	2018-2019 Number of Full- Time Employees ⁹	Board of Directors Information (N/A = Not Available)	Senior Executive Information (N/A = Not Available)
1	YMCA Of Greater Toronto	1833		
2	Circle of Home Care Services (Toronto)	841		
3	Children's Aid Society of Toronto	724		
4	The Canadian National Institute for The Blind L'Institut National Canadien Pour Les Aveugles	646		
5	Sunnybrook Research Institute	532		
6	World Vision Canada-Vision Mondiale Canada	485		
7	The Children's Aid Society of The Region of Peel	469		
8	Right To Play International	428		
9	Woodgreen Community Services	416		
10	War Child Canada	391		
11	Dignitas International	389		
12	Loft Community Services	357		
13	Art Gallery of Ontario	334		
14	Royal Ontario Museum	334		
15	The Ontario Educational Communications Authority	325		
16	Durham Children's Aid Society	311		
17	Family Day Care Services	309		
18	The Nature Conservancy of Canada - La Societe Canadienne Pour La Conservation De La Nature	276		
19	Plasp Child Care Services	272		
20	York Region Children's Aid Society	261		
21	Vita Community Living Services of Toronto	256		
22	Central West Specialized Developmental Services	250		
23	Canadian Hearing Society / Societe Canadienne De L'ouie	236		
24	Toronto International Film Festival Inc	232		
25	Plan International Canada Inc.	225		
26	United Way of Greater Toronto	221		
27	Villa Colombo Homes for the Aged Inc	218		
28	Peel Children's Centre	217		
29	Cota Health	216		
30	Chats-Community & Home Assistance to Seniors	201		

⁹ Data were obtained from the Canada Revenue Agency.

Appendix 4: Ontario Agencies, Boards and Commissions

	Name of Organization	Data Availability (N/A = Not Available)
1	Accessibility Standards Advisory Council	
2	Advertising Review Board	
3	Advisory Council on Drinking Water Quality and Testing Standards	
4	Advisory Council to the Order of Ontario	
5	Agricorp	
6	Agricultural Research Institute of Ontario	
7	Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs Appeal Tribunal	
8	Alcohol and Gaming Commission of Ontario	
9	Algonquin Forestry Authority	
10	Animal Care Review Board (Tribunals Ontario)	
11	Assessment Review Board (Tribunals Ontario)	
12	Association Des Enseignantes Et Des Enseignants Franco-Ontariens (AEFO) Employee Life and Health Trust	
13	Autism Spectrum Disorders Clinical Expert Committee (ASD Clinical Expert Committee)	N/A
14	Bereavement Authority of Ontario	
15	Big Game Management Advisory Committee	
16	Board of Management - District of Kenora	
17	Board of Management - District of Manitoulin	
18	Board of Management - District of Nipissing East	
19	Board of Management - District of Nipissing West	N/A
20	Board of Management - District of Parry Sound East	N/A
21	Board of Management - District of Parry Sound West	
22	Board of Negotiation	N/A
23	Board of Negotiation (Ontario Land Tribunals)	
24	Building Code Commission	
25	Building Materials Evaluation Commission	
26	Business Risk Management Review Committee	
27	Canadian National Exhibition Association	
28	Case Management Masters Remuneration Commission	
29	Centennial Centre of Science and Technology (Ontario Science Centre)	
30	Chartered Professional Accountants of Ontario	
31	Child and Family Services Review Board (Tribunals Ontario)	
32	Citizens' Council	
33	Civil Rules Committee	
34	Class Proceedings Committee	
35	Committee on the Status of Species at Risk in Ontario (COSSARO)	
36	Committee to Evaluate Drugs	
37	Community Advisory Board - Central East Correctional Centre	
38	Community Advisory Board - Central North Correctional Centre	
39	Community Advisory Board - Elgin-Middlesex Detention Centre	
40	Community Advisory Board - Hamilton Wentworth Detention Centre	
41	Community Advisory Board - Maplehurst Correctional Complex	
42	Community Advisory Board - Ottawa-Carleton Detention Centre	
43	Community Advisory Board - South West Detention Centre	
44	Community Advisory Board - Thunder Bay	N/A
45	Community Advisory Board - Toronto East Detention Centre	

