# Gender of sources used in major Canadian media 

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## INFDRMED <br> OPINIONS

January 2016

## Acknowledgements

Thank you to Shari Graydon, Meredith Dault and Dr. Rena Bivens for their valuable input into this project. Thank you to Natalie McMullen and Meredith Dault for their diligence and patience in data gathering and coding. We also appreciate the efforts of Alison Kalischuk, who conducted the statistical analysis of the data. Thank you to Status of Women Canada, which provided the financial support for this project.

Recommended citation: Morris, Marika. 2016. Gender of Sources used in Major Canadian Media. Ottawa, Canada: Informed Opinions.

## Executive Summary

## Introduction

- The purpose of this study is to provide statistically valid baseline data on the gender of who is quoted in major Canadian media of national reach, so that the same methodology can be applied to a subsequent study in three years' time to measure any progress made during a period in which Informed Opinions is doing outreach to media and creating tools for journalists for finding female expert sources.


## Methodology

- The study examined 1,467 articles and broadcast segments from seven Canadian media outlets/programs with high audience/readership numbers and a national reach (online versions of the Globe and Mail, Toronto Star, National Post, La Presse, CTV National News, CBC The Current and ICI Tout le monde en parle). Only news sections of the online versions of the print publications were reviewed, excluding sports, regional or local news, entertainment, etc. unless stories from these sections appeared in the top headlines.
- During three monitoring periods from October to December 2015, the study collected 15 days of data resulting in a sample of 3,213 persons quoted who had an identifiable gender. Transgender persons were coded as whatever gender they presented as.


## Analysis and results

- Male sources quoted accounted for almost three-quarters of all persons quoted (71\%), and women were $29 \%$.
- When persons who were not Canadian and not in Canada were removed from the sample, male representation dropped to $68 \%$, which is still over two-thirds of people quoted, and female representation was $32 \%$, about a third of persons quoted.
- There was a statistically significant relationship ( $p<0.01$ ) between gender and media outlet, which existed whether international sources or Canadian sources only were examined. Public broadcasters did better than the private broadcaster or the print media in terms of representation of women as sources.
- For the full sample, these were the media outlets/broadcasts with the best representation of women as sources, in descending order: ICI Tout le monde en parle (41\%), CBC The Current (40\%), Toronto Star (34\%), La Presse (28\%), Globe and Mail (27\%), National Post (26\%), CTV National News (23\%).
- For the Canadian only sample of persons quoted, these were the media outlets/broadcasts with the best representation of women as sources, in descending order: CBC The Current (43\%), ICI Tout le monde en parle (42\%), Toronto Star (37\%), Globe and Mail, La Presse and National Post were tied at 28\%, CTV National News (26\%).
- Men outnumbered women in every professional category, whether or not the full sample (Canadian and international) or the Canadian-only sample. For the Canadian-only sample, 66\% of academics quoted were men, $76 \%$ of politicians were men, $70 \%$ of unelected government
officials were men, $52 \%$ of people associated with an NGO were men, $78 \%$ of those associated with private business were men, $73 \%$ of those quoted from the legal profession were men, $55 \%$ of those quoted in the health professions were men, $66 \%$ of people quoted as sources who worked in the media were men, $66 \%$ of those in creative occupations were men, $88 \%$ of police personnel quoted were men, $100 \%$ of our sample of individuals associated with sports were men. For every professional/occupational category for which data was available, women were significantly under-represented relative to their numbers in these professions/occupations as recorded in 2011 Statistics Canada data, except in the political category.
- The health professions were the one exception to the trend of the over-representation of men, at least on the surface. In this category, $53 \%$ were women, and $47 \%$ were men in the full sample, but this declined to $45 \%$ women and $55 \%$ men in the Canadian only sample. To put this in perspective, Statistics Canada 2011 indicated that women make up $80 \%$ of health occupations in Canada, including $58 \%$ of professional occupations in health excluding nursing.
- Women are under-represented in a number of occupations in real life, such as in the natural and applied sciences, plumbers, electricians, construction, transport and heavy equipment operation, etc. To deal with the imbalance in the natural and applied sciences, we did not cover science and technology sections of version of print media websites. The latter group (trades, technicians and heavy labour) were not a significantly quoted group in the media, and people in these occupations were coded as a part of the "other" category.
- Of persons in the victim/witness category, $47 \%$ were female and $53 \%$ were male. In the Canadian only sample, female representation dropped: 44\% were female and 56\% were male. The ratio of women to men as victim and witness sources exceeded the ratio of women to men in the professional categories, except in the health field. Men are more often presented in the media as experts than as victims or witnesses.
- A gender balance (50\% women, $50 \%$ men) was recorded for person-on-the-street interviews. The diversity of those interviewed seemed to be dependent on the reporter, with one reporter in particular achieving a good diversity in terms of gender, race and age, and some others, less so.
- The study also made an experimental foray into collecting data on other kinds of diversity. The collection of data on types of diversity other than gender (racial, ethnocultural, linguistic, religious, disability, sexual or gender identity) is problematic because people's association with these groups is not always known or obvious in print, radio and TV. We collected data on perceived diversity status, but because of methodological difficulties associated with collecting these data, no valid conclusions can be drawn.
- There was no significant statistical relationship between gender and length of time quoted. Once women are quoted, they tend to be quoted for the same length of time as men.
- An analysis was performed using just articles and segments produced by media outlet staff, excluding articles and segments from newswire services or reprinted/rebroadcast from other sources. There was no significant difference, meaning that the gender imbalance is not due to the use of newswires or reprinted/rebroadcasted articles or segments from other sources.
- We found significant differences between the October, November and December reporting periods. This could mean that gender of persons quoted varies by what stories are in the news at any given time, and underlines the necessity of having multiple reporting periods separated by spaces of time, which can then be averaged.


## Recommendations for journalists

- Try to achieve gender balance where possible. If you are doing streeters, don't just take the first three who respond, if they are all men. Actively seek more opinions until you get a balance of women. Pay attention to diversity of age and background. This makes for better reporting and more well-rounded stories.
- If a female source says she is not the best person to comment, or she doesn't have the time, let her know that male sources far outnumber female sources, and that the story will benefit from women's perspectives.
- If a female source says she doesn't have the time to do the interview, acknowledge her time challenges, but let her know that it will only take a couple of minutes, and that her existing knowledge and understanding of the story's context will add value to the story.
- In order to help counteract negative experiences many women have had with public reaction or online abuse due to their media appearances, build trust and respect with female sources by giving positive feedback where warranted, such as calling back and saying things such as "Thank you for the interview, it was just what we needed," "We saw a very positive reaction to that story," "You explained the situation very well."
- Give the same respect, airtime, and acknowledgement of titles, qualifications and achievements to female experts as you would give to a male expert.
- If a panel member is dominating the discussion, turn to the other panel members and ask them direct questions to ensure that their perspectives are heard.
- Choosing a male over a female source is often not a conscious act. To determine whether you are doing this, choose a time period of a week or two. Track the gender of your sources, and determine whether you are contributing to presenting a gender imbalance or whether you are fully utilizing qualified women as sources.
- Use the ExpertWomen.ca/FemmesExpertes.ca database (to be launched in April 2016) to expand your expert contacts. In the meantime, Informed Opinions' current database remains accessible at http://www.informedopinions.org/experts-network/
- Talk with colleagues about how these recommendations about achieving gender balance are simply good journalistic practice.


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## Introduction

What difference does it make if a roughly equal proportion of women and men are represented in the media as experts, or even as persons on the street interviews or when reader/audience feedback is reported?

Women and men still register differences in views and opinions that are statistically significant. There is no issue on which all women agree and all men disagree, but there are measurable gender trends. Not surprisingly, views about equality constitute one of these. For example, a survey by Abacus Data found that $82 \%$ of Canadian women compared with $68 \%$ of their male counterparts supported the decision to have a gender balanced federal Cabinet. ${ }^{1}$ But measurable differences in perspectives and priorities can also occur among professionals about the subject matter of their work. For example, female and male senior public servants in the federal, provincial and territorial governments displayed statistically significant gender differences in their views about whether the environment, economic inequality and the fiscal imbalance between the federal and provincial/territorial governments were priorities. ${ }^{2}$

When significantly more men are represented than women, whether as experts, in "streeters", or in audience feedback, the likelihood is that the perspectives of the entire population are being misrepresented, calling into question the quality of the journalism.

Traditional news media are in a transition period, being transformed by the proliferation of sources of news and information on the internet. Nevertheless, most people still rely on traditional news media as a vetted and accountable news source. The news media play a crucial role in any democracy, reporting important events, presenting contextual information from experts, and reflecting the population's experiences and views back to itself. The media can affect perceptions of what is going on and who is seen as a valuable and trusted source of information. Whoever is quoted gains publicity for their views - their voices are amplified. Given that men and women have statistically measurable differences in perspective, whose voices are being amplified becomes a relevant question.

