NAVIGATING A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INDUSTRY: IDENTITY IN CANADIAN MEDIA

Perrye-Delphine Séraphin

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts

Graduate Program in Communication and Culture
York University
Toronto, Ontario

December 2023
© Perrye-Delphine Séraphin, 2023

Abstract

This thesis investigates the state of representation for Black and racialized talent (public personalities, hosts, anchors, and contributors) in both French and English Canadian media, specifically in broadcasting and digital media. It is also focused on understanding the experience of Black and racialized people who work in the Canadian media industry and how identity affects the opportunities of these individuals. Therefore, this thesis is guided by two research questions: What is the professional experience of Black and racialized people who work in Canadian media? Moreover, how do they negotiate their racialized identity in the Canadian media industry? Through a literature analysis, I explore how key scholars have critically examined whiteness, colorism and multiculturalism through a critical race theory lens. Through the use of surveys and interviews as methodological frameworks, this research provides insights based on the experiences of Black and racialized people. After analyzing through a critical discourse lens, four main themes are revealed: notions of otherness, barriers of entry, colorism and the experience in the workplace.

Acknowledgements

Words cannot express my gratitude to my thesis committee, Dr. Stéphanie Walsh Matthews, Dr. Nicole Neverson and Dr. Estée Fresco, for their invaluable patience and feedback. They continually challenged me to take my thinking and writing to places I did not think it could go. I genuinely could not have undertaken this journey without them, who generously provided knowledge and expertise.

I want to thank my study participants who gave me their time. Their willingness to share their experiences and insights has been invaluable to my research and helped to make this thesis successful. This thesis is dedicated to you and all the Black people working in Canadian media.

A special thanks to my grad crew (Sara Esayas, Awo Dirie and Océane Ingrid Nyela) for their editing help, late-night feedback sessions, and moral support.

I am deeply thankful to my friends and family for their love and support during this process. Without their help, encouragement and motivation, I would not have been able to complete this journey.

Finalement, à ma maman et mon frère, merci d'être mes plus grands fans.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter One: Introduction

"'In my mind, I see a line. And over that line, I see green fields and lovely flowers and beautiful white women with their arms stretched out to me, over that line. But I can't seem to get there no how. I can't seem to get over that line.'

That was Harriet Tubman in the 1800s. And let me tell you something: The only thing that separates women of color from anyone else is opportunity."

- Viola Davis, 2015 Emmys' Acceptance Speech

On September 15, 2015, Viola Davis made history by becoming the first Black woman to win an Emmy for Outstanding Actress in a Drama for her work on *How to Get Away with Murder*. She has since become the fourth Black person to achieve the coveted EGOT status by winning an Emmy, Grammy, Oscar and two Tony Awards. However, with her Oscar win in 2016, Davis is the only Black performer to achieve the coveted "Triple Crown" in acting—winning an Oscar, Emmy and Tony in acting categories.

In her acceptance speech, she loosely paraphrased a story Harriet Tubman told an interviewer for a Boston paper in 1863. Viola Davis transformed Tubman's metaphor into a simile about a field with white ladies she cannot reach. Her illustration allows the crowd to adopt her viewpoint momentarily. Her delivery style includes all references to emotions, which play a significant role in rhetorical discourse. The speech coming from someone of her stature who has the acting reputation and experience made it more poignant.

Much like the world of cinema, the television industry is constrained by the sexism and racism that have long persisted there. In her own words, Viola Davis is helping people comprehend that Black women in the industry are seeking opportunities in the television and film industry and breaking chains like their foremother Harriet. Although Viola Davis has been working for decades and was nominated multiple times for different awards, it was her prominent role in the television program *How to Get Away with Murder* that got her in the spotlight, an opportunity still rare for actresses of colour. Davis used her historic victory to call out the broken system with conviction and grace. In addition, Davis's victory marks a turning point in a year marked by decades of Black women's marginalization and invisibility (McDonald, 2015).

Viola Davis was one of the first public figures to talk on a big stage, watched by millions of people, about the lack of opportunities for Black women to fill particular roles in television and cinema, a phenomenon that can be felt across different spheres. Back when I watched the Emmys live, I remember thinking, what does it mean for people of less notoriety if the great Viola Davis experienced the same discrimination as us in a different industry? However, when I thought more about the issue, I started to think about the situation beyond Hollywood. I asked, what about Canada? What might be Black and other racialized peoples' experiences in the Canadian media industry? These questions helped to shape my master's thesis interests.

Although there are numerous similarities between American and Canadian histories, the colonial past and its implications are rather unique. Additionally, the past years of uproar around racial inequality have accentuated the need for the specificity of the Canadian context. For this reason, I have decided to explore this issue enriched by the point of view of those with lived experience.

Currently, Black and racialized bodies are underrepresented and problematized on television in Canada on multiple levels (Bannerman & Ahmed, 2022; Cukier, 2019; Dobson, 2020; MediaSmarts, 2012). Censuses have been deployed through multiple studies to understand the state of "representation" in the industry (Deggans, 2014; Wolf, 2020; Women and Hollywood staff, 2021). However, the results of these studies illustrate the many ways in which racial bias is present in the entertainment industry writ large. As it relates to broadcasting media, studies have shown that the rates at which Black and racialized people are hired do not reflect the demographic reality of said groups (Annenberg Inclusion Initiative, 2020; Indra, 1981; Mahtani, 2001; Nielsen, 2020; Karim and Sansom, 1991; Steckley, 2003; Tator, 1990; Ungerleider, 1991;).

In Canada, racialized people comprise 16.3 percent of speaking roles in television shows (Media Smarts, 2023). However, a Black Canadian actor was not hired to play the main lead in a Canadian primetime television show until 2019.

My work builds on research that has examined the lack of representation of Black and racialized people in Canadian media to explore the state of identity in the field, specifically in broadcasting and digital media. It is also focused on understanding the experience of Black and racialized people who work in the Canadian media industry and how identity affects the opportunities of these individuals. In this current study, I explore the state of representation for Black and racialized talents (public personalities, hosts, anchors, and contributors) in Canadian broadcasting and digital media. They can give us insights, based on their experiences, on the state of the Canadian media industry (Annenberg Inclusion Initiative, 2020; Deggans, 2014; Nielsen, 2020; Nieman, n.d.; Smith et al., 2021; WMC Reports, 2017).

Research Questions

While much of the established literature, both academic and from the popular press, has focused on the absence of minorities in Canadian newsrooms, little attention has been paid to Black and racialized people working behind the scenes of other spheres of the broadcasting industry. In order to better understand the racial and gender patterns that affect Black and racialized people in Canadian media, this thesis looks at the lived experiences of a sample size of 19 people from my target population. I use semi-structured interviews and a survey to explore my research questions, all of which address several themes — such as identity, workplace, public perception, and systemic racism — that have emerged from previous literature (Mahtani, 2009, 2005, 2001; Smith, 2015; Pritchard and Stonbely, 2007). Based on previous literature and the current gaps in previously published literature, the following two research questions were proposed:

RQ1: What is the professional experience of Black and racialized people who work in Canadian media?

RQ2: How do Black and racialized people negotiate their racialized identity in the Canadian media industry?

Chapter 1 argues for the relevance of studying Black and racialized folks' experiences laboring in Canadian media and their take on why the industry does not reflect the demographics of the population. This chapter is foregrounded by the work of multiple scholars who have made the misrepresentation and lack of representation of Black and racialized in print content the subject of their studies (Cukier et al., 2019; Cukier et al., 2011; Dunn and Mahtani, 2001; Fleras, 1995; Fleras and Kunz, 2001; Henry, 1999; Mahtani 2001; Malik and Fatah, 2019, Miller, 2006; Miller and Prince, 1994) and the relevance of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission for this research. This chapter also discusses critical race theory as a conceptual framework and whiteness, colorism and multiculturalism as theoretical frameworks of this study.

Chapter 2 discusses the methodological frameworks mobilized in this study: surveys and interviews. Before I present my findings, and in the spirit of self-reflexivity, I acknowledge my standpoint as a bilingual Black Canadian woman and address how my positionality impacted this research project stage while examining my data collection process. My experiences working in the sector sparked my interest in undertaking qualitative research to understand more about the experiences of my fellow Black and racialized coworkers in the Canadian media industry.

Chapter 3 presents the findings from the data collection and describes how the Black and racialized media workers in Canada who participated in the study have all encountered or witnessed varying degrees of prejudice throughout their careers. Thematically, the chapter examines the categories of cultural backgrounds, skin tone, identity and barriers within the workplace environment. The chapter outlines the themes that emerged from these interviews. Some themes were predicted (i.e., cultural backgrounds, skin tones, racialization). Others, such as workplace culture, were surprising but meaningful findings.

Chapter 4 acts as a discussion and a concluding chapter and emphasizes the relevance of critical race theory as a conceptual framework. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the significance of the research questions that my thesis revolves around and the responses that result from taking into account the analysis that took place in the chapters that came before it. This chapter makes the argument that the experiences that Black and racialized people have navigated a white media industry in Canada are multifaceted and complex. This chapter ends with a summary of the study and a discussion of what future projects should address.

Chapter Two: Context and Background

As contemporary media studies have shown, representations of identity in mainstream media are socially and culturally significant (Assel et al., 2021; Donaldson, 2015; Kurz, 2021). The current landscape shows there is an epidemic of misrepresentation and underrepresentation of Black and racialized people on television in Canada. Numerous studies have conducted censuses (Culkier et al., 2019; Gee, 2023; Laderas, 2022; Summerfield, 2022) of representations in the industry. However, when we analyzed the findings of those studies, it was clear that racial bias is a play. My analysis demonstrates that even though there are efforts, in theory, to reflect the racial diversity of the nation, the lived experience of Black and racialized people in broadcasting in Canada tells a different story.

The trend of representation of Black and racialized people in media extends beyond television to other forms of popular media in Canada and outside of Canada. Further, analyses have demonstrated that Black and racialized people are underrepresented as journalists in mainstream media (Arce, 2021; Fleras, 1995; Fleras and Kunz, 2001; Henry, 1999; MediaSmarts, 2012; Miller and Prince, 1994; The Canadian Association of Journalists, 2022; Uduehi, 2023). When analyzing the data over the years, the trend showed that little has changed in over 25 years.

Media is often viewed as both an escape from and a reflection of our society. Media informs and generates much of our understanding of the world and the people around us. It also plays a significant role in shaping and reinforcing cultural values and beliefs about race in Canada and internationally (Yu, 2013). For those working in front of and behind the scenes, however, the industry is something much more personal—it represents their livelihood. Moreover, for some Black and racialized people trying to build or sustain their careers, the media industry has been either unwelcoming or hostile (Kelly, 1998; Pritchard & Brzezinski, 2004).

Beginning in 1994, the Canadian Newspaper Association's Diversity Committee survey asked if media institutions could afford the disconnect between newsrooms and the racialized audience. Data has shown that in "forty-one Canadian newsrooms surveyed, only 2.6 percent of employees are racial minorities," representing five times less than the percentage of Canadian minorities in the population (CNA 1994). Furthermore, a study of Canadian newspapers gathering data from 554 randomly selected journalists from different platforms discovered that the majority of Canadian journalists who are in full-time positions and executive roles are white (in 97% of cases) and male (in 72% of cases) (Pritchard and Sauvageau, 1998). Miller's (2006) study of newsroom composition found that in 37 newsrooms, the gap between the under-representation of Black and racialized people and Indigenous people was notable. Indeed, they comprised 3.4% of employees but 16.7% of the reading public.