46	Community Advisory Board - Toronto South Detention Centre	
47	Community Advisory Board – Vanier Centre For Women	
48	Condominium Authority of Ontario	
49	Condominium Management Regulatory Authority of Ontario	
50	Consent and Capacity Board	
51	Conservation Review Board (Tribunals Ontario)	
52	Constable Joe Macdonald Public Safety Officers' 0Survivors Scholarship Fund Committee	
53	Council of the Association of Ontario Land Surveyors	
54	Council of the Association of Professional Engineers of Ontario	
55	Council of the Association of Professional Geoscientists of Ontario	
56	Council of the Canadian Centre for Occupational Health and Safety	
57	Council of the College of Audiologists and Speech-Language Pathologists of Ontario	
58	Council of the College of Chiropractors of Ontario	
59	Council of the College of Chiropractors of Ontario	
60	Council of the College of Dental Hygienists of Ontario	
61	Council of the College of Dental Technologists of Ontario	
62	Council of the College of Denturists of Ontario	
63	Council of the College of Dietitians of Ontario	
64	Council of the College of Early Childhood Educators	
65	Council of the College of Homeopaths of Ontario	
66	Council of the College of Kinesiologists of Ontario	
67	Council of the College of Massage therapists of Ontario	
68	Council of the College of Medical Laboratory Technologists of Ontario	
69	Council of the College of Medical Radiation and Imaging Technologists of Ontario	
70	Council of the College of Midwives of Ontario	
71	Council of the College of Naturopaths of Ontario	
72	Council of the College of Nurses of Ontario	
73	Council of the College of Occupational therapists of Ontario	
74	Council of the College of Opticians of Ontario	
75	Council of the College of Optometrists of Ontario	
76	Council of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario	
77	Council of the College of Physiotherapists of Ontario	
78	Council of the College of Psychologists of Ontario	
79	Council of the College of Registered Psychotherapists and Registered Mental Health therapists of Ontario	
80	Council of the College of Respiratory therapists of Ontario	
81	Council of the College of Traditional Chinese Medicine Practitioners and Acupuncturists of Ontario	
82	Council of the College of Veterinarians of Ontario	
83	Council of the Ontario Association of Architects	
84	Council of the Ontario College of Pharmacists	
85	Council of the Ontario College of Social Workers and Social Service Workers	
86	Council of the Ontario College of Teachers	
87	Council of the Ontario Professional Foresters Association	
88	Council of the Registered Insurance Brokers of Ontario	
89	Council of the Royal College of Dental Surgeons of Ontario	
90	Criminal Injuries Compensation Board (Tribunals Ontario)	
91	Criminal Rules Committee	N/A
92	Cupe Education Workers' Benefits Trust	
93	Custody Review Board (Tribunals Ontario)	
94	Death Investigation Oversight Council	
95	Deputy Judges Council	