In addition to whether media are accurately and proportionately reflecting the perspectives of experts and the population, fair representation can also have an impact on the groups themselves, including women and others. University of Toronto Professor Minelle Mahtani wrote:

Ethnic minorities in Canada do not see themselves mirrored in the media, and this perpetuates feelings of rejection, trivialises their contributions, and devalues their role as citizens in their nations. ${ }^{3}$

The Global Media Monitoring Project found in its last report that only $24 \%$ of the people heard or read about in print, radio and television news around the world were female. In its preliminary findings for 2015, this increased by only $1 \%$ in the past five years to $25 \%{ }^{4}$

Some other studies focus on the relationship between female reporters, editors and senior people in the media, and the types of stories they cover. The Status of Women in the U.S. Media 2014 report found that $64 \%$ of bylines and on-camera appearances featured men at U.S. top 20 TV networks, newspapers, online news sites and news wire services. ${ }^{5}$ Julie Burton, President of the Women's Media Center in Washington, D.C., stated that "Only when women are equal partners in the multilayered work of deciding what constitutes a story and how that story might be told can we paint a more textured, accurate picture of the worlds that we all—male and female—inhabit., ${ }^{6}$

Although this is a valid line of inquiry, women schooled in our current social environment are as capable of reflecting unconscious bias as their male colleagues. Informed Opinions believes that anyone can learn to ensure a fair and accurate representation of the expertise, priorities and views of the whole population. The project works to provide resources and tools to promote and facilitate this. Critical to this is collecting data and analysing the current situation to identify the nature of the problem, and how it can potentially be resolved. The goal is to replicate this study and its methodology in three years to measure any progress that has been made.

## Methodology

Data were recorded in Excel using closed and open-coding strategies, and then imported into SPSS V22.0 for analytical purposes. Analyses were conducted using the full sample and split sample referred to as "Canadian only" sample, on unweighted data.

## Choice of sources, sections and number of items reviewed

In choosing sources, we looked at whether the program or outlet was national in scope, and the viewership, readership or audience numbers. We balanced English- and French-language sources according to current Canadian demographics.

We used the online versions of the print media. Just after the last monitoring period, La Presse stopped publishing weekday editions in print in favour of digital only.

We focussed on national news and politics sections, excluding regional and local news, international, sports, science/technology, business, arts, and lifestyle unless any of these types of stories appeared in the headlines as coders logged into the sites. The rationale for excluding particular sections were as follows: Sports sections may quote a far larger number of men as most of the teams covered are in men's sports, and would skew the results. It is possible that Lifestyle articles may or may not quote a larger number of women, and Business and Science/Technology sections may still be quoting larger
numbers of men. Gender counts in regional sections may be skewed by whomever is in local or regional politics at the time, for example, the BC and Alberta sections of the Globe and Mail may quote stories in which the provincial premier is quoted, in both cases, female, and the same is true of the Queen's Park section of the Toronto Star. To include international sections would not have been as helpful to Canadian journalists, as there may not be as many choices of sources for international stories. To completely exclude any international story would not have retained comparability across print, TV and radio, as international stories were a small part of the TV and radio programs covered. Therefore we coded international stories, and other stories from excluded sections, that appeared in the top headlines of the electronic versions of print outlets, but did not delve further into these sections. This actually gave us a comparable balance of international, regional and other stories across media types. In the digital versions of print media, we coded the following sections:

Globe and Mail: Front page headlines, News section (National and Politics sections only)
La Presse : Front page headlines, actualités (Québec/Canada , Politique, Justice et affaires criminelles, Santé, Éducation sections only)
Toronto Star: Front page headlines (including "News \& Features" box), News section (Canada and Investigations only)
National Post: Front page headlines, News section (Canada)
CTV National News: The full program as broadcast on TV from Monday to Friday
CBC The Current: The full program as broadcast on radio from Monday to Friday
ICI Tout le monde en parle: Full program as broadcast on TV on Sunday evenings

We tried to balance the print versus electronic issue in a number of ways: because Globe Unlimited content is not available to all and is not printed in the physical edition, we did not code it. Similarly, because videos on the websites of print publications are not included in the print versions, we didn't code them either. Opinion columns typically quote very few people, we also left those out because our aim was to produce a study that would be of value to Canadian news reporters in terms of thinking about choice of sources.

| Source | Type | Frequency | Number of <br> days <br> monitored | Number of <br> articles or <br> segments <br> analyzed | Number of <br> people quoted <br> and coded |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| CBC The <br> Current | Radio <br> program | Daily Monday <br> to Friday | 15 | 56 | 202 |
| CTV National <br> News | TV program | Daily Monday <br> to Friday | 15 | 190 | 375 |
| ICl Tout le <br> monde en <br> parle | TV program | Weekly | $4^{\text {i }}$ | 26 | 39 |

[^0]| Globe and <br> Mail | Print and <br> digital | Daily Monday <br> to Saturday | 15 | 215 | 449 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| La Presse | Print and <br> digital | Daily | 15 | 241 | 392 |
| National Post | Print and <br> digital | Daily Monday <br> to Saturday | 15 | 315 | 837 |
| Toronto Star | Print and <br> digital | Daily | 15 | 424 | 919 |
| Total |  |  |  | 1,467 | 3,213 |

We reviewed 1,467 articles and broadcast segments, out of which there were 3,213 people quoted with an identifiable gender. We are confident that this represents a sufficient sample on which to draw general conclusions about the gender of people quoted by major news media with a national reach in Canada in the last three months of 2015.

## Monitoring time frame

In order to avoid having our monitoring period dominated by certain stories which could skew the results either in favour of males or females, we chose three different weeks to monitor with at last a two-week period of non-monitoring between them. We chose one week in October 2015, one in November 2015 and one in December 2015, avoiding weeks in which known events occur that could skew gender of people quoted. By doing so we avoided the October election, in which all three main party leaders were male and would be most likely to be quoted, the week of November 11 (Remembrance Day) in which mainly male veterans are often featured, the week of December 6 (National Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women).

The monitoring periods were: Oct. 25-Nov 1, 2015, Nov. 15-22, 2015, and Dec. 13-20, 2015. During those weeks, CBC The Current and the CTV National News were covered from Monday to Friday (Oct. 2630; Nov. 16-20; Dec. 14-18), all the online version of print publications were covered from Tuesday to Saturday (Oct. 27-31; Nov. 17-21; Dec. 15-19), and the weekly broadcast Tout le monde en parle was covered on the Sunday at the beginning and at the end of the monitoring weeks (Oct. 25, Nov. 1, Nov. 15, Nov. 22). Tout le monde en parle was not covered on Dec. 13 as this was an end of the season recap show which was not uploaded to the web site, nor on Dec. 19, because it did not air.

## What was coded

To ensure consistency across coders, the three coders and researcher were in daily contact by e-mail. Coders' spreadsheets were submitted to the researcher on a daily basis for review. Coders coded everyone who spoke or was quoted on the radio and TV programs, excluding the hosts and reporters, unless a journalist was invited as a guest to speak as an expert on a topic.

Coders checked in at least once per day, at different times, and whatever the headline stories were at that time were coded. It is possible that some stories dropped off their particular sections more quickly than others and may not have been coded. Nevertheless, the sample size of stories was sufficient to yield robust data. Sometimes online stories are updated or changed, and sometimes headlines also changed. We paid attention not to code what was essentially the same story twice.

## Coding

For each person (excluding the hosts/reporters) who spoke or were quoted, we coded for date of article/segment, title of article/segment, ii story source, iii person's name, iv gender, profession/context, diversity status (see subsection below), whether the person was Canadian/in Canada (see below), and length of time quoted. Coders were also encouraged to note anything else that should be considered or needed to be explained.

Where gender was unclear from the name, a Google search was done for the individual and gender imputed from the picture. Transgender persons were coded as the gender they presented as, and coded also as members of a sexual/gender identity minority. Quotes of unnamed sources where gender was not identified or news releases from organizations where the statements were not attributed to a particular human being were not coded.

## Profession/occupation/context

We coded for the following professional, occupational and contextual categories:

Academic, researcher: works at a university, research institute or think tank

Politician: elected official at the federal, provincial, territorial or municipal levels, a First Nations Chief, or the leader of another country. This category can include MPs, MLAs, MPPs, Cabinet Ministers, a Mayor, people who are quoted because they are running for elected office, etc. Both US elected Senators and Canadian unelected Senators were included in this category because of the partisan political nature of this latter role during the coding periods. So for example, Senator Mike Duffy was coded as "politician" and not "unelected government official".

[^1]Unelected government official: someone who works in a government but not in an elected position, such as the head of a government agency, ambassador, government scientist, spokesperson, etc.

Non-governmental organization: Someone who works for or is speaking on behalf of a not-for-profit association, such as the Canadian Cancer Society, a shelter for abused women, etc.

Private business: Someone who works for a bank, owns a company, a CEO, etc.
Legal profession: Lawyers, judges, court officials.
Health profession: Doctors, nurses, psychologists, nutritionists, and other healthcare providers.
Media: Journalists, columnists, editors, media owners, where they are quoted as sources.
Creative industries: artists, writers, actors, filmmakers, video game developers, etc.
Police: Police chiefs, officers and spokespeople.
Sports: player, team owner, coach.
Victim/witness: Someone who experienced or witnessed the event or topic that is being reported on, including family members of victims.

Person on the street interviews: Someone being asked for their opinion, as a part of randomly asking passers-by for their views.

Other: Where the occupation was given but did not match those listed above, a note was made.
Unknown: Profession, occupation or context as victim, witness or streeter was not revealed.

For those who wish to employ our methodology, we recommend the addition of codes for union officials, religious occupations (such as pastor, priest, imam, etc.) and military personnel, as there were sufficient numbers of these for categories separate from "Other".

## Diversity status

There was no method of collecting data on racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious and sexual/gender identity minorities as news sources that was unproblematic. Nevertheless, it was important to try, because of the importance of broader diversity in the media.