Black and racialized people were significantly underrepresented in media organizations at all staffing levels, including management, where only 4.8% of board members and executives identified as people of colour, according to a 2012 study by Cukier et al. Although executives may seek to increase the presence of Black and racialized people in the newsroom, white journalists continue to be in power and emphasize certain journalistic norms and values, which creates an imbalance since they are also the gatekeepers who are responsible for hiring (Miller, 2006). For this reason, several on-air news journalists, personalities, and producers have also articulated their discomfort with the primarily white composition of the newsroom in their respective companies.

Canada's newsrooms are disproportionately white, which makes Canadian news reporting less inclusive and thus less accurately reflective of the racial diversity of our nation (Cukier et al., 2019). Despite the fact that we have known about this issue for years, many journalism organizations (e.g., La Presse, The Globe and Mail, Bell Media, …) have not yet taken action to close this alarming and systemic gap in news coverage. For a multicultural country, the Canadian media landscape is rather monoracial. The newsrooms and media organizations no longer reflect their audiences. As shown in the findings of Malik & Fatah's study (2019), the perspectives and interests of Canada's population were not represented by the voices that publications such as the *Globe and Mail*, the *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* chose to highlight. As a matter of fact, the number of white columnists has increased over the 21 years as the proportion of white people in Canada's population has decreased (Malik & Fatah, 2019). During their investigation, none of the publications featured a regular Indigenous columnist and based on their criteria, it only included three Black men and no Black women (Malik & Fatah, 2019).

Further, studies of television news in Canada have also established that minorities are generally under-represented in the field. An analysis of 251 episodes of three famous Canadian public affairs television shows over four months (Cukier et al., 2019) found that racialized people accounted for only 11.5% of coded expert sources and a similar proportion (9.0%) of total guest appearances across the three English Canadian programs. While comparing these numbers to the percentage of racialized people in the population, they discovered that the representation in media rates was lower than the population statistics (19.3% in provinces outside Quebec and 7.9% in Quebec). Other studies have exposed the lack of representation and the misrepresentation of Black and racialized people in media content, such as tokenism[1]. Inaccurate media portrayals of Black people and other racialized groups can affect the way society discusses and treats Black individuals and other marginalized groups of people (Castañeda, 2018).

---

[1] Tokenism is the inclusion of a diverse character to create the illusion of inclusivity.

In 2023, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)[2] launched a marketing campaign called "It's a Canada Thing" to highlight the national broadcaster's position as a critical storyteller in Canada (CBC, 2023). The campaign showcases the broadcaster's vital and distinctive position in the Canadian landscape by using the slogan, "It's not how Canadian you are; it's who you are in Canada." With the 60-second advertisement, CBC wants to establish itself as the home of varied and inclusive content that reflects the whole country. With "It's a Canada Thing," CBC represents itself as being here for all of Canada, serving all the individuals who make up our fantastic, diverse, and beautiful country. Although CBC prides itself on the value of diversity on-screen, there is a disjuncture between this image of diversity and the lack of diversity of the organization's employees. The 2021 Canadian census figures show that more than 25% of the population identifies as "visible minorities[3]." When looking at Canadian media, for instance, 15% of the employees of the CBC, Canada's most prominent media corporation, are people of colour (CBC, n.d.). CBC, the public service broadcaster, does not mirror or reflect the reality of the Black and racialized population in Canada. If the public broadcaster does not, what about other media organizations in the country?

Over the years, researchers have explored how representations of diversity and minorities are located within the context of relationships in newsrooms and other sites of media institutions (Dunn and Mahtani, 2001; Mahtani, 2001; Malik & Fatah, 2019). Ungerleider makes an essential point about Canadian news outlets by stating that "under-representation and mis-representation of minorities by news media are not accidental. They are the product of the convergence of the

---

[2] Canadian Broadcasting Corporation/Radio-Canada henceforth referred to as the CBC)

[3] The term "*visible minorities*" is no longer used in critical literature and research. However, the term is still widely used by Statistics Canada, but there is a growing sense that "v*isible minority*" is outdated due to population shifts and even discriminatory. In 2012, even the United Nations warned Canada that the term could homogenize experiences of different ethnic groups. For this reason, I use the term "*racialized people*" throughout this thesis.

mechanics of news gathering with the desire of those in positions of influence to maintain their privileged positions" (Ungerleider 1991, p. 163).

The cultural policy of the government, which positions the creative industries at the core of Canada's cultural identity and economy (Canadian Heritage, 2017), did not significantly change the conversation to focus on the new media players who are redefining journalism for the twenty-first century. It omitted to consider that a rapidly fading group of media outlets that have controlled the national conversation are having issues with relevancy in a changing media industry (Korzinski, 2023). With this unbalanced media landscape, Black and racialized people are unable to tell their own stories, which gives the opportunity for someone else to interpret their stories through the prism of their own lived experience. Given that approximately 40% of Canadians are either foreign-born or children of immigrants, the Creative Canada Policy Framework created in 2017 should have taken this change much more into account (Canadian Heritage, 2017).

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is an academic framework that helps explain that racism is systemic rather than the result of the actions of individuals with preconceived biases. While applying research about Black Americans to the Canadian framework does not provide an exact parallel, the work developed in the context of the United States provides a substantial basis for understanding how racism, through different forms, affects one's everyday life (Burna, 1946; Edwards, 1973; Hall, 1992; Herring, 2004; Kerr, 2005; Hunter, 2007 & Golash-Boza, T., 2009). The central principle of CRT is that racial stratification and inequalities are ingrained in society (Delgado, 2023). Therefore, this thesis mobilizes CRT as a conceptual framework rather than a strictly theoretical one.

As a conceptual framework, CRT considers many of the same issues that traditional scholarship on civil rights, racism, and ethnic studies do, such as the focus on diversity, equity, and inclusion in our society. However, it does so from a broader angle that considers economics, history, environment, group and self-interest, emotions, and the unconscious. Furthermore, CRT asserts that systemic racism permeates many aspects of society, including employment, housing, healthcare, education, and housing. According to CRT, racism is a social phenomenon beyond personal prejudice and bias. Inequality based on race is maintained and reproduced by laws, regulations, and institutions (Gee & Hicken, 2021). It also challenges the very principles of the liberal order, including equality theory, legal reasoning, enlightenment rationalism, and neutral constitutional law principles (Delgado et al., 2023). Given its reach, CRT provides a useful conceptual framework that informs how I see and understand my participants' experiences and stories. It provides a lens through which I can develop concepts and analyses that address my research questions and objectives. In other words, situating this project through the lens of CRT is necessary to fully grasp the concepts I will be mobilizing and discussing more in-depth in the upcoming sections (i.e., whiteness, colorism and multiculturalism) to explain the experiences of my research participants. Although my participants are not talking explicitly about the notion of CRT when relaying their life experiences, having a clear understanding of CRT as a scholar allows me to make explicit connections to the three relevant themes that are discussed within CRT scholarship: social construction, racialization and intersectionality (Mitchell, 2020).

Social construction is a theory that presumes traits sometimes considered unchangeable and biological, such as gender and race, that result from human interpretation influenced by cultural and historical contexts (Lowrie et al., 2013). As a result, the perspective is interested "with the meaning produced through defining and categorizing social groups, experiences, and reality in cultural contexts" (Kang et al., 2017). Due to colonial history, white people have historically held the social, political, and economic power to identify and classify racialized people. For this reason, they hold the power to refer to racialized as "others" despite not considering themselves a member of a race. In many societies, whiteness is still maintained as the "norm" that other races are compared to, which maintains their dominance and self-sustaining position. Although I acknowledge that race is socially constructed, the effects felt by my participants are real. Whiteness takes precedence, and racialization becomes the way to explain the differences expressed by my participants concerning their experiences that were different from the default in Canadian media.

One of the ways CRT scholars have mobilized social construction is in their analysis of racialization. Racialization is a complex concept which describes how certain groups of people are subjected to differential or unequal treatment based on actual or imagined physical characteristics. In other words, "Racialization [is] the process of manufacturing and utilizing the notion of race in any capacity" (Dalal, 2002, p. 27). Everyone can experience racialization, but it is usually normalized or made invisible when it comes to white people. Whereas countries like the United States adopted the "one-drop rule," stipulating that anyone with an ancestor from Africa is regarded as Black, regardless of appearance, other countries such as Brazil[4], where many people with African ancestry can still be considered white, racial conceptualization and, consequently, racial categories are different and do not find symmetry across international borders. The concept of social construction demonstrates how identity categories are based on social assumptions and meanings rather than biological traits. Racialization can be observed in implicit ways, such as colour blindness. It is used to describe when one allegedly understands the ideology behind the notion of race but declares that people are "all the same" in the same breath, which, in the end,

---

[4] As of 2020, Brazil was home to the largest population of self-identified Black of Africans descent outside the African continent (Nugent & Regina, 2020).

denies the effects of racism, which can be described as colour blindness. The concept of racialization allows me to analyze the discrimination and racism experienced by my participants while also acknowledging that the basis for racism is the outcome of a process of social construction.

Elsewhere, the term intersectionality was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, law professor and social theorist, in her 1989 paper “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics.” Intersectionality is the conceptual framework that explains how the social structures of racism and oppression relate to our overlapping social identities (Crenshaw, 1989). In order to create an accurate and complex identity, intersectionality combines various identity markers, such as race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, disability and more. Oppression and intersectionality are inextricably linked. The force of oppression allows people to be mistreated or controlled through the influence of norms and systems. Intersectionality demonstrates how social identities operate on various levels, resulting in various opportunities, challenges, and experiences for every individual. Since each oppression depends on and influences the other, it is impossible to reduce oppression to just one aspect of identity. Intersectionality is incorporated into my research because it posits that various identities are interlaced and interact in our daily experiences. This was reflected in the testimonies of the research participants I interviewed. Exploring how my participants negotiate their intersectional identities is crucial since it illustrates how various factors beyond job performance impact a racialized person’s experience working in Canadian media.

However, CRT has drawn criticism for its propensity to reduce people to particular demographic characteristics. The theory’s detractors argue that CRT promotes discrimination against white people in the name of equity. Those allegations are primarily directed at theorists who support laws that specifically consider racial issues. As for the concept of intersectionality, some Marxists have accused it of supporting certain aspects of bourgeois liberalism due to the concentrated and comprehensive examination of political economy. Eve Mitchell, in “I Am a Woman and a Human: A Marxist Feminist Critique of Intersectionality Theory” (2013), claims that the emphasis on intersectionality in identity politics reinforces concepts of uniqueness, specifically in a capitalist setting. Mitchell’s critique is typical of a common critique levelled at what we might call “mathematical” intersectionality theory (King, 1988). The issue with “intersectionality” as it currently exists is that it ultimately comes down to self-identification and the conceptualization of the multiple axes of oppression as additive or multiplicative. It does not consider the system and the economic exploitation that underpins it all.