96	Deputy Judges Remuneration Commission	
97	Education Quality and Accountability Office	
98	Education Relations Commission	
99	Electrical Safety Authority	
100	Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario (ETFO) Employee Life and Health Trust	
101	Environmental Review Tribunal (Tribunals Ontario)	
102	Family Rules Committee	
103	Financial Services Regulatory Authority of Ontario	
104	Financial Services Tribunal	
105	Fire Marshal's Public Fire Safety Council	
106	Fire Safety Commission (Tribunals Ontario)	
107	Fish and Wildlife Heritage Commission	
108	Forestry Futures Committee	
109	French Language Health Services Advisory Council	
110	Friends of the Greenbelt Foundation	
111	Grain Financial Protection Board	
112	Grand River Hospital	
113	Grant Review Team - Algoma, Cochrane, Manitoulin and Sudbury - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
114	Grant Review Team - Champlain - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
115	Grant Review Team - Durham, Haliburton, Kawartha and Pine Ridge - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
116	Grant Review Team - Essex, Kent and Lambton - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
117	Grant Review Team - Grand River - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
118	Grant Review Team - Grey, Bruce, Huron, Perth - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
119	Grant Review Team - Halton-Peel - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
120	Grant Review Team - Hamilton - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
121	Grant Review Team - Muskoka, Nipissing, Parry Sound and Timiskaming - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
122	Grant Review Team - Niagara - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
123	Grant Review Team - Northwestern - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
124	Grant Review Team - Quinte, Kingston, Rideau - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
125	Grant Review Team - Simcoe-York - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
126	Grant Review Team - Thames Valley - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
127	Grant Review Team - Toronto - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
128	Grant Review Team - Waterloo, Wellington, Dufferin - Ontario Trillium Foundation	
129	Greater London International Airport Authority	
130	Greenbelt Council	
131	Grievance Settlement Board	
132	Health Professions Appeal and Review Board	
133	Health Professions Regulatory Advisory Council	N/A
134	Health Services Appeal and Review Board	
135	Health Unit Board - Algoma	
136	Health Unit Board - Brant County	
137	Health Unit Board - Chatham-Kent	
138	Health Unit Board - Eastern Ontario	
139	Health Unit Board - Grey Bruce	
140	Health Unit Board - Haliburton, Kawartha and Pine Ridge District	
141	Health Unit Board - Hastings and Prince Edward Counties	
142	Health Unit Board - Huron Perth	
143	Health Unit Board - Kingston, Frontenac and Lennox and Addington	
144	Health Unit Board - Lambton	
145	Health Unit Board - Leeds, Grenville and Lanark District	



146	Health Unit Board - Middlesex-London District	
147	Health Unit Board - North Bay Parry Sound District	
148	Health Unit Board - Northwestern	
149	Health Unit Board - Oxford Elgin St. Thomas	
150	Health Unit Board - Peterborough County-City	
151	Health Unit Board - Porcupine	N/A
152	Health Unit Board - Renfrew County and District	
153	Health Unit Board - Simcoe Muskoka District	
154	Health Unit Board - Sudbury and District	
155	Health Unit Board - Thunder Bay District	
156	Health Unit Board - Timiskaming	
157	Health Unit Board - Wellington-Dufferin-Guelph	N/A
158	Health Unit Board - Windsor-Essex County	
159	Housing Services Corporation	
160	Human Resources Professionals Association	
161	Human Rights Legal Support Centre	
162	Human Rights Tribunal of Ontario (Tribunals Ontario)	
163	Independent Electricity System Operator (IESO)	
164	Investment Advisory Committee of the Public Guardian and Trustee	
165	Investment Management Corporation of Ontario	
166	Joint Committee on the Schedule of Benefits	N/A
167	Joint Practice Board	
168	Judicial Appointments Advisory Committee	
169	Justices of the Peace Appointments Advisory Committee	
170	Justices of the Peace Remuneration Commission	
171	Justices of the Peace Review Council	
172	Labour-Management Advisory Committee	
173	Lake of the Woods Control Board	
174	Lake Simcoe Coordinating Committee	
175	Lake Simcoe Science Committee	
176	Landlord and Tenant Board (Tribunals Ontario)	
177	Languages of Instruction Commission of Ontario	N/A
178	Law Foundation of Ontario	
179	Law Society of Ontario	
180	Legal Aid Ontario	
181	Licence Appeal Tribunal (Tribunals Ontario)	
182	Livestock Financial Protection Board	
183	Local Health Integration Network - Central East Local Health Integration Network	
184	Local Health Integration Network - Central Local Health Integration Network	
185	Local Health Integration Network - Central West Local Health Integration Network	
186	Local Health Integration Network - Champlain Local Health Integration Network	
187	Local Health Integration Network - Erie St. Clair Local Health Integration Network	
188	Local Health Integration Network - Hamilton Niagara Haldimand Brant Local Health Integration Network	
189	Local Health Integration Network - Mississauga Halton Local Health Integration Network	
190	Local Health Integration Network - North East Local Health Integration Network	
191	Local Health Integration Network - North Simcoe Muskoka Local Health Integration Network	
192	Local Health Integration Network - North West Local Health Integration Network	
193	Local Health Integration Network - South East Local Health Integration Network	
194	Local Health Integration Network - South West Local Health Integration Network	
195	Local Health Integration Network - Toronto Central Local Health Integration Network	