We made efforts to identify gender where this was ambiguous, so that our gender counts represent the actual numbers of men and women quoted in the news. We did not use the same approach for diversity status, which would have been intrusive and in some cases impossible. The diversity status category represents what the reader, viewer or auditor might have perceived.

Coders were instructed to note whether the person quoted was identifiable as any of the following based on appearance, something the person has said, how the person was portrayed or introduced in the article or segment, or whether the person's status was widely known:

- The person would be considered a racial minority in Canada
- The person would be considered an ethnic, cultural or linguistic minority in Canada
- The person would be considered a religious minority in Canada
- The person would be considered a member of a sexual or gender identity minority in Canada
- The person would be considered to be a person with a mental or physical disability in Canada
- The person would be perceived as being a member of some other kind of minority giving rise to socioeconomic disadvantage in Canada

For racial minority, we adapted Statistics Canada's definition of "visible minority"" but included Indigenous persons. According to this definition, racial minorities were easy to identify on television, but much less so in print and radio. Sometimes the print media included a picture, and sometimes race was mentioned as a part of the interview. That being said, this methodology certainly results in an under-counting of persons belonging to a racial minority group as there was not always a picture and race may not have been mentioned in an article or segment where it was irrelevant. Barack Obama was coded as a racial minority even if his race was not mentioned in an article or there was no picture, because his race is widely known.

It was more difficult to code for ethnic, cultural and linguistic minorities. Where someone's language was clearly not one of Canada's official languages, this was an indicator for this category. Where someone was interviewed in connection to particular ethnocultural events or someone known to active in some particular ethnocultural community, this was also an indicator. Posing more difficulty in terms of categorization were the many Canadians who have names that are neither of French nor English ancestry. Viewers/readers/listeners may perceive them to be ethnic minorities on the basis of the name, but the person may not necessarily have any cultural connection to the ethnicity of their ancestors. Having a name that was neither English nor French was not a sufficient criterion to be included in this category. The person would also have to have some known or implied ethnic association.

Coding for religion was also imperfect, as most of the time religion is not visible and cannot be assumed. Sometimes people are interviewed as representatives of their faith (rabbis, imams, priests, ministers, heads of religious associations or groups), and these can easily be coded. Others may have some visible symbol, such as wearing a cross, Star of David, kippa, hijab or turban. However, for the most part, including for most Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Jews, atheists and others, religion is not obvious. We also did not assume religion on the basis of name. By erring on the side of caution to

[^2]avoid mislabelling, and by virtue of the fact that religious affiliation is not known for the majority of people interviewed, religious minorities were definitely under-counted.

Statistics Canada's Canadian Survey on Disability (CSD) definition of a person with a disability is, "anyone who reported being "sometimes", "often" or "always" limited in their daily activities due to a long-term condition or health problem, as well as anyone who reported being "rarely" limited if they were also unable to do certain tasks or could only do them with a lot of difficulty." The World Health Organization's definition of disability is:

Disabilities is an umbrella term, covering impairments, activity limitations, and participation restrictions. An impairment is a problem in body function or structure; an activity limitation is a difficulty encountered by an individual in executing a task or action; while a participation restriction is a problem experienced by an individual in involvement in life situations. ${ }^{8}$

Although we were informed by these definitions, coders did not code people who were temporarily ill as someone with a disability, although the impairment might qualify both under Statistics Canada's and the World Health Organization's definitions, nor mild impairments such as needing glasses. Since actual impairment, activity limitation or participation restriction is not always visible to the reader, viewer or auditor, persons with disabilities were under-counted.

The sexual/gender identity minority category was coded on the basis of whether this status came up in the article or segment, or whether it was widely known. For example, Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne was coded in this category. No assumptions were made on the basis of appearance for this category, as this would have been highly inaccurate. For most people quoted, sexuality/gender identity status is unknown, so the counts in this category are an under-representation of who is actually quoted in the media.

We decided to code for diversity status even for non-Canadian persons, even though the persons would not be in a minority in the place in which they are located. Clearly, Vladimir Putin would be an ethnic, cultural or linguistic minority if based in Canada, but he is not in Russia. The full sample (Canadian and international) shows what the Canadian public is exposed to in the major news media with national reach. Canadian journalism has progressed within an increasingly global world. There might have been a time when journalists may have turned more often to Canadian-born academics of British or French ancestry to answer questions about other parts of the world. The fact that many journalists are asking people in other parts of the world to comment on their own situations is an approach worth mentioning. It's again a matter of the perception of who the experts and valuable sources are. We also ran an analysis which excluded the international elements, with the view to comparing diversity status with the representation of these groups within the Canadian population. However, because of the methodological difficulties associated with collecting these data, no valid conclusions can be drawn.

## Coding for Canadian and international

We coded for whether the source was "international", so that we could run analyses that both included and excluded these sources. By international, we meant that the source was not Canadian and was outside Canada. The two conditions had to be met. So for example, a refugee claimant interviewed in Canada would be considered Canadian even though the person does not yet have Canadian citizenship, and a Canadian diplomat or businessperson positioned abroad would also be considered Canadian.

The international category captured many non-Canadian politicians, victims/witnesses to events overseas, and others. Canadian media may have less control over what international sources they have access to, and certainly differences in the representation of women and men as leaders of various other countries could have skewed our results, depending on which countries were most in the news during the monitoring periods.

## Length of quote

We wanted to test whether there was a difference in the length between when men or women are quoted. In order to ascertain this, we used the following coding parameters:

1 - person is quoted in passing (one or two lines in print, a few seconds of comment in broadcast) 2 - Person is quoted or paraphrased in two or three paragraphs in print or one to three minutes in broadcast
3 - person is quoted or paraphrased in four to five paragraphs in print or four to six minutes in broadcast
4 - person is quoted or paraphrased in six or more paragraphs in print or seven or more minutes in broadcast OR whole article or segment is an interview or profile of that person or deals solely with that person's ideas

Ideally, this variable would be measured in numbers of seconds and number of words. However, we did not have the resources to undertake this degree of measurement. Nevertheless, this coding method was enough to give a rough idea of whether a difference existed based on length of quote.

## Differences between this study and the Global Media Monitoring Project

The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) counts women who appear in news stories but also makes a subjective determination about how women are portrayed. Our study was quantitative only. The GMMP covers a wider range of media outlets, but codes only 12-14 stories from each on only one reference day. We have used a smaller number of media outlets (7), but have coded a substantially larger number of articles/segments and have collected data for 15 days across three months for all but the one weekly program included.

Our study does not replace the GMMP, but is complementary to it. The GMMP codes for the sex and estimated age of the reporter, and we did not code anything about the reporter. The GMMP does not code for diversity status of the person quoted, whereas our study does. The GMMP does not code for length of time the person quoted in featured, our study does. The GMMP is particularly interested in whether stories are shared through social media. We did not make such a determination as stories can continue to be shared long after the monitoring period.

The GMMP uses volunteer coders. Our study used paid coders with communications/journalism backgrounds. The GMMP is conducted every five years, but the coding consistency is over time is unknown. The GMPP is conducted over a period of years around the world. Our study focuses on Canada only and ensures that media monitoring time periods exclude particular times with known events that could skew the results. The purpose of the GMMP is to create research that can be used for advocacy. The purpose of our study is to provide statistically valid baseline data on the gender of who is quoted in major Canadian media of national reach, so that the same methodology can be applied to a subsequent study in three years' time to measure any progress made during a period in which Informed Opinions is doing media outreach and creating tools for journalists. This study is not a replacement for the GMMP, but conducted differently and for different purposes.

## Results

Data were collected on 3,213 persons quoted in the selected media during the monitoring periods. We coded only human beings with an identifiable gender, not institutional sources or unnamed sources where the gender was not made clear. Reporting periods were relatively evenly distributed with each period accounting for approximately one-third of the sample. Analyses were conducted for the full sample ( $\mathrm{N}=3213$ ), and by split sample (Canadian only with international individuals removed) ( $\mathrm{N}=2,441$ ).

Men over-represented as sources in Canadian news media, even when international element removed
The full sample consisted of 2,266 males and 947 females quoted. Male sources accounted for almost three-quarters of the full sample ( $71 \%$ ), whereas $29 \%$ of persons quoted were women. When international sources were removed to produce the Canadian only sample of 1,667 males and 774 females quoted, male representation dropped to $68 \%$, while overall female rates increased to $32 \%$, an adjusted percent change of $-/+3 \%$. Just over two thirds of persons quoted in the Canadian only sample are men and just under a third are women.

Figure 1: Gender Distribution of Persons Quoted by Full ( $N=3213$ ) and Canadian only ( $N=2,441$ ) Sample

# Gender Distribution of Person Quoted by Full and Canadian Only Sample 



News media vary widely in terms of gender of sources

Chi-square results suggest there is a significant relationship between gender and media source ( $\mathrm{p}<0.01$ ). Overall, female sources quoted were underrepresented (29\%). CBC The Current and ICI Tout le monde en parle used women as sources more often than any other media in the study, at $40 \%$ and $41 \%$ respectively. This represents a difference between public broadcasters and private media outlets, with public broadcasters presenting a more even gender balance.