Despite these drawbacks, CRT encourages me to consider “the why” of outcomes, values, norms, and institutional practices. I can understand how Canada’s position as a white settler colonial society has been and is still being protected and upheld in the mainstream context. CRT exposes the challenges surrounding inequality that continue to impede progress for many people of colour. Downplaying the significance of race and the persistence of racism in Canadian society allows Canadians who pride themselves on being a multicultural society a way out of difficult conversations about the experiences of their racialized counterparts. This pride also uncritically assumes that racism and racial inequity do not exist or are not systemic problems, which will be discussed in more depth in the multiculturalism section. This is one of the ways that CRT is beneficial to my work.

By focusing on race, this conceptual framework has challenged how I interrogate the world of media, which is at the center of this thesis. For my research, I aim to interview and elevate the voices of marginalized groups, particularly Black and racialized individuals. Guided by the tenets of CRT, I use the collective narratives of racialized people to tell a counter-story about their experiences in the Canadian media industry. I want to listen to their truth and bring their experiences to the center. CRT was explicitly used to offer a critical lens during the creation of my research questions and the analysis stage.

Furthermore, by using this conceptual framework, this study seeks to contribute to the discussion of how structural racism affects Black and racialized people in the broadcasting industry. These frameworks allow me to investigate how race and racism, directly and indirectly, affect Black and racialized minorities in the Canadian media landscape. Positioning myself as a scholar who uses CRT as a conceptual framework and understands its impacts on my own identity formation has made the concept especially salient in the context of this study.

Whiteness

Whiteness is a powerful social construct about a dominant culture with real and violent consequences, while white is a scientific categorization of "race" (Kolchin, 2022). Two fundamental ideas of whiteness are "that white identity is socially constructed and functions as a racial norm and that those who occupy the position of white subjectivity exercise 'white privilege,' which is oppressive to non-whites" (McWhorter, 2005, p. 533). Critical race theory works with the same definition of whiteness. Race is a socially created category that forcefully attaches significance to perceptions of skin colour; inequitable social/economic interactions are built and perpetuated through conceptions of race, class, gender, and nations, including the meanings connected to skin colour (Carroll, 2014). Whiteness is reinforced in a variety of spaces in Canadian society; these include family, education, global interactions, language, and the media. Whiteness's dominance has been maintained when subjugated groups are integrated into normalization practices that establish and promote values linked to whiteness (Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

Some Canadians believe that they do not have the same racial issues as the United States of America and often consider themselves to be less prejudiced and discriminatory. Canadians work hard to persuade themselves that they have not followed in the footsteps of Americans, who have a lengthy history of racial tensions and civil rights conflicts. However, an established system ingrained in whiteness continues to dominate " 'the other' who have experienced ostracism, exclusion, prejudgment, or oppression on the basis of colour" (Syed & Hill, 2011, p. 609) in modern-day Canadian society.

To be able to discuss the impact of race in my thesis adequately, I must acknowledge whiteness as the backdrop against which the myth of multiculturalism relies on. I am using the concept of whiteness to demonstrate how racial identities shape how people perceive themselves and, in turn, are perceived in their work environment. People who identify as white rarely have to think about their racial identity because they live within a culture where whiteness has been normalized, which is not the case for my participants. On the other hand, Black and racialized folks must always consider their racial identity, whatever the situation, due to the systemic and interpersonal racism that still exists. Understanding how whiteness serves as a social mechanism allows me to understand why those who benefit from this white-dominated culture can navigate society by feeling and being viewed as normal (Kolchin, 2002).

Furthermore, in the context of this thesis, my participants are not just navigating the Canadian media industry; they are navigating a Canadian media industry that has colour. However, due to the white normalcy in our society, it tends not to be described or thought about that way, which is seen in the stories they told me. By maintaining whiteness as a status quo, we too often ignore the lived experiences as well as the perceptions of those perceived as non-white. As per my respondents' experiences, whiteness structures their work environment. Part of their lived experiences involve navigating whiteness in its varying degrees differently depending on their workspace.

Colorism

Alice Walker, in *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens*, coined "colorism" and defined it as "prejudicial or preferential treatment of same-race people based solely on their [skin] colour" (Walker, 1983, p. 290). Herring (2004) also defines colorism as the "discriminatory treatment of individuals falling within the same 'racial' group on the basis of skin color" (p. 21). Later, Meghan Burke (2008) defined colorism as "the allocation of privilege and disadvantage according to the lightness or darkness of one's skin," where light skin is preferred, and dark skin is devalued. As previously noted, colorism can be traced back to the transatlantic slave trade and European Colonial expansion (Charles, 2014; Hunter, 2013; Quiros & Dawson, 2013; Story, 2010) due to the power and racial hierarchies established through slavery (Banks, 1999; Hunter, 2008; Lindsey, 2011). Enslaved people with lighter complexions were granted privileges such as being allowed to work in the house and the opportunity to learn skilled trades such as cooking, cleaning, serving meals, and caring for children (Russell & Hall, 1992; Hunter, 1998; Viglione & DeFina, 2011). These privileges and unequal treatment caused tension between light and dark-skinned enslaved people (Hunter, 2008). Moreover, colonialism beliefs were applied to Black and white people (Charles, 2014), whereas white represented power, beauty and fairness, and black the opposite: weak, ugly and unattractive. For instance, a 2011 study by Johns Hopkins University using data from the U.S. Census found that people of mixed races are socially positioned above Black people but below white ones (Smith, 2011). These dogmas surrounding the racial hierarchy have aided in maintaining the prestige and influence associated with whiteness.

Such favoritism for light skin continues into the 21st century as a form of internalized racism. As said by Dr. Campbell (2023) in *Colorism: Understanding Skintone Discrimination*, "colorism can occur intra-racially (i.e., within groups) and interracially (i.e., across ethno-racial groups). It can manifest both interpersonally and systemically." Many studies that employed cross-race observation of skin tone data have shown significant skin tone effects with a bias towards lighter-skinned individuals. This bias includes attractiveness (Maddox & Gray, 2002), life chances and opportunities (Wilder, 2010) and occupational status and income (Goldsmith et al., 2006; Hill, 2002). Using ordinal logistic regression as a technique in his research and based on the data, Hannon (2015) concluded: "White prejudicial attitudes related to skin tone could create substantially unequal access to economic, social, and cultural resources."

Today's social environment still shows a tendency for lighter skin tones, which is detrimental to the well-being of those with darker skin tones. Colorism plays a significant role in determining social stratification and its effects on opportunities for education, employment, income, and health worldwide (Jablonski, 2012). I will expand on what other multicultural spaces have to say about colorism.

The European conquest, which created different forms of emotional, psychological, and cultural dominance, led to colorism among Native Americans. At first, colorism was upheld and practiced through the threat of violence, whereby every aspect of European ideology was shown in the idealization of whiteness through light skin. Due to colorism, much disagreement has been generated in the modern-day era regarding the requirements for tribal membership (Brown et al., 2018).

In India, colorism has its roots in British colonial authority and is sustained by the caste system, which gave lighter-skinned people greater privileges, opportunities, and education. The caste system is a unique form of social division in Indian society. Although caste and its associations with skin colour were not the inventions of European philosophers, the British colonial state helped to strengthen them. Eurocentric beauty standards were also promoted by colonialism in many African and Caribbean nations. A pale complexion was desired because it represented someone with wealth and status who did not have to work in the sun (Anekwe, 2014).

When people from South Asia and the Caribbean migrated to the United Kingdom, the preference for lighter complexion was transported to Britain's post-war society. As a result, the early 20th century saw the promotion of improved hygiene, femininity, and whiteness to Indian consumers through marketing soaps, lotions, and skin-lightening products through commercial photography and multiple industries to further the notion that "lighter means beautiful." The multi-billion-dollar skin-lightening industry benefits from the stigmatization of dark skin everywhere (India, Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Arab countries). In fact, the market is predicted to be worth $31.2 billion by 2024 (Shroff et al., 2018).

The effects of colorism are still seen in the workplace today. When it comes to the dialogue about race in the workplace and media, colorism is often a subject that is left out of the discussion. However, colorism can be equally ubiquitous and may have an equal impact on persons with darker skin tones as racism does. People can have quite varied experiences depending on their other identities, including their skin tone, just as it is crucial to recognize the shared experiences among employees within a racial group. Colorism can reward a racialized individual closest to whiteness in the workplace while not lowering obstacles for those who are darker. It could seem as though only light-skinned persons are represented in leadership positions among various racial groups. Colorism serves as a sad reminder that racism is dynamic and that when we assess our progress, our standards of success must go much beyond racial categories.

As it relates to this thesis, the kind of colorism discussed is mainly directed at and affects "dark-skinned" individuals of Caribbean and African descent. In the modern age, colorism is a tool that favors and rewards those who have closer proximity to whiteness. It plays a significant role in the continued mistreatment and exploitation of Black bodies in Canadian media, which is relevant when discussing their life experiences. Lastly, this thesis utilizes the lens of CRT to understand how colorism might affect one's experience in the media industry.

Code-Switching

Code-switching can be defined as the changing or adjusting of one's behaviors to appeal to a different crowd or audience (McCluney et al., 2021). Code-switching has been described as a multilingual phenomenon where people who speak multiple languages can use them at different times in a single conversation. However, the concept can have a different meaning regarding race and culture. It can refer to any marginalized or underrepresented person's ability to adapt to the dominant social context around them. The practice goes much beyond the linguistic and behavioral shift. These modifications include tonality, gestures, and body language. Either way, the emphasis is on projecting a proper persona rather than being who they truly are. In fact, code-switching also means changing one's appearance to fit the norms of their work environment. It may include changing one's clothing and, especially for black women, changing hairstyles, for example. For instance, according to a July 2019 Dove CROWN research study, Black women are 80% more likely to change their natural hair colour to meet societal standards (McClay, 2019).

In all cases, the person who is code-switching is attempting to downplay or highlight an aspect of their identity consistent with an inaccurate or accurate view of the social group to which they belong, even though this may not accurately reflect their true selves. Navigating this procedure can quickly become tiresome, but racialized people have to do it daily as a way to survive (McCluney et al., 2019). World-renowned scholar and civil rights activist W.E.B. Du Bois hinted at the idea of code-switching with his notion of double consciousness in his most well-known book, The Souls of Black Folk. Du Bois discusses how this way of being is an example of resilience in adaptability (Du Bois & Alexander, 2018). Nevertheless, code-switching is more than just "feeling." It is a performative expression that has not only helped some racialized folks succeed in mainstream culture, but many have just managed to live. Using code-switching as a conceptual framework allows us to understand how socialization is integral to assimilating into the workplace to be more accepted. Durr and Harvey Wingfield (2011) suggest that racialized people may engage in emotive labor strategies to deal with feelings of isolation and loneliness caused by being the only racialized person in a workplace setting.

Multiculturalism

Canada became the first country worldwide to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy. Multiculturalism in Canada has shaped much of this nation's identity and sense of community over the past fifty years, based on concepts like respect, tolerance, and individualism. In Canada, multiculturalism is an ideology, policy, and practice that permeates many social institutions, including the media sector. Numerous academics have noted that the values, meanings, and experiences connected to diversity are constantly being negotiated, shifting over time and space (Kymlicka, 2010; Yampolsky, 2013).