196	Local Health Integration Network - Waterloo Wellington Local Health Integration Network	
197	Local Planning Appeal Tribunal (Tribunals Ontario)	
198	McMichael Canadian Art Collection	
199	Medical Eligibility Committee	N/A
200	Metrolinx	
201	Metropolitan Toronto Convention Centre Corporation	
202	Mining and Lands Tribunal (Tribunals Ontario)	
203	Minister's Advisory Council on Special Education	
204	Municipal Property Assessment Corporation	
205	Nawiinginiima Forest Management Corporation	
206	Niagara Escarpment Commission	
207	Niagara Falls Bridge Commission	
208	Niagara Parks Commission	
209	Normal Farm Practices Protection Board	
210	Northern Ontario Heritage Fund Corporation	
211	Oak Ridges Moraine Foundation	
212	Office for Victims of Crime	
213	Office of the Employer Adviser	
214	Office of the Fairness Commissioner	
215	Office of the Independent Police Review Director	
216	Office of the Worker Adviser	N/A
217	Ontario Advisory Committee on HIV/AIDS (OACHA)	
218	Ontario Agency for Health Protection and Promotion (Public Health Ontario)	
219	Ontario Cannabis Retail Corporation	
220	Ontario Capital Growth Corporation	
221	Ontario Civilian Police Commission (Tribunals Ontario)	
222	Ontario Clean Water Agency	
223	Ontario Electricity Financial Corporation	
224	Ontario Energy Board	
225	Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association (OECTA) Employee Life and Health Trust	
226	Ontario Farm Products Marketing Commission	
227	Ontario Financing Authority	
228	Ontario Food Terminal Board	
229	Ontario French-Language Educational Communications Authority	
230	Ontario Geographic Names Board	
231	Ontario Health	
232	Ontario Heritage Trust	
233	Ontario Highway Transport Board	
234	Ontario Honours Advisory Council	
235	Ontario Human Rights Commission	
236	Ontario Immigrant Investor Corporation	
237	Ontario Infrastructure and Lands Corporation (Infrastructure Ontario)	
238	Ontario Internal Audit Committee	
239	Ontario Internal Audit Committee - Agencies and Transfer Payment Sector Audit Committee	
240	Ontario Internal Audit Committee - Capital Sector Audit Committee	
241	Ontario Internal Audit Committee - Central Services Sector Audit Committee	
242	Ontario Internal Audit Committee - Community Services Sector Audit Committee	
243	Ontario Internal Audit Committee - Education Sector Audit Committee	
244	Ontario Internal Audit Committee - Health Sector Audit Committee	
245	Ontario Internal Audit Committee - Information and Information Technology Sector Audit Committee	