Table 1: Distribution of Gender by Media Outlet Media Full Sample

| MEDIA OUTLET | TOTAL <br> articles $/$ segments <br> where gender <br> present \& coded | Percentage <br> of sample | FEMALES <br> $(\%)$ | MALES (\%) |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |


| CBC The Current | 202 | 6\% | 81 (40\%) | 121(60\%) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| CTV National | 375 | 12\% | 85 (23\%) | 290(77\%) |
| News |  |  |  |  |
| Globe \& Mail | 449 | 14\% | 121 (27\%) | 328 (73\% |
| La Presse | 392 | 12\% | 110 (28\%) | 282 (72\%) |
| National Post | 837 | 26\% | 221 (26\%) | 616 (74\%) |
| Toronto Star | 919 | 29\% | 313 (34\%) | 606 (66\%) |
| ICI Tout le monde en parle | 39* | 1\% | 16 (41\%) | 23 (59\%) |
| TOTALS | 3213 |  | 947 (29\%) | 2266 (71\%) |

Percentages have been rounded
*Although this represents a fewer number of segments coded, the segments are between 20-30 minutes long, compared with an average of less than two minutes for CTV News. The amount of actual broadcast time was similar for these two sources.

After the sample was split (Table 2) to remove international individuals quoted from the analysis, there was minimal effect on total counts by media source for CBC The Current, CTV, Globe and Mail, and ICI Tout le Monde en parle of -/+ $1 \%$. La Presse and Toronto Star increased by $2 \%$ and $3 \%$ respectively, while the National Post decreased by $5 \%$. When the sample was considered as a whole, female representation in those quoted increased to $32 \%$; a marginal positive change of $3 \%$ when compared with the full sample. This increase was reflected in percentage scores by media source with a range for females of $26 \%$ to $43 \%$. Like the full sample, tests of significance suggest there is a statistically significant relationship between gender, and media outlet in the Canadian only subsample ( $p<0.01$ ). Changes in distribution after controlling for international status imply that while females are still underutilized as sources overall, the effect is more pronounced when international sources are quoted.

Table 2: Distribution of Gender by Media Outlet Canadian only Sample
MEDIA OUTLET TOTAL FEMALES MALES (\%) articles/segments where gender present \& coded

| CBC The Current | 135 | $58(43 \%)$ | $77(57 \%)$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| CTV National | 262 | $67(26 \%)$ | $195(74 \%)$ |
| News |  |  |  |
| Globe \& Mail | 369 | $104(28 \%)$ | $265(72 \%)$ |
| La Presse | 353 | $100(28 \%)$ | $253(72 \%)$ |
| National Post | 513 | $146(28 \%)$ | $367(72 \%)$ |
| Toronto Star <br> ICI Tout le monde | 771 | $283(37 \%)$ | $488(63 \%)$ |
| en parle | 38 | $16(42 \%)$ | $22(58 \%)$ |
| TOTALS | $\mathbf{2 4 4 1}$ | $\mathbf{7 7 4}(\mathbf{3 2 \%})$ | $\mathbf{1 6 6 7 ( 6 8 \% )}$ |
| Percentages have been rounded |  |  |  |

Percentages have been rounded

A decision was made to use unweighted data so that the entirety of what the public would see in the news sections or broadcasts would be taken into consideration. The data can be made available to other researchers who wish run tests on weighted data, or explore other interactions.

Gender balance not significantly affected whether stories come from staff, newswire or other source

The print media in particular published a fair number of items that were not produced by its own staff. We coded for story source, whether the outlet's own staff wrote or produced the piece, or whether it came from the Canadian Press, Agence France-Presse, Bloomberg and other newswire services, or whether reprinted material from other publications. Gender was then re-assessed in the full and Canadian only samples by media outlet removing any of the sources that were not written/produced by the staff of one of the seven outlets in this report (Table 3). This was to test whether it was the inclusion of newswire stories or other materials that was primarily responsible for the gender imbalance.

Staff-only items accounted for 2,039 quoted sources in the full sample (Canada and international), and 1,698 in the Canadian only sample. When looking across the seven media outlets in the full sample, CBC The Current, CTV National News, and ICI Tout le monde en parle remained constant. Females quoted increased for National Post and Toronto Star by $2 \%$ and $3 \%$ respectively, and decreased by $1 \%$ for the La Presse and Globe and Mail. In the Canadian only sample CBC The Current, CTV National News, National Post, and ICI Tout le monde en parle percentages did not change, but Toronto Star increased by $2 \%$ while La Presse and Globe and Mail decreased by $1 \%$. Overall the percentage of females increased in the full sample from $29 \%$ to $31 \%$, and in the Canadian only sample from $32 \%$ to $33 \%$ when sources not written by an outlet were removed. This is not a significant difference. This means that the gender imbalance is not due to the use of newswires or reprinted/rebroadcasted articles or segments from other sources.

Table 3: Gender by Source in the Full and Canadian Only Samples

|  | SOURCE | MALE | FEMALE | TOTAL | MALE (\%) | FEMALE (\%) |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| FULL | CBC The Current Staff | 121 | 81 | 202 | $60 \%$ | $40 \%$ |
| SAMPLE |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | CTV News Staff | 289 | 85 | 374 | $77 \%$ | $23 \%$ |
|  | Globe \& Mail Staff | 239 | 82 | 321 | $74 \%$ | $26 \%$ |
|  | La Presse Staff | 149 | 56 | 205 | $73 \%$ | $27 \%$ |
|  | National Post Staff | 164 | 63 | 227 | $72 \%$ | $28 \%$ |
|  | Toronto Star Staff | 432 | 246 | 669 | $63 \%$ | $37 \%$ |
|  | ICI Tout le Monde Staff | 23 | 16 | 39 | $59 \%$ | $41 \%$ |
|  | SOURCE | MALE | FEMALE | TOTAL | MALE (\%) | FEMALE (\%) |
| CANADIAN | CBC The Current Staff | 77 | 58 | 135 | $57 \%$ | $43 \%$ |
| ONLY |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | CTV News Staff | 194 | 67 | 261 | $74 \%$ | $26 \%$ |
|  | Globe \& Mail Staff | 202 | 75 | 277 | $73 \%$ | $27 \%$ |
|  | La Presse Staff | 141 | 53 | 194 | $73 \%$ | $27 \%$ |
|  | National Post Staff | 130 | 51 | 181 | $72 \%$ | $28 \%$ |
|  | Toronto Star Staff | 369 | 233 | 602 | $61 \%$ | $39 \%$ |
|  | ICI Tout le Monde Staff | 22 | 16 | 38 | $58 \%$ | $42 \%$ |

Women are consistently under-represented as sources relative to their availability in their profession

Overall, females were underrepresented across the majority of professions.

Table 4: Gender by Profession/Occupation/Context Full Sample ( $\mathrm{N}=3243$ )

| Profession | Females (\%) | Males (\%) | TOTALS (\% of full sample) |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Politician | $178(20 \%)$ | $715(80 \%)$ | $893(28 \%)$ |


| Victim/Witness | 165 (44\%) | 214 (56\%) | 379 (12\%) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Unelected Government | 81 (27\%) | 222 (73\%) | 303 (9\%) |
| NGO | 103 (43\%) | 137 (57\%) | 240 (7\%) |
| Private Business | 51(21\%) | 188 (79\%) | 239 (7\%) |
| Legal | 61 (26\%) | 173 (74\%) | 234 (7\%) |
| Academic | 66 (31\%) | 146 (69\%) | 212 (6\%) |
| Other | 49 (29\%) | 118 (71\%) | 167 (5\%) |
| Health | 70 (53\%) | 62 (47\%) | 132 (4\%) |
| Media | 46 (37\%) | 77 (63\%) | 123 (4\%) |
| Police | 16 (13\%) | 110 (87\%) | 126 (4\%) |
| Streeter | 56 (50\%) | 56 (50\%) | 112 (3\%) |
| Creative | 16 (30\%) | 38 (70\%) | 54 (2\%) |
| Sport | 0 (0\%) | 29 (100\%) | 29 (1\%) |
| TOTALS | 958 (30\%) | 2285(70\%) | 3243 |

Percentages have been rounded. Profession totals may not add up to source totals because those whose profession, occupation or context was unknown were removed from the sample, and some sources were coded in more than one professional category, for example a lawyer working for an NGO, where both statuses were relevant in the interview.

Politicians were the most quoted category, representing just over a quarter of the total full sample. Four-fifths ( $80 \%$ ) of the politicians quoted were men, and $20 \%$ were women. There is a gender imbalance in political representation in Canada and the world, so this result may reflect the reality of who is in politics. When international persons were removed (Table 5), men were $76 \%$ of the politicians quoted, and women were $24 \%$. Statistics Canada data from 2011 (Table 6) indicate that $34 \%$ of legislators at all levels in Canada were female. However, the Prime Minister, Premiers and Cabinet ministers tended to be quoted more than other politicians, and we did not cover regional news sections. Nevertheless, the finding that over three quarters of Canadian politicians quoted were male was a surprising finding given that during the monitoring period, three out of four premiers of the largest Canadian provinces were female and for two-thirds of the monitoring period, there was gender parity in the federal cabinet.