Using a multicultural understanding of the Canadian media landscape will help me to make sense of the insights' participants have shared about their experiences in Canadian media. Many people believe that multiculturalism is a strategy for removing barriers that prevent social integration and a means of embracing diversity and promoting equality when a multicultural framework governs it. On the other hand, the media has made apparent efforts to render the discursive traits of “multicultural Canada” as a country’s strength. While media practices help shape culture and society, media practices operate alongside other cultural and political forces in society. It is a dialectic in which the media and other political discourses tout the notion that Canada’s multiculturalism equals strength. For this reason, people seek to engage with this offering with the unintended consequence of splintering and segregating society by fostering differences. Some are disappointed with its inaccuracies, while others hide various biases in apathy, considering the work is already done (Griffith, 2015; Kymlicka, 2010; Ley, 2010).

Despite these opposing viewpoints, multiculturalism has given Canadian policymaking a strong foundation. Recognizing that research has shown multiculturalism can serve certain purposes in some situations but also has drawbacks is essential (Fries & Gingrich, 2010; Kymlicka, 2007; Ley, 2007). These discussions have been framed not only in terms of political and economic integration but also in terms of social and cultural integration. The idea of multiculturalism has been incorporated into Canada’s federal constitution, giving it a significant role in political decision-making.

Historically, multicultural policies and programs have evolved considerably since they were first introduced. Canada underwent three phases of its multicultural policy: Ethnicity Multiculturalism in the ’70s, Equity or Rights-Based Multiculturalism in the “80s and Anti-Racism/Anti-Discrimination Multiculturalism in the ‘90s (Jedwab, 2020).

Nowadays, many Canadians think of multiculturalism as a reality that acknowledges the diverse makeup of the country’s population. However, there has been an ongoing debate over the message that multicultural policy conveys to Canadians, especially immigrants. Some definitions of multiculturalism, such as the one advanced by Hugh Donald Forbes in *Multiculturalism in Canada: Constructing a Model Multiculture with Multicultural Values* (2019), detach the realities of diversity from the structures established by institutions and the ideologies that come with the growth of equity, diversity and inclusion in society. The term "multiculturalism" has also been "characterized as a feel-good celebration of ethnocultural diversity, encouraging citizens to acknowledge and embrace the panoply of customs, traditions, music, and cuisine that exist in a multiethnic society," as articulated by Will Kymlicka, in *The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism? New Debates on Inclusion and Accommodation in Diverse Societies* (Kymlicka, 2010, p. 98).

The problem with this conceptualization is that it ignores any potential political and economic problems that these communities might encounter (Kymlicka, 2010, p. 99). The issues of "unemployment, poor educational outcomes, residential segregation, poor English language skills, and political marginalization" (Kymlicka, 2010, p. 99) are not always addressed when different cultures are celebrated through food, music, and folklore. According to Kymlicka (2010:99), multiculturalism is a political project that aims to reshape the relationship between ethnic and cultural minorities and the state by adopting new laws, policies, or institutions. It allows them to disavow any kind of wrongdoings on the part of the government and to absolve themselves from any conversation surrounding two clear and noticeable blemishes in Canada's history, which are the colonization and attempted genocide of vast and diverse Indigenous populations and racist immigration laws such as The Canadian *Immigration* Act of 1910. Since the idea evolved, the definition of multiculturalism has varied according to the context and the scholar.

Since Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and his Liberal government made multiculturalism an official policy in 1971, it has helped Canada's reputation by being a political and cultural feature of Canada that is discussed outside of the country. The Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future asserted that all Canadians shared common beliefs, such as equality and fairness, in a democratic society, thus strengthening the idea that multiculturalism had made Canada one of the most tolerant

Western societies. As part of the Canadian beliefs, the Forum also acknowledge the value of tolerance and communication, support for diversity, compassion and generosity, and a commitment to peace, non-violent change, and global freedom. However, as many academics have noted, the multicultural policy has led some Canadians to believe their society is more tolerant than in reality (Nagra & Peng, 2013). This reality emerges when the lived experiences of Black and racialized people are compared to the ideals reflected in the concept of multiculturalism in Canada as shown by my participants" stories (Bannerji, 2000; Barrett, 1987; Haque, 2012).

In Canada, we are prisoners of a false dialectic because we try hard to make everyone understand that our multiculturalism equals a practice of anti-racism when the reality is that multiculturalism is no protection against racism. Since some people are satisfied with Canada's view of multiculturalism, they are putting less effort into anti-racism policies because we assume that multiculturalism regulates anti-racism. However, as history has shown us, other countries, like Brazil, are multicultural but also hyper-racist (Mitchell, 2022; Nolen, 2015; Ioris, 2023). In India, which has a strong cultural diversity due to its history, geography and demography, people understand and respect each other according to a gradation system that is known and accepted (Borah & Saikia, 2022; Maharana, 2010; Mishra, 2015; Vijaya & Bhullar, 2022).

Black and racialized people "remain an ambiguous presence and their existence a question mark," according to Bannerji (2000, p. 92), because it is an "imagined community." In his book "Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism" (1983), Benedict Anderson introduced the idea of an imagined community as a way to examine nationalism. By highlighting behaviors and events that expose this self-congratulatory self-image of Canadians, Barrett challenges Canadians who believe that racial tolerance has become one of the nation's defining characteristics. According to Haque (2012), the true goal of Canadian multiculturalism was not to accommodate the country's increasing cultural diversity but rather to provide a platform for developing a discourse of neutrality and colour blindness that would placate the many cultural minorities that were immigrating to the nation.

Discourse on Canada's immigration policies provides a glimpse into how Black and racialized people experience a disconnect between policy and their "real life" experiences. The Canadian government has implemented immigration policies to mitigate the effects of an aging population and declining birth rates (Government of Canada, 2022). As such, these policies are often designed to attract young professionals and families. While these policies have staved off some of the effects of the aforementioned issues regarding Canada's demographics, it has not been without criticism. These critiques detract from developing a true understanding of the effects of white supremacy, anti-Indigenous and anti-Black racism in the development of Canada as a settler-colonial state (Khan, 2022).

Although multiculturalism is a crucial policy established in Canada, there is a gap between the politics presented in government documents describing multiculturalism and the reality experienced by Black and racialized communities. In a country that has positioned itself as a multicultural haven, its Black and racialized communities still experience racism and colorism, creating a kind of cognitive dissonance where the experiences of people of colour cannot be reconciled with the idea that Canada is a multicultural country. Moreover, there is no space for critical conversation about multiculturalism since it has been subsumed by anti-racist discourses. Current anti-racism strategies concentrate on more superficial issues, such as employment practices, language use, and cultural sensitization. Although those things are important, they do little to acknowledge the harm done by years of colonial power over others (Khan, 2022). In other words, anti-racism is defined as the "active process of identifying and eliminating racism by changing systems, organizational structures, policies and practices and attitudes, so that power is redistributed and shared equitably" (NAC International Perspectives: Women and Global Solidarity). It is supplanted by rhetorical practices that emphasize the fact that Canada's multiculturalism shields or protects Black and racialized groups.

For this reason, understanding Canadian history is necessary for my thesis as it allows us to understand why Black and racialized groups continue to face systemic barriers in a country that prides itself on its implementation of multiculturalism in public policy. Acknowledging and understanding the effects and existence of racism and discrimination is relevant to making connections to the stories shared by my participants. Furthermore, it highlights how the politics surrounding multiculturalism have continuously allowed people to divest from conversations about the biases that are associated with skin colour and the cultural identity of the marginalized people in Canada. The way Black and racialized people present themselves in society affects how others perceive and treat them, and that is what my participants told me when telling their stories.

Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission[5]

Canadian identity is, in part, reflected or represented via the messages from Canadian media. The CRTC, an independent public body, regulates Canada's radio, television, and telecommunications industries. Decisions from the regulatory agency influence the cost and availability of phone and internet services, as well as what can and cannot be broadcast on television or heard on the radio. To ensure that Canadian broadcasting content satisfies the needs and interests of Canadians, the Broadcasting Act of Canada lays out specific goals. The CRTC

---

[5] Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission henceforth referred to as the CRTC

then establishes guidelines and regulations to ensure these goals are carried out in Canada's broadcasting system.

The role of the Broadcasting Act of Canada is to support the growth of Canadian content in the broadcasting system by "providing a wide range of programming that reflects Canadian attitudes, opinions, ideas, values, and artistic creativity, displaying Canadian talent in entertainment programming, offering information and analysis concerning Canada and other countries from a Canadian point of view" (Government of Canada, 2007). The Act also takes into consideration the differences between various Canadian communities. The broadcasting system should address the diversity of Canadian citizens through it is programming and the job opportunities that result from its operations by "reflecting the circumstances and aspirations and ensure the equal rights of Canadian people, supporting the linguistic duality and multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society, recognizing the special place of aboriginal peoples within our society." (Government of Canada, 2007). Through the Act, the CRTC is also responsible for the CBC's license. They examine the offerings of CBC/Radio-Canada to ensure that it provides Canadians with programming in both official languages that entertains, informs, and reflects the country's diverse geographic, cultural, and linguistic realities. CBC and other broadcasting networks help shape Canadian discourses. The CRTC has established a plan to reflect diversity in CBC's mainstream programming. The CBC should serve as a mirror in which all Canadians should see themselves accurately, fairly, and without stereotypes, according to the Television Policy (Public Notice CRTC 1999-97). The broadcasting system should also provide opportunities for producers, writers, technicians, and artists from various cultural and social backgrounds. They expect broadcasters to create strategies to enhance the portrayal and inclusion of people of colour and those with disabilities in media. The CRTC also directs broadcasters to report on their diversity-related initiatives, which can be read on the Annual Reports filed by licenses on their website. In order to support the goals of cultural diversity, the CRTC has also been collaborating with the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB).

This is the profile of how CRTC works in theory, but it is another story in practice. The CRTC does not have the authority to mandate increased diversity in the telecommunications industry. Its mandate is to implement the rules and laws made by parliamentarians who make laws and departments that make policies. The agency also regulates and supervises telecommunications and broadcasting (CRTC, 2023). Although it can make recommendations, write reports, create guidelines and apply pressure, it cannot do anything because they do not have the legal grounds to enforce those when compared to other government bodies such as Revenue Canada.

While the federal government requires broadcasters in Canada to report the demographics of their workforce (Malik & Fatah, 2019), expecting the industry to disclose their numbers is different from demanding and enforcing it. As for their demographic data, although the CRTC mandates it yearly, networks have the right to keep it private. The CRTC has no power to force broadcasters to make the data public. The broadcasters must report, but because some do not, the industry stays in the same vicious circle. If the data stays internal, nothing can be done if we do not have the information. Also, if the CRTC is not doing anything with the data, who benefits from that if the data stays internal or cannot be structured? For this reason, the CRTC does not have any leverage in mandating or demanding that media companies hire and maintain Black and racialized folks as encoders.