246	Ontario Internal Audit Committee - Justice Services Sector Audit Committee	
247	Ontario Internal Audit Committee - Resources Sector Audit Committee	
248	Ontario Judicial Council	
249	Ontario Labour Relations Board	
250	Ontario Library Service-North Board	
251	Ontario Lottery and Gaming Corporation	
252	Ontario Media Development Corporation (Ontario Creates)	
253	Ontario Mortgage and Housing Corporation	
254	Ontario Motor Vehicle Industry Council	
255	Ontario Non-Union Education Trust	
256	Ontario Northland Transportation Commission	
257	Ontario Parks Board of Directors	
258	Ontario Parole Board (Tribunals Ontario)	
259	Ontario Place Corporation	N/A
260	Ontario Police Arbitration Commission	
261	Ontario Public Service Employees' Union Pension Plan Board of Trustees	
262	Ontario Public Service Pension Board (Ontario Pension Board)	
263	Ontario Research Fund Advisory Board	
264	Ontario Review Board	
265	Ontario Securities Commission	
266	Ontario Special Education (English) Tribunal (Tribunals Ontario)	
267	Ontario Special Education (French) Tribunal (Tribunals Ontario)	
268	Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan Board	
269	Ontario Tourism Marketing Partnership Corporation (Destination Ontario)	
270	Ontario Trillium Foundation	
271	Osstf Employee Life and Health Trust	
272	Ottawa Convention Centre Corporation	
273	Ottawa Macdonald-Cartier International Airport Authority	
274	Ottawa River Regulation Planning Board	
275	Owen Sound Transportation Company Limited	
276	Patient and Family Advisory Council	
277	Pay Equity Commission of Ontario - Pay Equity Hearings Tribunal	
278	Pay Equity Commission of Ontario - Pay Equity Office	
279	Pharmacy Council	N/A
280	Physician Payment Review Board	
281	Physician Services Payment Committee	N/A
282	Planning Board - Archipelago Area	
283	Planning Board - Central Almaguin	
284	Planning Board - Cochrane and Suburban	N/A
285	Planning Board - Hearst	N/A
286	Planning Board - Kapuskasing and District	
287	Planning Board - Lakehead Rural	N/A
288	Planning Board - Manitoulin	
289	Planning Board - North Almaguin	
290	Planning Board - Sault Ste. Marie North	
291	Planning Board - Smooth Rock Falls	
292	Planning Board - Sudbury East	N/A
293	Police Services Board - Admaston/Bromley (Township of)	N/A
294	Police Services Board - Alnwick/Haldimand (Township of)	
295	Police Services Board - Amaranth (Township of)	
296	Police Services Board - Asphodel-Norwood (Township of)	



297	Police Services Board - atikokan (Town of)	
298	Police Services Board - Augusta (Township of)	
299	Police Services Board - Aylmer (Town of)	
300	Police Services Board - Barrie (City of)	
301	Police Services Board - Beckwith (Township of)	
302	Police Services Board - Belleville (City of)	
303	Police Services Board - Blandford-Blenheim (Township of)	
304	Police Services Board - Blind River (Town of)	N/A
305	Police Services Board - Bonfield (Township of)	N/A
306	Police Services Board - Bonnechere Valley (Township of)	
307	Police Services Board - Bradford West Gwillimbury (Town of) and Innisfil (Town of) (South Simcoe)	
308	Police Services Board - Brant (County of)	
309	Police Services Board - Brantford (City of)	
310	Police Services Board - Brighton (Municipality of)	
311	Police Services Board - Brockton (Municipality of)	
312	Police Services Board - Brockville (City of)	
313	Police Services Board - Carleton Place (Town of)	
314	Police Services Board - Central Huron (Municipality of)	
315	Police Services Board - Chatham-Kent (Municipality of)	
316	Police Services Board - Chatsworth (Township of)	
317	Police Services Board - Cobourg (Town of)	
318	Police Services Board - Cochrane (Town of)	
319	Police Services Board - Collingwood (Town of)	
320	Police Services Board - Cornwall Community	
321	Police Services Board - Cramahe (Township of)	
322	Police Services Board - Deep River (Town of)	
323	Police Services Board – Douro Dummer (MUNICIPALITY OF)	
324	Police Services Board - Dryden (City of)	
325	Police Services Board - Durham Regional (Municipality of)	
326	Police Services Board - East Ferris (Township of)	N/A
327	Police Services Board - East Zorra-Tavistock (Township of)	
328	Police Services Board - Elgin Group	
329	Police Services Board - Elliot Lake (City of)	
330	Police Services Board - Espanola (Town of)	
331	Police Services Board - Essex (Town of)	
332	Police Services Board - Fort Frances (Town of)	
333	Police Services Board - Gananoque (Town of)	
334	Police Services Board - Georgian Bluffs (Township of)	
335	Police Services Board - Goderich (Town of)	
336	Police Services Board - Grand Valley (Town of)	N/A
337	Police Services Board - Greater Napanee (Town of)	
338	Police Services Board - Greater Sudbury (City of)	
339	Police Services Board - Grey Highlands	
340	Police Services Board - Guelph (City of)	
341	Police Services Board - Haldimand (County of)	
342	Police Services Board - Halton (Regional Municipality of)	
343	Police Services Board - Hamilton (City of)	
344	Police Services Board - Hamilton (Township of)	
345	Police Services Board - Hanover (Town of)	
346	Police Services Board - Havelock-Belmont-Methuen (Township of)	N/A