Table 5: Gender by Profession/Occupation/Context Canadian Only Sample ( $\mathrm{N}=2447$ )

| Profession | Females (\%) | Males (\%) | TOTALS (\% of Canadian only) |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Politician | $161(24 \%)$ | $504(76 \%)$ | $\mathbf{6 6 5}(\mathbf{2 7 \%})$ |
| Victim/Witness | $122(47 \%)$ | $140(53 \%)$ | $\mathbf{2 6 2}(\mathbf{1 1 \%})$ |
| Unelected Government | $64(30 \%)$ | $147(70 \%)$ | $\mathbf{2 1 1}(9 \%)$ |


| Legal | $54(27 \%)$ | $144(73 \%)$ | $198(8 \%)$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| Private Business | $45(22 \%)$ | $157(78 \%)$ | $\mathbf{2 0 2 ( 8 \% )}$ |
| NGO | $90(48 \%)$ | $99(52 \%)$ | $\mathbf{1 8 9}(\mathbf{7 \%})$ |
| Academic | $54(34 \%)$ | $106(66 \%)$ | $\mathbf{1 6 0 ( 6 \% )}$ |
| Other | $42(31 \%)$ | $92(69 \%)$ | $\mathbf{1 3 4 ( 6 \% )}$ |
| Health | $60(45 \%)$ | $50(55 \%)$ | $\mathbf{1 1 0}(5 \%)$ |
| Police | $12(12 \%)$ | $87(88 \%)$ | $99(4 \%)$ |
| Media | $28(34 \%)$ | $55(66 \%)$ | $83(3 \%)$ |
| Streeter | $33(50 \%)$ | $33(50 \%)$ | $66(3 \%)$ |
| Creative | $14(34 \%)$ | $27(66 \%)$ | $41(\mathbf{2 \%})$ |
| Sport | $0(0 \%)$ | $27(100 \%)$ | $27(\mathbf{1 \%})$ |
| TOTALS | $779(32 \%)$ | $\mathbf{1 6 6 8 ( 6 8 \% )}$ | 2447 |

Percentages have been rounded. Profession totals may not add up to source totals because those whose profession, occupation or context was unknown were removed from the sample, and some sources were coded in more than one professional category, for example a lawyer working for an NGO, where both statuses were relevant in the interview.

Among the academics quoted in the full sample, $31 \%$ were women and $69 \%$ were men. When the Canadian only persons were considered, about one third ( $34 \%$ ) of academics quoted were women and about two thirds (66\%) were men. According to 2011 Statistics Canada data (Table 6), $42 \%$ of university professors and lecturers in Canada were women.

Among unelected government officials quoted, $73 \%$ were men and $27 \%$ women. When the international sample was removed, $70 \%$ were men and $30 \%$ were women. Women made up $46 \%$ of managers in public administration in Canada (Table 6). Resources did not permit an assessment of female representation by category of worker using data from each province and territory, so we use the public service of Canada for comparative purposes. Over half ( $55 \%$ ) of Canada's federal public service is female. ${ }^{9}$ In the public service of Canada, women made up $51 \%$ of scientific and professional staff in $2014 .{ }^{10}$ The unelected government category also included spokespeople/communications/media relations staff, which are not typically identified as maledominated occupations.

Of persons quoted associated with non-governmental organizations (NGOs), $43 \%$ were female and $56 \%$ were male. In the Canadian only sample, this came even closer to a gender balance, with $48 \%$ women and $52 \%$ men. There are no reliable data on whether this approaches the proportion of women and men working in the NGO sector in Canada.

Of persons quoted from private business, $21 \%$ were female and $79 \%$ male. The Canadian only sample was only marginally different: $22 \%$ of those quoted were women and $78 \%$ were men. Statistics Canada data for 2011 show that women made up $54 \%$ of managers in finance and business (Table 6). That
being said, there were only eight female CEOs of top 100 companies in Canada in 2015. ${ }^{11}$ Nevertheless, the business sample was not made up primarily of CEOs. This category included researchers based in banks, owners of small businesses and persons such as real estate agents.

Table 6: Women as a percentage of selected occupations, calculated from Statistics Canada 2011 National Household Survey Data Tables "Tabulation: Occupation - National Occupational Classification (NOC) 2011 (691), Class of Worker (5), Age Groups (13B) and Sex (3) for the Employed Labour Force Aged 15 Years and Over, in Private Households of Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2011 National Household Survey"

| Occupational category (NOC classification \#) | Total number | Number of <br> females | Percentage <br> female |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Athletes (5251) | 2,440 | 415 | $17 \%$ |
| Coaches (5252) | 8,925 | 4,425 | $50 \%$ |
| Creative and performing artists (513) | 87,825 | 43,205 | $49 \%$ |
| Health occupations (3) | $1,078,680$ | 866,495 | $80 \%$ |
| Journalists (5123) | 13,280 | 6,085 | $46 \%$ |
| Judges, lawyers and Québec notaries (411) | 83,515 | 35,045 | $42 \%$ |
| Legislators (oo11) | 7,470 | 2,520 | $34 \%$ |
| Managers in education, social and <br> community services (o42) | 76,550 | 48,300 | $63 \%$ |
| Managers in finance and business services <br> (o12) | 191,310 | 98,550 | $52 \%$ |
| Managers in public administration (041) | 25,790 | 11,985 | $46 \%$ |
| Natural and applied sciences and related <br> occupations (2) | $1,188,415$ | 259,695 | $22 \%$ |
| Professional occupations in business and <br> finance (11) | 546,530 | 295,745 | $54 \%$ |
| Professional occupations in health (excluding <br> nursing) (31) | 224,825 | 129,650 | $58 \%$ |
| University professors and lecturers (4011) | 69,010 | 28,995 | $42 \%$ |

Percentages have been rounded

In the full sample, $26 \%$ of the persons quoted in the legal profession were women and $74 \%$ were men. Removing the international component did not make a significant difference. In Canada, 42\% of judges, lawyers and Québec notaries are women (Table 6). Women in the legal profession are grossly under-represented as media sources relative to their availability in the population.

The health professions were the one exception to the trend of the over-representation of men, at least on the surface. In this category, $53 \%$ were women, and $47 \%$ were men in the full sample, but this declined to $45 \%$ women and $55 \%$ men in the Canadian only sample. To put this in perspective, Statistics Canada 2011 indicated that women make up $80 \%$ of health occupations in Canada, including $58 \%$ of professional occupations in health excluding nursing (Table 6).

Reporters and hosts were not coded for this study, but sometimes interviews took place with people who worked in the media, and these were coded in the "media" category. These included mainly reporters and sometimes other media personnel who were interviewed as sources of information, but did not include banter between a host and reporter. In the media category, $34 \%$ of those quoted were women, and $66 \%$ were men. In the Canadian only sample, $37 \%$ were women and $63 \%$ were men. Statistics Canada recorded that in 2011, $46 \%$ of journalists in Canada were female (Table 6).

Of the persons quoted in the creative industries category, which included writers, dancers, musicians, visual and performance artists, actors, film-makers, and other people interviewed in relation to creating arts and culture, $34 \%$ were women and $66 \%$ were men. In the Canadian only sample, the gender gap actually widened to $30 \%$ women and $70 \%$ men. Data show that in $2011,49 \%$ of Canadian creative and performing artists were women (Table 6).

The police category was the second most gender-imbalanced category, with $12 \%$ of those interviewed being women and $88 \%$ men. There was not a significant difference between these numbers and the Canadian only sample, in which $13 \%$ of people quoted in the police category were women and $87 \%$ were men. Statistics Canada reports that in $2014,20.6 \%$ of police personnel in Canada were female, ${ }^{12}$ so women are under-quoted in relation to their numbers in police services. However, this is a category over which journalists do not have much control, as the persons interviewed or quoted tended to be whomever the police spokesperson was. It would be up to police services to ensure to include more women as the "face" of their police service in doing media interviews. Since police services across Canada have stated that they wish to recruit more women and a more diverse range of police officers, presenting a more diverse public face could help people in the under-represented target groups better envision themselves as potential police officers. The police category only represented $4 \%$ of the overall sample, so these numbers did not significantly skew the overall numbers toward men.

Sport was the most profoundly male oriented with no females being quoted during the reporting period. The number of people coded in this category was low ( $\mathrm{N}=29$ or less than $1 \%$ ), as sports sections were not covered and these persons quoted were from stories that appeared in the headlines. Because of the low number of persons quoted in the sports category, it does not make an appreciable difference on the overall effect upon gender. Statistics Canada data do show a gender imbalance in the number of athletes in Canada in 2011, with women making up 17\% (not $0 \%$ as in the 29 cases in our sample). Women make up 50\% of coaches in Canada (Table 6), which includes coaches at all levels.

Of persons in the victim/witness category, $47 \%$ were female and $53 \%$ were male. In the Canadian-only sample, female representation dropped: $44 \%$ were female and $56 \%$ were male. Women's representation in this category exceeded their representation in most of the professional categories.

Both in the full sample (including international and Canadian persons) and the Canadian-only sample, there was a gender balance ( $50 \%$ women, $50 \% \mathrm{men}$ ) in person-on-the-street interviews. This study
was quantitative only, with no qualitative component in assessing who was interviewed or in what context. Nevertheless, one coder made the informal observation that the diversity of those interviewed seemed to be dependent on the reporter. One reporter in particular presented a very good diversity in terms of gender, race and age in streeters.

The overall findings suggest that exclusion of international sources quoted does not have a large impact upon overall distribution within most professional/context designations.