In what follows, I will examine where racist tensions still exist today — in the realm of Canadian media — despite a history of multiculturalism and encouragement from the CRTC to reflect the racial diversity of the nation. The upcoming chapter will discuss and explain the data collection methods used in my research project.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Pre-Fieldwork and Research Design

The initial purpose of my research project was to explore the state of Black and racialized representation for television personalities, anchors, and contributors in Canadian media, specifically in broadcasting and digital media. Through this initial conceptualization, I aimed to investigate how colorism limits the opportunities of darker-skinned individuals as both implicit and explicit bias work in tandem with tendencies to hire lighter-skinned people in Canada. In order to investigate this topic, I aimed to do interviews with five self-identified Black Canadian broadcasting talents to connect the narrative to a broader cultural and social context. In addition to theoretical literature, I intended to collect qualitative and quantitative information by using questionnaires and photo-elicitation to code the skin tone of Black people in the industry.

I realized that my approach to this topic was inherently biased and based on my preconceived assumptions concerning skin tone and the representation of dark-skinned folks in the Canadian media industry. Personal experiences about colorism and my position concerning the lack of representation of Black people in the industry influenced my mentality. Seale (2004) states that identities, experiences and politics are fundamental to understanding the social world and social research. "As researchers, we need to consider not only what we know, but also how we come to know it," remarked Seale (2004, p. 24). I have realized how biased my initial research assumption was and how difficult it would have been to quantify or qualify it. In hindsight, as a member of the industry, I was confident in my "insider status," my knowledge and experience, and I believed this assumption was justified.

In addition, my research and perspective of the issue were largely guided by the knowledge of the United States and Caribbean systems. For instance, in Canada, not everyone is familiar with the concept of colorism. In turn, I realized that not everyone would be able to express their feelings towards the phenomenon.

In my initial research design approach, I allowed little opportunity for counterfactual arguments or alternative readings of the problem. Therefore, I applied a strategy that overgeneralized the population and the homogeneity of the research group since I believed I grasped the dynamics of the problem (Apentiik & Parpart, 2006). Despite having similar racial and educational backgrounds to my participants, I felt that I may be aware of their cultural dynamics and roles; however, I realized that I needed to be critical of how my position as a researcher and preconceived notions about colorism affected how I approached the problem and understood the topic.

Research Strategy and Approach

The primary method for this research study is semi-structured interviews (Kumar, 2011). A semi-structured interview is a qualitative research method that combines a predetermined set of open questions (questions that prompt discussion and cannot be answered with a simple “yes” or “no”) with the opportunity for the interviewer to explore particular themes or responses further to draw out more specific evidence about the participant’s experience (Hansen & Machin, 2013). The secondary method, a survey, is a set of questions asked to a selected population sample. According to Oei & Zwart (1986), face-to-face interviews elicit strong affective responses, whereas questionnaires permit a wide range of responses that may be more cognitively objective; participants actually respond differently to the questionnaire and interview prompts.

It also allowed me to question how to study and interpret meaning and behaviors to understand various social phenomena experienced by groups of people (Bernard, 2013; Kumar, 2011). Semi-structured interviews as a means of data collection and design enabled me to explore the participants' views, opinions and experiences concerning the research topic (Gill et al., 2008). In addition, semi-structured interviews are instrumental in understanding detailed insights from study participants who are knowledgeable in the study area (Gill et al., 2008). Johnson *et al*. (2007) defines mixed method research as "a class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, theories and or language into a single study." (p. 117). However, despite the flaws of both interviews and questionnaires, they are valuable in order to gain insights into the conducted research (Hansen & Machin, 2013).

I begin with the thesis hypotheses about what themes would emerge in participants' experiences in their industry as it relates to their identity and experience in the workplace. My hypotheses were the following:

- People's experiences working in Canadian media will be affected by their race.
- In addition, their cultural background and skin tone will also affect these experiences as well as future opportunities.
- Skin tone and cultural backgrounds will also be factors in people's organizational behavior (including how they interact with others, how they position themselves within an organization, perceived comfort in regard to certain situations, etc.).

Ethics Approval

This research has received ethics review and approval by the Delegate Ethics Review Committee, which is the delegated authority to review research ethics protocols by the Human Participants Review Subcommittee, York University's Ethics Review Board. It conforms to the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics Guidelines standards on January 13, 2022.

Data Collection for the Survey

Selection of Participants

After receiving ethics approval for the study, the online survey questionnaire was created, administered, temporarily stored, and analyzed using the American-based web server Google Forms, with data collection taking place from May 11, 2022, until June 14, 2022. Google Forms is 100% free to use, and there is no premium user version, which makes it an easy choice as a preferred platform. Seventeen survey responses (68%) were received from the initial target sample size of 25 participants. One hundred percent (100%) of the participants completed the survey. Of the seventeen responses, thirteen survey respondents (72%) also participated in interviews. In comparison, five people (28%) did one or the other to discover the meaning they placed on their experiences in Canada.

Their job occupation in the Canadian media landscape varied from a producer, writer, influencer marketing strategist, video editor, on-air personality, podcaster and more.

Following the review and approval of the questionnaire by the Research Ethics Board at York University, recruitment notices were created and distributed for each separate digital medium. The email recruitment Notice was forwarded to individuals relevant to the principal investigator's email contact list. Facebook and Twitter Recruitment Notice publications were also posted to the investigator's profile on the respective platforms. Various people posted reminders and calls to action via these same platforms during the data collection period. The primary means of participants' recruitment was derived from non-probability snowball sampling among the investigator's online networks, specifically via Twitter, Facebook and email. These mediums have a naturally occurring snowball effect in the dissemination of information. When a post or tweet is published on one of these mediums, the receiving audience can engage with the publication via different functions such as share, retweet or quote tweets. In doing so, the information is published within the receiving audience's digital network, which in turn may also publish and generate engagement from their extended networks. This "viral" effect provided a potential snowball effect of referrals for participation in the present pilot study. Potential study participants were solicited from the investigator's list of personal email addresses and those who are part of the investigator's Facebook and Twitter feeds. Although every individual within the investigator's personal digital network was invited to participate, specific selection criteria (i.e., currently or previously holding a job in Canadian media and age) were included in the post to ensure that the relevant people participated in the research. Survey responses were collected anonymously to ensure that no identifying information was linked to individual submissions except to the investigator. Ensuring anonymity and privacy was vital since ensuring participant anonymity can dramatically affect response rates (Dibb et al., 2001). To achieve this, I used methods such as collecting raw data instead of reviewing each participant's files individually. Based on these parameters, minimal psychological, social, dual-role and personal identity risks were involved for participants who wished to participate in the study. Participation remained voluntary, and the nature of the survey questions was such that responses could not be influenced by any pre-existing relationships with the principal investigator nor linked back to any individual participant. The following chapter also includes a more detailed description and graphical summary of the results of the survey responses and findings therein. The type of survey used for this research is known as a descriptive survey. These kinds of surveys aim to collect information and describe patterns and trends relevant to a particular population. Their objective is to describe what is or what exists. Its cross-sectional survey design was a one-off survey in which a (representative) sample of respondents only had to respond once (Hansen & Machin, 202 & 205). Through a self-administered questionnaire, respondents filled in a questionnaire distributed by email, and a random, non-representative sample of research participants was used for this thesis. This survey informed the state of Canada's diversity and social issues in Canada's media landscape with questions about skin tone and colorism.

Data Collection for the Interview

In addition to the survey, I also conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews for my study. Interviews effectively evaluated the intersection of race, identity, workplace, and public perception in a qualitative context.

Selection of Sites and Participants

Participants of this study were fourteen people who currently or previously have held jobs in Canadian media. For the purposes of this research, a job in Canadian media included, but was not limited to, a talk show host, guest co-host, reporter, producer/assistant producer, copywriter, writer, sports broadcaster/announcer, and freelancer. Since I had already determined the desired age range of interviewees, it was an explicit criterion for eligibility to participate in the study. Since most of them are well known in the industry, they self-identified on social media. Five interviews were done in French and nine in English and all were conducted over May and June 2022.

The sampling methods used to target selected participants included snowball sampling and expert sampling. I contacted a list of people through emails. I initially chose around five people for their relevance to the research objectives and based on availability and willingness to be interviewed. For example, I selected some participants due to their expertise in Canadian broadcasting, primarily using an expert sampling method. After identifying this respondent based on their expertise and knowledge of the subject matter, I utilized snowball-sampling techniques. I requested that the participant recommend others meeting the selection criteria (Bhattacherjee, 2012). However, I got more responses than expected, allowing participants from different demographics to record a variety of experiences.

During interviews, participants discussed issues related to identity, their workplace and public perception, and identity's role in the workplace.

Since I had participants living in different parts of Canada (Quebec, Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia) and we were still dealing with the pandemic, most interviews took place online via Zoom, the innovative video conferencing platform (Archibald et al., 2019). However, these platforms are only accessible to "participants with access to the Internet and are prone to technical problems such as poor or loss of connectivity and failure to capture non-verbal data" (Dubrovsky, Kiesler, & Sethna, 1991). Although not all participants cared if their real names were used, all were asked to provide pseudonyms they would not mind being identified with.

The interviews primarily involved open-ended questions in order to elicit varying views and opinions from the study participants. Open-ended questions during interviews also let participants express their views on their terms. In addition, open-ended questions facilitated general discussions about every aspect of the participants' lived experiences and encouraged participants to discuss issues generously (Bhattacherjee, 2012). I used an interview protocol to direct the process and recorded each interview for transcription and research. I obtained both verbal and written consent from participants before conducting the interview. I used a verbal consent script to re-inform the participants after they had been informed verbally and were required to sign a form outlining the study's purpose and roles as participants.

If the recording equipment failed, I wrote notes to support each interview (Creswell, 2014). After the interviews were finished, I transcribed the journal entries and interview transcripts in a Word document so that my chosen analysis software could read them. I could also add any missing text to the interview transcripts and correct any spelling or grammar errors made by Zoom's transcription software throughout the process. I also used Sonix to transcribe my French audio and video files automatically. When the record was made, the notes and interview transcripts were transferred to NVivo, a qualitative analysis software that allows for thematic analysis, alongside the video accounts of the meetings. The documents transferred to NVivo were then coded utilizing a coding scheme and critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 2009) while evaluating the notes I took during each meeting. Fairclough (1995) defines critical discourse analysis as a method for examining how language is used to create knowledge, ideology, and power. CDA considers the nuances in the languages used by the participants when discussing their experiences and answering my questions.

Data Analysis Procedures and Strategies

In order to conduct the first stages of the data analysis process, I transcribed each interview. Afterwards, I began examining my transcripts and read each interview multiple times. I also began to re-listen to each interview to ensure accuracy. I familiarized myself with the data throughout this process and noted my first impressions.

Following this stage, a qualitative thematic analysis was conducted using the survey and interviews to address research questions. According to Hsieh & Shannon (2005), there are numerous approaches to the coding scheme in quantitative and qualitative content analysis that adhere to the naturalistic paradigm. Conventional, directed, or summative approaches can be used to create a coding scheme (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Directed coding begins with relevant literature and research, whereas summative coding requires counting comparisons to determine the underlying meaning of messages (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Conventional coding derives schemes directly from the data. The coding scheme for this study was initially developed using existing communication literature and takes a directed approach to content analysis by using Braun and Clarke's (2013) framework of thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke (2013) describe it as "a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data". The thematic analysis conducted in this study uses open coding to categorize the overarching themes and patterns of the participants' experiences. The open coding process references Braun and Clarke's (2013) phases of thematic analysis, including familiarizing the data, generating codes, collating codes into categories, and reviewing and refining potential themes towards clear definitions (Braun & Clarke, 2013). I labeled relevant words, phrases, actions, activities, procedures, and opinions using codes from each interview (Krippendorff, 2016). While conducting this research phase, emphasis was placed on identifying significant codes and shared similarities and differences in each interview. Due to the length of this project, the coding stopped on November 18, 2022.