347	Police Services Board - Hawkesbury (Town of)	
348	Police Services Board - Hearst (Town of)	
349	Police Services Board – Huron-Kinloss (Township of)	
350	Police Services Board - Ignace (Township of)	
351	Police Services Board - Ingersoll (Town of)	
352	Police Services Board – Johnson (Township of)	
353	Police Services Board - Kapuskasing (Town of)	
354	Police Services Board - Kawartha Lakes (City of)	
355	Police Services Board - Kenora (City of)	
356	Police Services Board - Kincardine (Municipality of)	N/A
357	Police Services Board - Kingston (City of)	
358	Police Services Board - Kingsville (Town of)	N/A
359	Police Services Board - Kirkland Lake (Town of)	N/A
360	Police Services Board - Laird (Township of)	N/A
361	Police Services Board – Lakehead	
362	Police Services Board - Lakeshore (Town of)	
363	Police Services Board - Lambton Group	
364	Police Services Board - Lanark Highlands (Township of)	
365	Police Services Board - Lasalle (Town of)	
366	Police Services Board - Leamington (Municipality of)	
367	Police Services Board - London (City of)	
368	Police Services Board - Macdonald, Meredith and Aberdeen Additional (Township of)	
369	Police Services Board - Machin (Municipality of)	
370	Police Services Board - Marathon (Town of)	
371	Police Services Board - Mattawa and Area	
372	Police Services Board - Melancthon (Township of)	N/A
373	Police Services Board - Merrickville-Wolford (Village of)	
374	Police Services Board - Midland (Town of)	
375	Police Services Board - Mono (Town of)	
376	Police Services Board - Montague (Township of)	
377	Police Services Board - Mulmur (Township of)	
378	Police Services Board - Niagara (Regional Municipality of)	
379	Police Services Board - Norfolk (County of)	
380	Police Services Board - North Bay (City of)	
381	Police Services Board - North Grenville (Township of)	
382	Police Services Board - North Huron (Township of)	
383	Police Services Board - North Kawartha (Township of)	
384	Police Services Board - North Perth (Town of)	
385	Police Services Board - Norwich (Township of)	
386	Police Services Board - Nottawasaga	
387	Police Services Board - Orangeville (Town of)	
388	Police Services Board - Orillia (City of)	
389	Police Services Board - Otonabee-South Monaghan (Township of)	N/A
390	Police Services Board - Ottawa (City of)	
391	Police Services Board - Owen Sound (City of)	
392	Police Services Board - Peel (Regional Municipality of)	
393	Police Services Board - Pembroke (City of)	
394	Police Services Board - Penetanguishene (Town of)	
395	Police Services Board - Perth (Town of)	N/A
396	Police Services Board - Petawawa (Town of)	
397	Police Services Board - Peterborough (City of)	