## Collecting diversity data is problematic, but good for discussion purposes

Gender was assessed across multiple dimensions of diversity. In the full sample (international and Canadian) a total of 765 characteristics of diversity were noted across six dimensions (Table 7). After controlling for multiple categories per case, $18 \%$ of the full sample ( $N=3,211$ ) quoted were identified as having some diversity characteristic. Of the full sample, $11.8 \%$ of persons quoted were identified as belonging to a racial minority, $7.8 \%$ as belonging to an ethno-cultural or linguistic minority, excluding official language groups, $2.6 \%$ were coded as belonging to a religious minority, $0.7 \%$ as belonging to a sexual or gender minority and $0.4 \%$ as being a person with an identifiable or identified disability. vi Overall across the dimensions of diversity ( $\mathrm{N}=765$ ), females are underrepresented. Only $28 \%$ of the total number of those identified with some characteristic of diversity on which data was collected were female. However, in sexual/gender identity category, there was an overrepresentation of females. Only $5 \%$ of those identified in this category were male. In our particular sample, this may have been because Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne was coded as a person belonging to a sexual/gender identity minority, as this status is public and widely known.

After controlling for international status, the Canadian only sample captured 390 characteristics of diversity across the six dimensions (Table 7). Diversity accounted for $16 \%$ of this subsample overall after controlling for multiple dimensions per case: $8.5 \%$ of persons quoted who could be identified as belonging to a racial minority group, $3.5 \%$ could be identified as belonging to an ethnocultural or linguistic minority group, excluding an official language group, $2.1 \%$ could be identified as belonging to a minority religious group, $0.9 \%$ could be identified as someone belonging to a sexual/gender identity minority, and $0.5 \%$ could be identified as a person with a disability.

Similar trends in the frequency were noted between the full and Canadian only samples. While females were still underrepresented across the diversity variables, the gender effect was diminished. Females accounted for $33 \%$ of all of the characteristics noted within "diversity" $(N=390)$. Although the sexual/gender identity dimension is still heavily female skewed, males in this dimension increased from $5 \%$ to $10 \%$.

In the Canadian only-sample, $32 \%$ of the persons quoted who could be identified as belonging to a racial minority group were women, and $68 \%$ were men. Of persons quoted who could be identified as

[^3]belonging to an ethnocultural or linguistic minority group (excluding official language groups), $32 \%$ were women, and $68 \%$ were men. Of people who could be identified as belonging to a religious minority group, $19 \%$ were female and $81 \%$ were male. Of persons who were identified as belonging to a sexuality or gender identity minority group, $91 \%$ were female and $9 \%$ were male. Of persons quoted who had an identifiable disability, $33 \%$ were women and $67 \%$ were men.

Table 7: Diversity by Gender Full and Canadian Only Sample Comparison

|  | FULL SAMPLE (N = 3211) |  |  |  | CANADIAN ONLY (N = 2441) |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DIVERSITY | Female | Male | Total | \% Full | Female | Male | Total | \%Canadian |
| Racial minority | 105 | 275 | 380 | $\mathbf{1 1 . 8 \%}$ | 66 | 141 | 207 | $\mathbf{8 . 5 \%}$ |
|  | $(27.6 \%)$ | $(72.4 \%)$ |  |  | $(31.9 \%)$ | $(68.1 \%)$ |  |  |
| Ethnocultural/linguistic | 67 | 182 | 249 | $7.8 \%$ | 27 | 58 | 85 | $3.5 \%$ |
| Minority | $(26.9 \%)$ | $(73.1 \%)$ |  |  | $(31.8 \%)$ | $(68.2 \%)$ |  |  |
| Religious minority | 14 | 71 | 85 | $2.6 \%$ | 10 | 42 | 52 | $\mathbf{2 . 1 \%}$ |
|  | $(16.5 \%)$ | $(83.5 \%)$ |  |  | $(19.2 \%)$ | $(80.8 \%)$ |  |  |
| Sexuality/gender | 21 | 2 | 23 | $0.7 \%$ | 20 | 2 | 22 | $\mathbf{0 . 9 \%}$ |
| identity minority | $(91.3 \%)$ | $(8.7 \%)$ |  |  | $(90.9 \%)$ | $(9.1 \%)$ |  |  |
| Person with a disability | 4 | 8 | 12 | $0.4 \%$ | 4 | 8 | 12 | $\mathbf{0 . 5 \%}$ |
|  | $(33.3 \%)$ | $(66.7 \%)$ |  |  | $(33.3 \%)$ | $(66.7 \%)$ |  |  |
| Other | 6 | 10 | 16 | $0.5 \%$ | 3 | 9 | 12 | $\mathbf{0 . 5 \%}$ |
|  | $(37.5 \%)$ | $(62.5 \%)$ |  |  | $(25 \%)$ | $(75 \%)$ |  |  |
| TOTALS | 217 | 548 | 765 | 1 | 130 | 260 | 390 | 1 |

Percentages have been rounded to the tenth decimal

Caution should be exercised when interpreting these numbers. The numbers represent diversity status that was perceived by the coder. Coders were instructed to note whether the person quoted/interviewed was identifiable as any of the specific categories of diversity based on appearance (in a photo, on TV), something the person has said, or how the person was portrayed or introduced in the article or segment. Where diversity status was well known, such as Barack Obama being Black, visual confirmation in the particular story was not necessary. We erred on the conservative side in coding for ethnocultural and linguistic diversity. We did not code people in this category simply on the basis of name, although some readers, viewers or auditors might make an assumption about people based on name alone. We also did not code official language minorities in this group, as this was getting confusing. After the first reporting period in October, we reviewed the data and found that the ethnocultural and linguistic minority group was actually being dominated by federal Cabinet ministers who were being quoted in media that was different from their official language (for example, John McCallum being quoted in La Presse, or Stéphane Dion being quoted by an English-language media outlet). Since federal Cabinet ministers do not represent a disadvantaged group in society and official language minorities have special status in Canada making their experience different than say, a Syrian refugee, we decided to expunge official language minorities from this category in the October data and not code official language minorities as ethnocultural and linguistic minorities for the two other monitoring periods. In the replication of the study, we could
add official language minority as a separate category and also note where the person being quoted is in a political leadership position.

These numbers represent a significant under-counting of actual people associated with some of these diversity categories, as their association may remain unknown, either because race may not be known in a print story, disability and sexuality/gender identity status are often hidden, people may well think of themselves as belonging to an ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious group that is not the dominant ethnicity, culture, language or religion, but this may not be known from an interview with an expert about economics, diet or the environment, for example.

As previously mentioned, this study did not contain a qualitative component, but an observation was made that people identified as Muslims were often interviewed in relation to terrorism. Further study about how people identified as belonging to a minority group are portrayed and in relation to what might be fruitful.

We welcome discussion about how to better collect diversity data to contribute to an important conversation about whether people who are in some way not a part of dominant societal groups are well-represented as news sources.

## No significant difference in length of time quoted by gender of person quoted

Gender was assessed by the length of quote (Table 8), paraphrase, and/or comment time in a broadcast in the full sample $(\mathrm{N}=3,213)$ and Canadian only sample $(\mathrm{N}=2,441)$. These were coded using a 1 - 4 range with 1 representing being quoted in one or two lines in print or only a few seconds of broadcast, and 4 representing that the person was quoted or paraphrased in six or more paragraphs in print or seven or more minutes in broadcast or the whole article or segment was an interview or profile of that person or dealt solely with that person's ideas.

Testing suggested that length of quote and gender do not have a statistically significant relationship in either the full sample nor the Canadian only subsample.

Table 8: Length of Quote by Gender Full and Canadian Only Sample Comparison

|  |  | FULL SAMPLE |  | CANADIAN ONLY SAMPLE |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| LENGTH | FEMALE | MALE | TOTALS | FEMALE | MALE | TOTALS |
| 1 | $483(28 \%)$ | $1235(72 \%)$ | $\mathbf{1 7 1 8}$ | $372(31 \%)$ | $831(69 \%)$ | $\mathbf{1 2 0 3}$ |
| 2 | $265(33 \%)$ | $541(67 \%)$ | 806 | $235(35 \%)$ | $439(65 \%)$ | 674 |
| 3 | $90(30 \%)$ | $207(70 \%)$ | 297 | $75(31 \%)$ | $167(69 \%)$ | $\mathbf{2 4 2}$ |
| 4 | $109(28 \%)$ | $283(72 \%)$ | 392 | $92(29 \%)$ | $230(71 \%)$ | $\mathbf{3 2 2}$ |
| TOTALS | $947(29 \%)$ | $2266(71 \%)$ | 3213 | $777(32 \%)$ | $1667(68 \%)$ | $\mathbf{2 4 4 1}$ |
| Percentages have been rounded |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Data were collected during three periods of roughly one week, in October, November and December 2015. For the full sample, females accounted for $33 \%$ of those quoted in the first period, $27 \%$ in the second, and $29 \%$ in the third. Chi-square tests of significance suggest there is a statistically significant relationship between reporting period and gender, meaning that there are news cycles in which more women or more men may be quoted than usual.

In the Canadian only sample, $34 \%$ of the sample was female in the October reporting period, $30 \%$ on the November period and $31 \%$ of the December period. Unlike the full sample, no statistically significant relationship was found between gender and reporting period in the split sample.

The difference in gender by reporting period for the full sample may be partly explained by international events taking place during the second reporting period (Paris terror attacks), in which French and Belgian officials, almost all male, were frequently quoted. That gender counts may vary depending on the reporting period means that the longer the data collection period, the more reliable the data; gaps between reporting periods are also helpful in ensuring that a few stories don't dominate and skew the numbers.