Several themes emerged from each interview as the data were organized, reviewed, and analyzed. Braun and Clarke (2006) define a theme as capturing something important about the data and identifying "some level of patterned response or meaning within the dataset" (p. 82). The themes collated through open coding adhere to a social constructionist perspective in which the qualitative texts' sociocultural context and structural conditions frame the shared meanings of their experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

The identification of subthemes supports the key themes of the analysis. Braun and Clark (2013) define a "sub-theme" as "essentially a theme-within-a-theme" and provide structure and hierarchy to the complexity of emerging themes (p. 92). Note that subthemes do not act as a quantitative "code" but as an indicator of qualitative text categorized under an observed pattern. Finally, I grouped relevant codes and themes into categories. I included the identified themes under each category based on the relationship and patterns among particular themes or codes in each interview.

Fieldwork, Data Collection, and Researcher Positionality

While examining my data collection process, I began to consider how my positionality impacted this research project stage.

As a Black woman who has been working in Canadian media for the past ten years, I started this research project to understand if my experience in Canadian media was unique or a pattern seen among racialized people working in the industry. My experiences working in the industry as a Black woman ultimately led to my interest in conducting qualitative research to learn more about the experiences of fellow Black and racialized colleagues. My knowledge and experiences as someone who worked in the Canadian media industry allowed me to understand and relate to my participants' stories. With this in mind, my hope with my research was to create a project where other racialized people could see their own experiences and feelings validated in the field. With my insider position, I was able to identify and understand the patterns that affect our experiences without needing my participants to explain the inner workings of Canadian media when discussing their stories. This allowed for a shorthand between me and my participants since they did not have to explain how the industry works. While working on this, I realized this research project emerged from an ethnographic perspective of my own experiences, allowing me to understand my journey. Through the conversations, I heard similar stories to mine. Conversations in which the participants shared struggles with racism and prejudice.

A person's identity is formed by how they see their own ethnicity, race, culture, language, class, gender, and sexual orientation, as well as how others perceive these markers of identity. Thus, a person's identity might be imposed on them rather than developed independently. When you think about the feedback and the sharing narrative from participants, they specifically speak about what it means to live in their bodies as Black and racialized folks. However, those lived experiences also exist within the backdrop of whiteness. As a Black woman of Haitian descent who has lived in Canada for most of my life, I could relate to their stories, allowing the participants to go deeper in their thoughts. As hard as it was sometimes, I gathered that the participants felt comfortable telling me their stories and recommending other colleagues to participate in the research study.

Moreover, there was a significant gender imbalance in this study. Finding female participants through snowball sampling was easier because many participants suggested their female colleagues be interviewed. It was also easier to establish a rapport with the female participants, who were more at ease during the interview. For instance, there was a more formal information exchange during the interview with male participants, and my status as a graduate student and researcher received more attention. It could indicate a personal propensity of mine to favor and privilege female interviewees over male interviewees, as well as how shared gendered identities make it easier to access interviewees.

My age, my gender and my race were factors that affected my work in terms of power dynamics. The identity assigned to researchers based on race, age, gender and other fixed identities is outside the researcher's control. Age confers status and power in some societies, according to Koski et al. (2015). Young researchers might experience challenges locating specific data or finding participants in such societies. My experience taught me I needed to be conscious of my age and past experiences. Being older confers tremendous respect and legitimacy in my culture. I overcompensated in this aspect of my identity due to my youth and status as a graduate student to appear more professional to my participants.

Furthermore, as mentioned in the gender section, my experience interviewing men and women spoke volumes about power dynamics. These factors (i.e., gender, race and ethnicity, and cultural influences) represent intersectional realities of my identity, which is a critical aspect of the methodology of my work.

Målfried et al. (2016) assert that the participants and the researcher constantly negotiate the researcher's role and identity, resulting in a distinct power dynamic and exchange between groups. The relationship I maintained with my participants was professional, social and personal and consistently shifted depending on my context and situation since I wanted to maintain my professionalism as a researcher. However, I was able to gain access to more information by establishing rapport with participants through various social interactions and maintaining a level of informality in the process.

Additionally, since I have a francophone background, I was comfortable interviewing people in French and English to understand the nuance between the differences and impact of cultures in this country. The participants for this study were francophone and anglophone, which created an excellent opportunity to look for contrast because the French experience and the English one are different on multiple levels (e.g., language barriers, job and networking opportunities, and the industry's size). Moreover, as a 2nd generation Montrealer-Haitian, my experience differs from a newcomer francophone, and that experience is not representative of the American experience. Discussing bilingualism allowed me to show how Canada differs from the United States, and also potentially within Canada between anglophone and francophone provinces. My writing also added an element of difference that made me understand and relate really well to my participants.

Brian Bourke (2014), in his article *"Positionality: Reflecting on the Research Process*," examines the various roles researchers play when conducting qualitative research. Since I had not worked in the media industry in two years, I found myself in a position where I was both an insider and an outsider during the interview process. My familiarity with the industry, due to my work background, enabled me greater access to participants and a better understanding of the nuances of their personal experiences. I know that this allowed the participants a greater level of comfort in discussing important issues and to talk more openly and without fear of judgment. Additionally, my familiarity with the sector encouraged participants to be more inclined to discuss problems with me openly. It frequently resulted in anecdotal discussions, which were equally beneficial to my analysis and findings. Participants also felt comfortable talking about their emotions and opinions related to the topic of study. My status as a student also contributed to their comfort level.

Intersectionality has proven to be a valuable concept to understand and express the multilayered forms of discrimination I experienced as a woman while being Black. Since I presented an identity as a fellow Black colleague, my participants felt that their stories would be handled with care and would not be misinterpreted, which made for excellent data.

Post-Fieldwork

After conducting fieldwork and gathering data that took place from May 11, 2022, until June 14, 2022, I engaged in an extensive period of reflexivity and self-analysis as a researcher. I needed to confront issues of bias and representation that were evident in my work, such as projecting myself on the participants. In order to do so, I first had to examine how I initially approached my research topic. I understood that my approach to this subject was inherently biased and based on my preconceptions about colorism. Without considering counterfactual arguments or diverse perspectives, I approached this topic with assumptions about the concept's existence in the media industry. I realized that I had approached the topic without being fully critical of the ideologies rooted in the United States and the Caribbean (Letzring et al., 2005) that I based my assumptions on.

In order to acknowledge how my Canadian education and ideological framework guided my data collection and research design process, which required a significant amount of critical reflection and self-scrutiny (Lønsmann, 2015). This perspective framed my initial ideas concerning the direction I would take in my analysis. To enhance and legitimize my findings, this process also involved exposing my weaknesses. I also had to face the fact that research is an emotional process influenced by how we feel about a subject. The emotions evoked by particular subjects can hinder researchers' ability to interpret data and investigate various possibilities. In other words, emotions are a part of the research process that frames the researcher's lens. As a result, when approaching this research topic, my emotional response affected my judgment (Clore & Huntsinger, 2007). I discovered evidence of this factor while reviewing my transcriptions and line of questioning.

I altered the direction of the research after confronting these issues and biases. I needed to develop new objectives that would allow me to be open to new possibilities and directions for my research. Consequently, acknowledging a key aspect of my research project is anchored in an emergent design and framework. My initial plan for my research shifted, and many phases of the research project design changed after I returned from the field (Merriam, 2009).

Given the current discourse surrounding representation and media, I decided to focus on understanding the experience of Black and racialized people who work in Canadian media and how identity affects the opportunities of these individuals. Engaging in critical self-reflection enabled me to investigate the range of possibilities within this study area and improve my research project.

It is fundamental to recognize that it is rooted in specific contexts and to recognize the multiple realities within a topic of study. It is essential to remember that knowledge of the social world is relative and that the purpose of a research project is to provide insight and perspective within this context (Bernard, 2013). Lastly, it is essential to remain reflective throughout all stages of a research project in order to improve as a researcher and increase the credibility of your project by enhancing the findings.

Chapter Four: Analysis

Survey Findings

The final sample size for this survey included seventeen participants. The participant demographics included ten (58.8%) female participants, six (35.3%) male participants and one (5.9%) participant who identified as non-binary (see Figure 1).

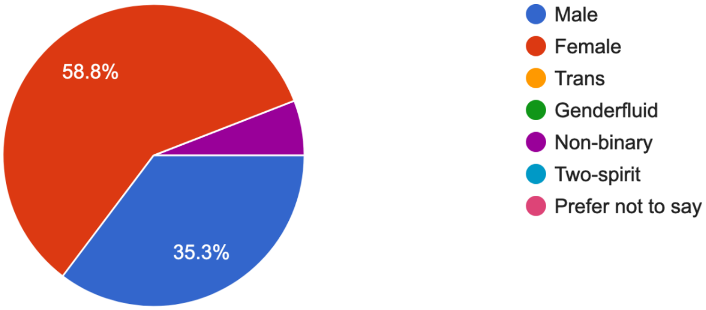

Figure 1: *Which gender identity do you identify the most with?*

The demographic makeup of survey respondents included two participants aged 18–25, fourteen participants aged 26–41, and one participant over the age of 50 (see Figure 2).

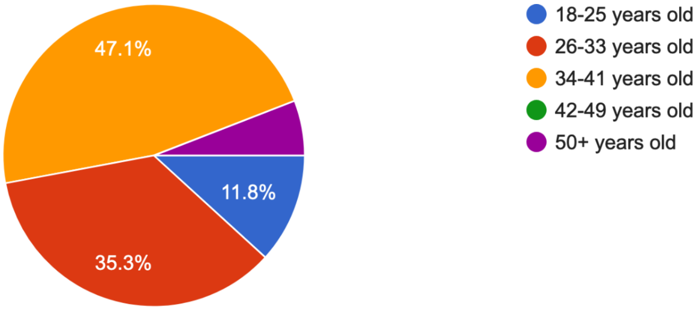

Figure 2: *Please select your age group.*

Among the respondents, the racial/ethnic distribution of the participants included eight participants (47.1%) who self-identified as Black, three participants (17.6%) who identified as multiracial, and two participants who identified as Middle Eastern (11.8%). One participant (totaling 23.6% of participants) each self-identified as one of the following: white, Indigenous, East Asian, and South Asian. Participants who answered the survey had to focus on their appearance and how others perceived them (see Figure 3).

Figure 3*: Which of the following do you self-identify with?*

Alternatively, in the interview, participants were asked more broadly about identity, experience, perception and the broadcasting world.

Survey respondents were first asked if they were ever misidentified racially. The answers "Yes" and "No" had eight people each (47.1%), and one person (5.9%) needed clarification (see Figure 4).