398	Police Services Board - Point Edward (Village of)	
399	Police Services Board - Port Hope (Municipality of)	
400	Police Services Board - Powassan (Municipality of)	
401	Police Services Board - Prescott (Town of)	N/A
402	Police Services Board - Prince Edward (County of)	
403	Police Services Board - Quinte West (City of)	
404	Police Services Board - Red Lake (Municipality of)	
405	Police Services Board - Renfrew (Town of)	
406	Police Services Board - Sarnia (City of)	
407	Police Services Board - Saugeen Shores (Town of)	
408	Police Services Board - Sault Ste. Marie (City of)	
409	Police Services Board - Shelburne (Town of)	
410	Police Services Board - Shuniah (Township of)	
411	Police Services Board – Sioux Lookout (Municipality of)	N/A
412	Police Services Board - Sioux Narrows-Nestor Falls (Township of)	
413	Police Services Board - Smith-Ennismore	
414	Police Services Board - Smiths Falls (Town of)	
415	Police Services Board - Smooth Rock Falls (Town of)	N/A
416	Police Services Board - South Bruce Peninsula (Town of)	
417	Police Services Board - South Frontenac (Township of)	N/A
418	Police Services Board - South Huron (Municipality of)	
419	Police Services Board - Southgate (Township of)	
420	Police Services Board - Spanish (Town of)	N/A
421	Police Services Board - St. Marys (Town of)	N/A
422	Police Services Board - St. Thomas (City of)	
423	Police Services Board - Stirling-Rawdon (Township of)	
424	Police Services Board - Stone Mills (Township of)	N/A
425	Police Services Board - Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry (United Counties of)	
426	Police Services Board - Stratford (City of)	
427	Police Services Board - Strathroy-Caradoc (Municipality of)	
428	Police Services Board - Tay Valley (Township of)	N/A
429	Police Services Board - Tecumseh (Town of)	
430	Police Services Board - Temagami (Municipality of)	
431	Police Services Board - Temiskaming Shores (City of)	
432	Police Services Board - Terrace Bay (Township of)	N/A
433	Police Services Board - Thames Centre (Municipality of)	
434	Police Services Board - The Blue Mountains (Town of)	
435	Police Services Board - The Nation Municipality	N/A
436	Police Services Board - The North Shore (Township of)	N/A
437	Police Services Board - Thessalon (Town of)	
438	Police Services Board - Thunder Bay (City of)	
439	Police Services Board - Tillsonburg (Town of)	
440	Police Services Board - Timmins (City of)	
441	Police Services Board - Toronto (City of)	
442	Police Services Board – Township of Tiny	
443	Police Services Board - Trent Hills (Municipality of)	
444	Police Services Board - Trent Lakes (Municipality of)	N/A
445	Police Services Board - Waterloo (Regional Municipality of)	
446	Police Services Board - Wawa (Municipality of)	
447	Police Services Board - Wellington (County of)	
448	Police Services Board - West Grey (Municipality of)	



449	Police Services Board - West Nipissing (Municipality of)	N/A
450	Police Services Board - West Perth (Municipality of)	
451	Police Services Board - Windsor (City of)	
452	Police Services Board - Woodstock (City of)	
453	Police Services Board - York (Regional Municipality of)	
454	Port Authority Board of Directors - Hamilton-Oshawa	
455	Port Authority Board of Directors - Thunder Bay	
456	Port Authority Board of Directors - Toronto	
457	Port Authority Board of Directors - Windsor	N/A
458	Prevention Council	
459	Province of Ontario Council for the Arts (Ontario Arts Council)	
460	Provincial Advisory Committee on Francophone Affairs	
461	Provincial Judges Pension Board	
462	Provincial Judges Remuneration Commission	
463	Provincial Schools Authority	
464	Public Accountants Council for the Province of Ontario	
465	Public Service Commission	
466	Public Service Grievance Board	
467	Rabies Advisory Committee	
468	Real Estate Council of Ontario	
469	Regional Courts Management Advisory Committee - Central East	N/A
470	Regional Courts Management Advisory Committee - Central West	N/A
471	Regional Courts Management Advisory Committee - East	N/A
472	Regional Courts Management Advisory Committee - North	N/A
473	Regional Courts Management Advisory Committee - Toronto	N/A
474	Regional Courts Management Advisory Committee - West	N/A
475	Resource Productivity and Recovery Authority	
476	Retirement Homes Regulatory Authority	
477	Royal Botanical Gardens	
478	Rural Economic Development Advisory Panel (REDAP)	
479	Science North (Centre)	
480	Social Benefits Tribunal (Tribunals Ontario)	
481	Soldiers' Aid Commission	
482	Source Protection Committee	
483	Southern Ontario Library Service Board	
484	Special Investigations Unit	
485	Species at Risk Program Advisory Committee	
486	St. Lawrence Parks Commission	
487	St. Lawrence Seaway Management Corporation	
488	Tarion Warranty Corporation	
489	Technical Standards and Safety Authority	
490	Thunder Bay International Airports Authority Inc.	N/A
491	Toronto Islands Residential Community Trust Corporation	
492	Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation	
493	Travel Industry Council of Ontario	
494	Trillium Gift of Life Network	
495	Walkerton Clean Water Centre	
496	Workplace Safety and Insurance Appeals Tribunal	