## Analysis

The results point to a gap between the numbers of women in various professions in Canada versus their representation in the media as sources. Although a pay gap still exists, even as early as 2009 Statistics Canada data showed that women made up slightly more than half of professional occupations in Canada as a whole. ${ }^{13}$

The under-utilization of women as expert sources has a societal impact and creates a chicken-andegg phenomenon. One may argue that journalists go to people who are high-profile in their fields, and perhaps these are mainly men. But how does one become high profile if one is not covered by the media?

If finding women expert sources were so difficult, all of the media outlets should have experienced equal difficulty in doing so, but this was not the case. The fact that there are statistically significant variations by media outlet suggests that some media outlets make more of an effort to consider gender balance than others. This conclusion is supported by the roundtable discussions Informed Opinions held with several dozen editors, producers and reporters in four major Canadian cities during the period in which this data was being collected. The degree to which journalists actively worked to achieve gender balance among their sources varied considerably.

Not only can media professionals benefit from awareness of this issue and tools to identify qualified women sources, but they may also wish to reconsider what is considered newsworthy. Literally
millions of things go on in Canada and the world at any given time. Assignments editors and journalists choose what they deem "newsworthy". Are issues of importance to women and people of diverse backgrounds being adequately covered? Are their perspectives on unfolding events in general being represented? Further study about what female readers, listeners and viewers consider to be newsworthy compared with their male counterparts might be productive in this regard. The Global Media Monitoring Project noted that in Canada, stories involving politics or crime dominated reporting. Perhaps it's time to take a second look at what people are most interested in rather than relying on assumptions of the past.

To be fair, journalists do not always get to choose their sources when covering a story. Those covering crime often depend on quotes from the police spokesperson, and they can't control his or her gender. However, there are many instances in which journalists do have more control over what to cover. During the reporting period, multiple news outlets covered a story about processed meats being linked to colon cancer. Journalists and editors decide whom to talk to, what angle and perspective to take, which sources to feature most prominently. In such a story, potential interviewees could include: a World Health Organization (the body that released the report) representative, doctors, dieticians, researchers, people who eat processed meats, triumphant vegans, nutritional advocacy organizations. One outlet chose to interview someone from the meat industry and a deli owner. Choices are made, and the choices currently made in Canada are resulting in a major gender imbalance in perspectives and expertise.

The media industry is under a lot of pressure due to a complete transformation of how news is shared and delivered. Mainstream news organizations risk being overtaken by bloggers and other internet-only sites. The positive side of this is that non-mainstream voices are no longer reliant on the traditional media to get a point across. But perhaps the mainstream media could become more competitive with these newly emerging sources by working harder to reflect the whole population and present a more balanced view.

## Recommendations for media

The news media play a crucial function in a democracy. They provide information that citizens need to make democratic decisions and know what is going on. The reliability of that information is critically important. In addition, as many academics have noted, the media also helps to shape people's perceptions of the world. Currently, major Canadian news media are presenting more men's perspectives than women's, even though women make up half the population and half of professionals with expertise to share, and despite the fact that there remain measurable statistical differences in the perspectives and priorities of men and women, on average.

Informed Opinions conducted roundtables with senior media representatives from October to December 2015. One participant acknowledged, "I never review my stories for gender balance. I just go for the best and most available people. But I guess that does tend to mean they're populated by
men." As the Statistics Canada data suggest, there is no shortage of experts who are women. Women have closed or are closing the gap in many professions, including law and medicine. Most of the gender gap in sources cannot be explained by any gap in expertise between women and men, although in professions such as engineering, it remains more difficult to find women. However, interviews with engineers currently represent a very small proportion of media reporting.

In monitoring media and conducting this analysis, we noticed some best practices, as well as instances in which gender and diversity were clearly not considerations. There was a best practice in a CTV News segment, for example. The streeters included women and men and people of a variety of age and ethnoracial backgrounds. This sensitivity to gender and diversity can be learned. It is a matter of being aware of whose perspectives you are putting forward, and ensuring a variety of different perspectives. Although some people may dismiss this as "political correctness", given the population being served and the issues worthy of coverage, it constitutes more responsible reporting.

- Try to achieve gender balance where possible. When doing streeters, don't just take the first three you get if they are all men. Continue to ask for opinions until you get a balance of women. Pay attention to diversity of age and background. This makes for better reporting and more well-rounded story.

Research shows that gender socialization plays a measurable role in confidence and communication. ${ }^{14}$ This does not mean that all women are shy and all men confident, but when both are surveyed, distinct gender trends emerge, with more women than men declining interviews, stating that they're not the most qualified expert, or expressing themselves in less assertive ways. This can pose a challenge to journalists who need to get comment on a story, quickly.

- If a female source says she is not the best person to comment, or doesn't have the time, let her know that male sources far outnumber female sources, and that it is important to get women's voices and perspectives into the story.

Of course, the time issue is real. One Informed Opinions roundtable participant said, "Sometimes women will say things like 'I can’t do an interview, I have to pick up the kids from daycare.' No man has ever come back to me with that answer." Although much is said and reported about men taking a more active part in parenting and household work, which is indeed the trend, Statistics Canada 2010 data show that on average, the child care workload for women with children who were 14 was still more than double that of their male counterparts. ${ }^{15}$ Even in dual-earner couples, women with children put in 22.6 more hours of child care per week than their male counterparts. ${ }^{16}$

- If a female source says she doesn't have the time to do the interview, acknowledge her time challenge but let her know that it will only take a couple of minutes, and that her existing knowledge and understanding of the story's context will add value to the story.

Another issue that came up at the roundtables was that sometimes female sources are reluctant to participate in media interviews because they have had previous negative experiences or expect to have a negative experience, particularly online abuse directed at their appearance (too old, too pretty to be credible, critiques of their hair and clothing) or their tone (shrill, etc.). This is an unfortunate reality for women, and a contributor to female source reluctance.

- In order to help counteract negative experiences many women have had with public reaction or online abuse due to their media appearances, build trust and respect with female sources by giving positive feedback where warranted, such as calling back and saying things such as "Thank you for the interview, it was just what we needed," "We saw a very positive reaction to that story," "You explained the situation very well."

Also relevant is how media treat women experts. Recently, researchers have discovered that even distinguished female economists based at Harvard or Princeton, are given short shrift in the American media, who sometimes ascribe their work to their husbands or introduce them without their credentials. ${ }^{17}$

Our study was quantitative rather than qualitative in nature, and did not determine whether women experts were presented differently in Canadian media. Nonetheless, coders were asked to report any examples where male and female experts were given different degrees of respect, and there were none in our sample. However, there was one example of a male and female expert on a panel where the male expert dominated the conversation, often bringing up tangential points. The host in that particular example did not effectively ensure balance between the two speakers.

- Give the same respect, airtime, and acknowledgement of titles, qualifications and achievements to female experts as you would give to a male expert.
- If a panel member is dominating the discussion, turn to the other panel members and ask them direct questions to ensure that their perspectives are heard.

Although these are suggestions for dealing with female source reluctance should it be encountered, the gender gap in sources cannot fully explained by this phenomenon. If women's greater tendency to decline interviews was the only explanation, it should have affected all media outlets equally, but this study finds large statistically significant differences between news organizations in terms of identifying and presenting women as sources.

In addition to this media analysis, Informed Opinions has also conducted a survey of journalists. Journalists are under pressure to get good quotes quickly. As one roundtable participant commented, "There are fewer people involved in the daily chase and it can take longer to get certain people to come on the air. When you're on a short deadline, it's easier to go to the people you know
will say yes." But relying too much on already familiar sources who skew male means perpetuating the gender imbalance.

- Privileging male over a female sources is often not conscious. To determine whether you are doing this, choose a time period of a week or two. Track the gender of your sources to determine whether you are contributing to a gender imbalance or fully exploiting qualified women as sources.

Informed Opinions has established a practical tool to ensure women's voices and perspectives are well-represented as expert sources: a database of Canadian women experts. Over the next three years, this (currently rudimentary) database will be revamped to include additional information, including media clips and previous media experience, so journalists can better assess the prospective sources' communication skills and suitability for their story. Because all of the experts in the database are featured on a voluntary basis, journalists will also know that listed experts are already committed to engaging with the media.

- Use the ExpertWomen.ca/FemmesExpertes.ca database (to be launched in April 2016) to expand your expert contacts. In the meantime, Informed Opinions' current database remains online at http://www.informedopinions.org/experts-network/
- Talk with colleagues about how these recommendations about achieving gender balance are simply good journalistic practice.


## Endnotes

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${ }^{11}$ Rosenzweig \& Company, 2015, The $10^{\text {th }}$ Annual Rosenzweig Report on Women at the Top Levels of Corporate Canada. Toronto: Rosenzweig \& Company.
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http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2015001/article/14146-eng.htm\#a12 Accessed Jan. 20, 2016.
${ }^{13}$ Statistics Canada, 2012, Women in Canada: A Gender-based Statistical Report. $6{ }^{\text {th }}$ ed. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, pp. 127-129.
${ }^{14}$ Teri Kwal Gamble and Michael W. Gamble, 2014, The Gender Communication Connection. London and New York: Routledge.
${ }^{15}$ Anne Milan, Leslie-Anne Keown and Covadonga Robles Urquijo, 2015, Families, Living Arrangements and Unpaid Work. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/2010001/article/11546-eng.htm\#a12
${ }^{16}$ Anne Milan, Leslie-Anne Keown and Covadonga Robles Urquijo, 2015, Families, Living Arrangements and Unpaid Work. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. Table 6: Time spent on unpaid care of a child in the household, by working arrangement and age of youngest child, Canada, 2010 http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-
x/2010001/article/11546/tbl/tbl006-eng.htm Accessed: Jan. 16, 2016
${ }^{17}$ Justin Wolfers, 2015, "Even Female Economists Get No Respect," New York Times, Nov. 11, 2015.