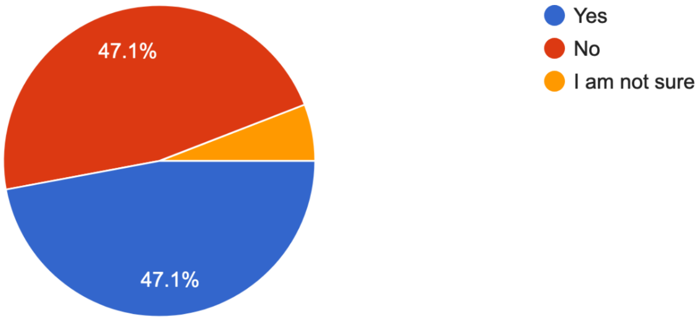

Figure 4*: Have you ever been misidentified racially?*

The eight people who answered "Yes" to the misidentification question were prompted to answer the following question: If you have answered yes to the question above, please select any of the following statements that best describe your experience(s). Since the answers to this question were not mutually exclusive, participants were able to check as many boxes as they wanted. The most popular answer was that they were mistaken for another race, closely followed by being considered racially ambiguous and being told at least once, "You do not look like…". In addition, two participants answered by telling me their own statements: "very rarely will people notice my multiracial—they assume full Black or Hispanic" and "biracial" (see Figure 5).

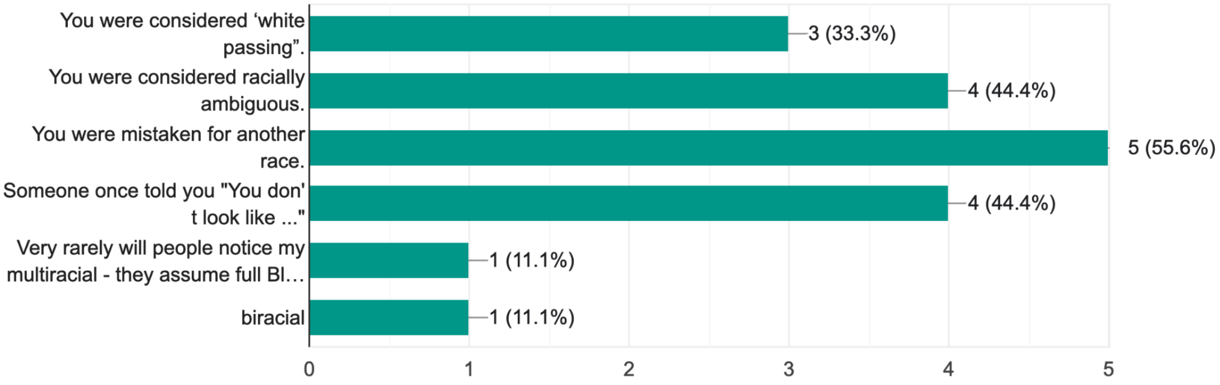

Figure 5: *If you have answered yes to the question above, please select any of the following statements that best describe your experience(s).*

The survey also allowed the participants to submit their own answers. Three people said, "It happens often. Too frequent to go into details about a single standout time," "I am sometimes mistaken for other East Asian races (most commonly Japanese)," and lastly, "Most people believe that one of my parents is white." These answers speak to the social construction of race and racialization.

When asked how others saw them racially, the answers were Black = eight (47.1%), White = three (17.6%), Multiracial = two (11.8%) and one (5.9%) person for each of the following East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Taiwanese), South Asian (Indian, Sri Lankan, Nepalese, etc.), Middle Eastern (Persian, Arab)[6] and Italian/Greek. Southeast Asian (Vietnamese, Thai, Filipino, ...) was the only option not picked up by any survey respondent (see Figure 6).

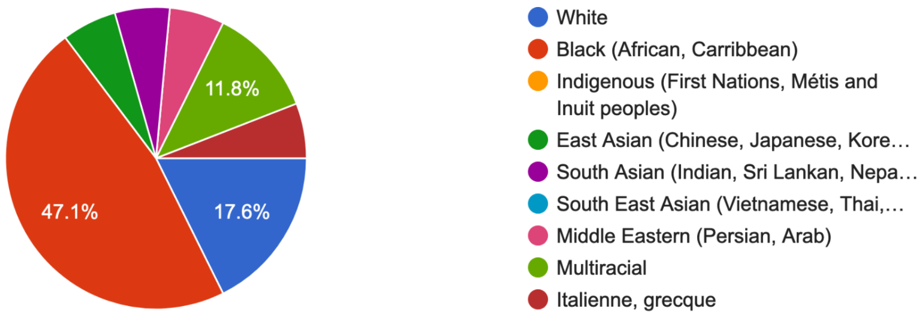

***Figure 6**: Which one of the following do others seem to identify you with or label you as?*

Participants were asked to describe their skin tone in a numerical range between 1 and 10, with 1 equating to fair skin and 10 to dark skin. The highest answer, which six people identified with, was eight (35.5%). The rest alternate between one or two people. The numbers two, four, five and seven were chosen by two people each (11.8%), and the numbers one, three and six had one person each (5.9%) (see Figure 7).

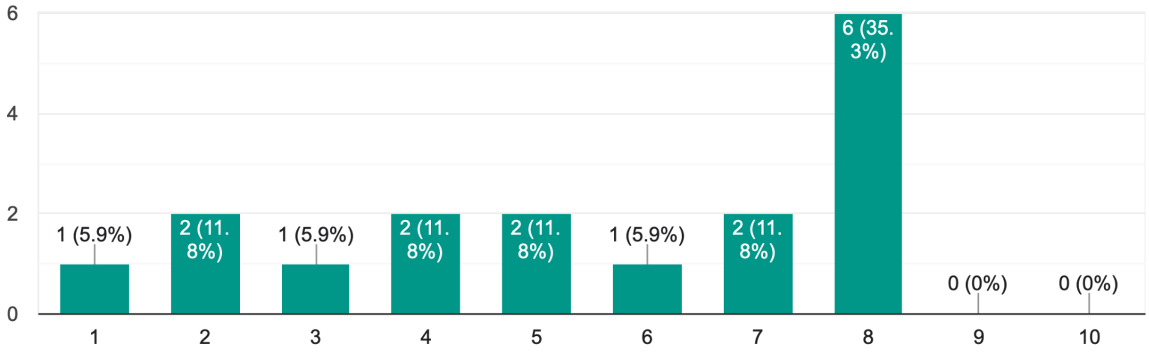

***Figure** 7: How would you describe your skin tone? (1—being fair skin and 10—being dark skin)*

---

[6] The term is widely used today. Although it has evolved, it has Eurocentric origins (Case, 2022). However, my participants shared that they were comfortable with me using that identifier in my research.

However, fewer people had their skin colour described differently by others compared to being misidentified racially since eleven people said no (64.7%), four said yes (23.5%), and two needed clarification (11.8%) (see Figure 8).

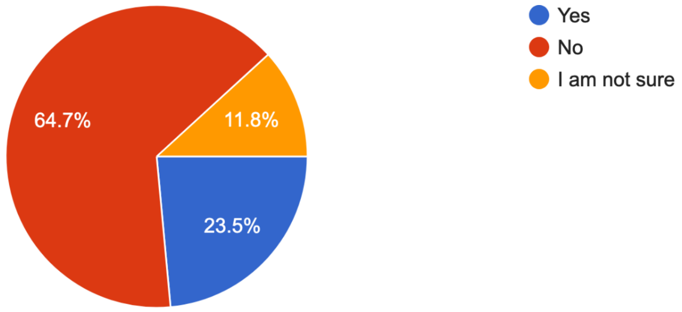

Figure 8: *Have there been situations where people described your skin tone differently?*

The last quantitative question focused on whether or not participants' racial identity helped them navigate the industry. Six people disagreed (40%), five were neutral (33.3%), three strongly agreed (20%), one person strongly disagreed (20%), and two people left the question blank (see Figure 9).

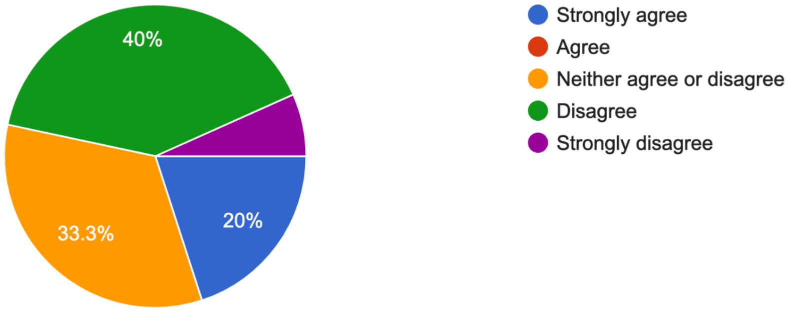

Figure 9: *My racial identity helps me when it comes to navigating the industry.*

Participants were asked one qualitative question, which required them to describe some barriers people in the industry can encounter. As the survey answers reflected the sentiments of my interviewees, I will organize the following results by theme. This, in turn, will allow me to discuss and connect both the survey and interview results.

As detailed in the last chapter, my data collection primarily involved the survey and interviews. As such, I interviewed fourteen self-identified people between 20 and 50 years old who were working in the industry. Each interviewee, without exception, recounted their passion for the pursuit of storytelling and their love for their job. However, they also expressed mixed feelings about being often the only racialized person in the room. Furthermore, throughout their careers, they have all encountered or seen various levels of prejudice. While the interviewees described experiences that were unique and personal to them, they also often echoed the sentiments of the other interviewees. After coding the interview responses and analyzing them for commonalities, I created themes, connecting the emerging narrative to a broader cultural and social context. This coding yielded four overarching categories: workplace, racialization, skin tone, colorism and cultural backgrounds. Workplace and racialization have subcategories, which were the environment and job gap for the former while representation, opportunities, and barriers for the latter.

Otherness

The idea of "*otherness*" is central to sociological analyses of how majority and minority identities are constructed and describes how minority or less powerful groups—are positioned as inferior to dominant groups. Zevallos (2014) defines "Otherness" as the socially constructed identities of minority group by group with more political power. It maintains the false narrative that every minority is the same, acts the same, talks the same, and only serves to aid the development of their white counterparts. Although otherness can be experienced through inferiority, otherness also functions to hold different groups to different standards in different contexts. One of the ways that otherness is instrumentalized is through the model minority myth. The model minority creates a falsely positive and harmful narrative that reinforces systemic racism. When combined with racist myths about other racial groups, the racialized groups who are seen as better and who approximate whiteness (e.g., East Asians) are used as evidence to deny or minimize the effects of racism and discrimination against other racialized people in Canada (Walton & Truong, 2022).

The following excerpt from James's interview illustrates this theme of otherness. In describing his experience, he identified a common sentiment regarding the way racialized people working in the industry are positioned. He recounted how one must be "[…] cool but must look or sound like everybody else. Too often, journalists were told that there is only one way to come across on camera or the radio." While women talked about this too, they talked more about assimilation and trying to fit in in order not to be differentiated from other people, such as men and non-racialized women.

In contrast, the men talked more about how Black and racialized people do not and should not have to fit into a one-size-fits-all box to succeed. Although, at the time of the study, gender was not the focal point, it is clear that there are gender differences in the lived experiences of the participants according to gender. These differences according to gender exist due to patriarchy. Racialized women are already asked to assimilate in their lives, not to threaten the patriarchal order (Becker, 1999). Racialized men are not as aware of this problem because of their proximity to patriarchy. They do not experience it as explicitly in our society.