Appendix 5: Toronto Boards, Committees and Tribunals

	Name of Organization	Data Availability (N/A = Not Available)
1	519 Church Street Community Centre	
2	Aboriginal Affairs Advisory Committee	
3	Administrative Penalty Tribunal	
4	Applegrove Community Complex	
5	Board of Health	
6	Build Toronto	
7	Cecil Street Community Centre	
8	Central Eglinton Community Centre	
9	Circular Economy Working Group	
10	Committee of Adjustment	
11	Community Centre 55	
12	Compliance Audit Committee	
13	CreateTO	
14	Dangerous Dog Review Tribunal	
15	Design Review Panel	
16	Eastview Neighbourhood Community Centre	
17	Exhibition Place	
18	Film, Television and Digital Media Board	
19	George Bell Arena	
20	Greater Toronto Airports Authority Consultative Committee	
21	Heritage Toronto	
22	Invest Toronto	
23	Lakeshore Arena	
24	Larry Grossman Forest Hill Memorial Arena	
25	Leaside Memorial Community Gardens Arena	
26	Legacy Fund Allocations Committee	
27	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Two-Spirit (LGBTQ2S+) Council Advisory Body	
28	Lived Experience Advisory Group	
29	McCormick Playground Arena	
30	Metro Toronto Convention Centre	
31	Metropolitan Toronto Pension Plan	
32	Metropolitan Toronto Police Benefit Fund	
33	Moss Park Arena	
34	North Toronto Memorial Arena	
35	PortsToronto	
36	Property Standards Committee	
37	Ralph Thornton Community Centre	
38	Rooming House Licensing Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner	
39	Scadding Court Community Centre	
40	Senior Tenants Advisory Committee – Seniors Housing Unit, Toronto Community Housing Corporation	
41	Sign Variance Committee	
42	St. Lawrence Market Precinct Advisory Committee	
43	Swansea Town Hall	
44	TO Live	
45	Ted Reeve Community Arena	
46	Toronto Accessibility Advisory Committee	

47	Toronto Atmospheric Fund Board	
48	Toronto Civic Employees' Pension and Benefit Fund	
49	Toronto Community Housing Corporation	
50	Toronto Fire Department Superannuation and Benefit Fund	
51	Toronto Francophone Affairs Advisory Committee	
52	Toronto Investment Board	
53	Toronto Licensing Tribunal	
54	Toronto Local Appeal Body	
55	Toronto Music Advisory Committee	
56	Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre	
57	Toronto Parking Authority	
58	Toronto Police Services Board	
59	Toronto Port Lands Company	
60	Toronto Preservation Board	
61	Toronto Public Art Commission	
62	Toronto Public Library	
63	Toronto Seniors' Forum	
64	Toronto Zoo	
65	Toronto and Region Conservation Authority	
66	Tribunals Nominating Panel	
67	Waterfront Neighbourhood Centre	
68	Waterfront Toronto	
69	William H. (Bill) Bolton Arena	
70	Yonge-Dundas Square	





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