## APPENDIX: Coding instructions

## Informed Opinions Gender Analysis Research 2015 Coding Instructions <br> Revision 2

Thank you for participating in research to determine how often women are quoted as experts in selected Canadian media. These are the sections we are looking to cover for the selected weeks:

Globe and Mail: Front page headlines, News section (National and Politics sections) From Tuesday to Saturday
globeandmail.com

La presse : Front page headlines, actualités Québec/Canada, Politique, Justice et affaires criminelles, Santé, Éducation
From Tuesday to Saturday
lapresse.ca
Toronto Star: Front page headlines (including "News \& Features" box), News section (just Canada and Investigations)
From Tuesday to Saturday
thestar.com

National Post: Front page headlines, News (Canada)
From Tuesday to Saturday
Nationalpost,com
CTV National News: The full program as broadcast on TV from Monday to Friday Note: The news as broadcast the night before is found on the site, but back programs are harder to find as they are split into segments. It is recommended that you tape the national news as it appears on TV, and use the site to check info about spelling of names, profession, etc.
Ctvnews.ca

CBC The Current: The full program as broadcast on radio from Monday to Friday cbc.ca/radio/thecurrent

ICI Tout le monde en parle: Full program as broadcast on TV on Sunday evenings ici.radio-canada.ca/tele/tout-le-monde-en-parle/2015-2016/

Use one line of the spreadsheet for every person quoted, even though some of the information (such as date) and article/segment title may be repeated.

Please upload or e-mail your updated spreadsheet to Marika (marikamorris@sympatico.ca) daily as you finish it. Marika will check it over and get back to you for any clarifications, if necessary. If you are unable to do the coding for the day, please contact Marika and she will do it. Online print publications: If you are coding articles for Oct. 27, for example, please only include articles that were posted on Oct. 27 and check back the next day to see if any other articles were posted before midnight on Oct. 27. These should all be coded as Oct. 27.

If you have any questions, please contact Marika Morris at marikamorris@sympatico.ca.

## SPREADSHEET SECTIONS

| Date <br> (Column A) | Record the date of publication or broadcast <br> as it appears in the column to the right. <br> Please put the date on each line. The <br> computer does not know which date <br> originally came directly above when items are <br> re-ordered according to gender, etc. | e.g. Oct. 20, 2015 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Title of article <br> (Column B) | Title of article or broadcast segment | If the title of the <br> broadcast segment is <br> unknown, just put in a <br> brief description, i.e. dog <br> bites child |
| Source <br> (Column C) | Please record whether the article is written by <br> the media outlet's staff, a syndicated piece or <br> a newswire. Please name the newswire. <br> For broadcast news - you can indicate <br> whether the segment is produced by the <br> news outlet (i.e. CTV) or is coverage being <br> used from another outlet (e.g. BBC, CNN) <br> Please use the abbreviations as indicated to <br> the right. If people spell it out or use all kinds <br> of different abbreviations, the items cannot <br> be properly sorted according to source. | CP |
| AP - for Associated Press <br> Reuters <br> Postmedia <br> NP - for National Post <br> GM - for Globe and Mail <br> TS - for Toronto Star <br> LP - for La Presse |  |  |
| CBC |  |  |
| ICI |  |  |$|$


| Gender of person quoted (Columns E and F) | Insert a 1 in column E if the person quoted is female, and a 1 in column $F$ if the person is male | Transgender people should be coded as whatever gender they identify with. You can note that a person is a sexual or gender identity minority in the diversity columns. If the gender of the person is unknown, leave these columns blank. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Profession of person quoted (Columns G-X) | Insert a 1 in the column that corresponds to the category the author's profession would best fit within. <br> Categories by column: <br> G: Academic, researcher: works at a university, research institute or think tank H: Politician: elected official at the federal, provincial, territorial or municipal levels, a First Nations Chief, or the leader of another country. This category can include MPs, MLAs, MPPs, Cabinet Ministers, a Mayor, etc. Also include people who are quoted because they are candidates for elected office. Include Canadian Senators as "politicians". <br> I: Unelected government official: someone who works in a government but not in an elected position, such as the head of a government agency, ambassador, etc. J: Non-governmental organization: Someone who works for or is speaking on behalf of a not-for-profit association, such as the Canadian Cancer Society, a shelter for abused women, etc. <br> K: Private business: Someone who works for a bank, owns a company, a CEO, etc. <br> L: Legal profession: Lawyers, judges, court officials. <br> M: Health profession: Doctors, nurses, psychologists, nutritionists, and other healthcare providers. <br> N: Media: Journalists, columnists, editors, media owners. <br> O: Creative industries: artists, writers, actors, filmmakers, video game developers, etc. <br> P: Police | e.g. If someone is both an academic and a medical doctor, put a 1 in the academic column and a 1 in the health professional column. <br> If someone is working for an NGO and is a lawyer, put a 1 in the NGO column and a 1 in the legal column. |


|  | Q: Sports: player, team owner, coach R: Victim/witness: Someone who experienced or witnessed the event or topic that is being reported on. Include family members of victims. <br> S: Person on the street interviews: Someone being asked for their opinion, as a part of randomly asking passers-by for their views. T: Other: Please specify in the notes section. U: Unknown: Sometimes the profession or category will not be named. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Diversity (Columns V-AA) | Please note whether the person is identifiable as any of the following based on appearance, something the person has said, or how the person is portrayed or introduced in the article, by placing a 1 in the appropriate column. <br> V: would be racial minority in Canada W: would be ethnic, cultural or linguistic minority in Canada <br> X: would be religious minority in Canada <br> Y: sexual/gender identity minority <br> Z: person with a mental or physical disability AA: other type of minority giving rise to socioeconomic disadvantage | e.g. if a racial and religious minority, place a 1 in column V and a 1 in column X <br> If some other type of minority not listed here, place a 1 in column AA, and specify in the notes section. |
| International (Column AB) | Place a 1 in this column if this person is not a Canadian and not based in Canada, e.g. Vladimir Putin, Do not place a 1 for Canadians who live overseas, or for non-Canadians who are interviewed in Canada. <br> The purpose of this is so that we can do an analysis of all racial, religious, etc. minorities and also do an analysis which excludes those who are not Canadian and not in Canada, to see the proportion of Canadian-based minorities interviewed. |  |
| Length of quotation or paraphrase (Column AC) | It matters how long a person is interviewed for or quoted. Use the following criteria, and use your best judgement: <br> 1 - person is quoted in passing (one or two lines in print, a few seconds of comment in broadcast) |  |


|  | 2-Person is quoted or paraphrased in two or <br> three paragraphs in print or one to three <br> minutes in broadcast <br> $3-$ person is quoted or paraphrased in four to <br> five paragraphs in print or four to six minutes <br> in broadcast <br> 4- person is quoted or paraphrased in six or <br> more paragraphs in print or seven or more <br> minutes in broadcast OR whole article or <br> segment is an interview or profile of that <br> person or deals solely with that person's ideas |
| :--- | :--- |
| Notes <br> (Column AD) | Optional - if there is anything you would like <br> to note |

TIPS

| Gender and <br> minority status of <br> person quoted | If the name of the author is ambiguous and you're unsure of gender, you <br> can Google the author's name and affiliation to see if you can find more <br> info online. |
| :--- | :--- |
| Didn't catch the <br> name | When monitoring a broadcast, you can review the broadcast online <br> and replay what you missed. Guests' names may be spelled out on |
| Not sure of | the show's website. |
| If you are not sure about what category something should go into, |  |

Can't scroll to end Try the arrow button on the lower right. of line in Excel


[^0]:    ${ }^{\text {i }}$ Because of the length of this weekly program, one program was an equivalent amount of broadcast time to four CTV National News programs.

[^1]:    ${ }^{i i}$ Titles recorded for broadcast segments may not be the same as the title given to the segment by the broadcaster. Each broadcast was viewed and coded in its entirety, not as segments separated by the broadcaster and uploaded for later viewing or listening. If persons were highlighted and quoted in show intros and extros, these were coded too.
    iii We recorded whether an article or segment was produced by the media outlet's staff, a newswire or was reprinted/rebroadcast from some other source.
    ${ }^{\text {iv }}$ The name of the person quoted was recorded for quality assurance purposes. Each coded item was reviewed for potential error and to ensure consistency of coding across coders.

[^2]:    v "This category includes persons who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour and who do not report being Aboriginal." However, we did include self-identified or apparent Indigenous persons in our "racial minority" category.

[^3]:    ${ }^{\text {vi }}$ These do not add up to $18 \%$ because some persons were noted in multiple categories.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ Ryan Maloney, 2016, "Trudeau's Gender-Balanced Cabinet Idea Proves Popular, But Not With Conservative Men: Poll" Huffington Post Canada, January 15, 2016. http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/01/15/trudeau-gender-balanced-cabinet-conservative-men_n_8991440.html
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