Additionally, some participants felt that marginalized and racialized people are often put in a position where failure is expected because of their otherness. John, another interviewee, felt like racialized people were required to exceed expectations. Failure to do so was perceived as a professional slight since:

> When they hire a black person, they must be gifted. I believe there's this sentiment as the Black person, you're the chosen one because you're on their team. As the chosen one, they sometimes expect your work to be the best work, and if your work is just good, it's not enough for them.

John's description of expectations as a racialized person is an example of how he is othered in the workplace by being held to a different standard than other coworkers. Megan shared similar feelings during her interview and voiced her concerns about making the team more diverse. For her, increasing the number of Black and racialized people in these teams without acknowledging the reality of working in the industry as a Black or racialized person acted as a double-edged sword since:

> You know, you can change teams by adding racialized people, but if they cannot deliver the production goods that the white people were doing well, they will lose their jobs. Afterwards, they will turn around and say yes, we tried. However, they cannot work at the level we wanted." Solange echoed in this excerpt, "What I am seeing is that they are setting up those people because a lot of them have not made their mark. Nevertheless, you are just putting them in an industry and situation where they will fail. Afterwards, when they fail, they will say, "See, we did it, but they were not as good.

On the other hand, many participants felt, at times, that they did not deserve to be in the workplace or felt alienated when people questioned how they got their jobs. This sentiment emerged in Kelly's interview, who explained how:

> You walk into a room, and people are looking at you because they're questioning how you got there. Once you get the job, it's kind of like everyone else who didn't see your resume and didn't speak to you in the interview is kind of wondering, I wonder how you got this job, so that's how it felt.

James shared the same sentiment as Kelly and mentioned during his interview that sometimes people do not know what to do with him or his skill sets since he does not fit the typical mold seen in Canadian sports media. He recalled saying

> "One of my old bosses, at the time, said to me that he doesn't know what to do with me because I am so unique and have a different look and sound, so you cannot compare me to someone like Elliotte Friedman."

James and Kelly also shared that too many times, those journalists were told that there is only one way to come across on camera or the radio. Although Black and racialized folks' presence in the industry shows that you should not have to look or sound like anybody else to do your job, there is still an apprehension coming from their white colleagues.

In describing these barriers, Giselle identified how her transition from being a freelance writer to becoming a contributor for a national publication reflected many of the experiences of this study's participants. She notes that:

> At the same time as I'm battling systems of racism and the imposter syndrome, I'm questioning if I deserve to be here, but I know what my CV looks like.

The imposter syndrome felt here by Giselle is multifaceted since it speaks to various elements. Although she feels confident about her skill sets, as she mentioned, "I know what my CV looks like," there is still a lack of confidence about whether she deserves to work in Canadian media. This quote from Giselle supports not only the theme of otherness but also the themes of workplace environment and barriers that will be discussed later in this chapter.

Solange revealed that she felt invisible for years in her former place of employment, where she was the only Black person. However, as soon as she started to speak up to start a dialogue about racism, she got labelled a disrupter and was not seen as one of the crew. While Solange described how it felt to be gaslighted when speaking against racism, she recalled her colleagues saying, "She's not one of us anymore. No, she's Black now."

Barriers

Another theme observed in the interviews can be linked to the responses to the following survey question: How do you feel about the barriers you faced in the industry throughout your career? Social barriers refer to differences and inequalities associated with different types of people in society. Barriers can occur because of people's genders, ethnicities, races, religions, or socioeconomic status. These identifiers can become obstacles or hindrances that make it difficult for new people to enter a given industry. Many participants spoke about the reluctance of racialized people to be part of the broadcasting industry for multiple reasons, such as lack of access to academic formation, a network or living far from the centers of specialized industries or big corporations. As Megan explained, “We do not have access to the same education and the same means for internships which is necessary to have access to a specific environment.” She goes on to note that “if you live far away, you do not stay for the happy hour, which creates complications to integrate groups for training and also long-term qualifications.” As mentioned above, Black and racialized people do not have the luxury of bypassing these social rites if they want to advance their careers. This is particularly true for Indigenous people. Indeed, Aya grouped barrier issues into three categories: “accessibility issues, issues of knowledge and issues of insecurity.” Those who refuse participation in these activities might be seen as anti-social or a threat to their colleagues, who can potentially be responsible for providing recommendations for future jobs.

Aya also explained that the relationship with time is really different depending on where you grow up. Certain Indigenous people living in the city, or a more urban setting are more accustomed to a fast-paced life rhythm than Indigenous communities living farther from metropolitan centers. For this reason, those living in urban settings have an advantage compared to someone who does not and needs time to adapt. They might get their training in the city but need to better adjust to the lifestyle and go back into their communities.

Lastly, there is a financial barrier for Black and racialized people. To climb the ladder, participants might need to work as unpaid interns or start as freelancers, which, as Giselle mentioned, fosters financial instability since “it is often impossible to live off of a freelancer’s income.” People often get other part-time jobs to be able to pay bills while creating a strong enough portfolio to be considered for a crucial job. As participants were discussing their relevant past experiences in the broadcasting industry, I noticed that most of them, although satisfied with their career path, had to work for years to be considered for significant positions or to attain a certain level of stability comparable to their white counterparts who might have been offered these positions earlier in their careers.

Skin Tone and Colorism

As Hargrove (2019) wrote in her article *Light Privilege? Skin Tone Stratification in Health among African Americans*, "Skin tone is a status characteristic used in society to evaluate and rank the social position of minorities" (paragraph 1). In contrast, colorism prioritizes light skin over dark skin in different spheres of life, as discussed earlier (see chapter on context and background, pp. 22–25). The way the participants described their skin colour and tone varied throughout the interviews and made for interesting conversations. For instance, while discussing his Blackness and skin tone, John mentioned that his skin tone functions as a reminder that he is always perceived and associated with Blackness as a racial and social category. He said, "I am part of the group where I cannot fake it." Similarly, Louane discussed how she had to reconcile that she was a very palatable Black woman. This was difficult to accept since, to her, she might have been hired because she:

> … checked the box of being Black enough to, you know, get us a higher score on the diversity questionnaire, but not Black enough that people feel they need to have the same attitude towards me that they might have to someone who is visibly 100% Black.

Both participants seem aware that although skin tone means something personal to them, it can also mean something entirely different for those they worked with or for. Due to their skin colour, they can stand out or be noticed in good and bad ways. My participants are aware of the politics of skin tones. As my participants have noted, despite believing in equality or something, the reality is that all skin tones are not seen as of equal value (Hunter, 2007).

As for Megan, she mentioned that she has features that are more associated with whiteness. During our discussion, she said, "My nose or my mouth are not negroid, and then I have a skin tone that is a bit paler." Megan's description touches on the role of skin colour in her daily life at work. It is an example of colourism as it demonstrates how people with lighter skin tones are privileged, though within the limitations of racialization and order in Canada.

As for Lewis, he displayed an awareness that as a dark-skinned man in sports broadcasting, his skin tone and companies wanting to be more diverse could work together to his advantage. The tokenism[7] currently happening in the industry with the need for diversity does not go unnoticed. James voiced his discomfort about his casting being linked to his skin colour, noting that "to an extent, there is a perception that being darker skin means more knowledge in certain sports, which I disagree with." Lewis illustrates that as a racialized person, there is a bias when it comes to the knowledge you can contribute in the workplace due to skin tone.

However, Megan, Zara and John, who all work in Quebec, pointed out the irony, which is that although their skin tone might affect their job opportunities, it feels like there is an unsaid policy in the industry that they do not see colour when it comes to the topic. As John specified, "They know I am Black, but they do not want to go in there. They do not want to have the discussion. They act colorblind, but even then, you have little comments that come out occasionally." Comments such as "You speak English very well" or "You do not sound like Black people have been heard" can be intentional, unintentional, and sometimes even well-meaning.

---

[7] For a reminder of the definition, tokenism, see footnote #1 on page 13.

These comments, which are thinly veiled instances of racism, are examples of microaggressions[8]. However, small comments modify overt racism into a more subtle form of bias.

On the other hand, Zara even specified that it was more the fact of looking very young that hurt her more than being mixed or swarthy. The article "Stigmatization of Women in the Workplace: Sources of Stigma and its Consequences at the Individual, Organizational and Societal Level by Keplinger & Smith (2022) has already started to discuss this tangent regarding power and agency in which there is a stigma in the workplace concerning various factors such as physical appearance, skin tone, and age. It speaks about those intersections of gender and race where looking young as someone who identified as a racialized woman is usually perceived as vulnerable, which would be different for someone who identified as a racialized man.

Workplace

A. Environment

During their interviews, participants were asked to describe the makeup of their sector and/or the diversity in their respective fields. All of them would agree and say the broadcasting industry and, by extension, their place of work, whether it is sports media, radio or television, are highly homogeneous, mainly consisting of white, cis-gendered and male employees.

Most participants noted that younger generations are more open to change in the industry. For this reason, there is a division in their work environment that many participants have mentioned. You see a tension between the two groups, with the old guard who feels like younger people want to take their jobs but with a pool of more diverse workers in the industry. This, in

---

[8] "Simply stated, microaggressions are brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of color because they belong to a racial minority group." (Sue et al, 2007)

turn, has led to a certain resistance to change. From what Megan saw in some discussions with her colleagues, people do not want their jobs taken away by racialized folks because the company lacks certain groups in key positions.

For some interviewees, there is a certain distance with their white coworkers because of their race, identity, and cultural backgrounds. They can make jokes or have conversations with other colleagues of colour that would not pass or might be emotionally draining with white people. Lewis, who works on a podcast with a roster composed of a majority of racialized contributors, said that:

> Since we have Caribbean backgrounds, every now and then, we are going to bust up patois, which would not necessarily happen in other spheres of my life.

With this quote, Lewis demonstrates how it is only sometimes possible for racialized community participants to bring their whole selves into the workplace. Sometimes, they must restrain some aspects of their social and cultural background in the workplace by code-switching, because it might create awkward conversations or tension.

For some participants, even if they do not interact with all of their colleagues, there is a sense of security when they see another racialized person in your workplace. Multiple interviewees identified “the nod” as a gesture which indicated an awareness of the lack of diversity in a workplace and could potentially foster moments of kinship between racialized employees. A nod is an act of recognition accomplished by raising and lowering your head when encountering another racialized person in a public place. Megan says it best when she mentioned that:

> We have all experienced it, in a sense that no matter what you do. For example, you are at university, and you see another Black guy in the hallway, and there is a little yes, I see you. We are not going to talk to each other there. It is just that, yeah; at least we are not alone in this environment.

John observed the same thing in his life. Without that same camaraderie with his colleagues, the workplace is sometimes very isolating, especially as an employee of colour. For John, it went as far as being uncomfortable explaining their weekend or some boring anecdotes because it felt like an exercise meant to explain their Blackness. As John explained:

> Of course, it is different because as much as you were born here, you were raised by people who were not. The truth is that you are going to inherit certain behaviors that others will not understand because they have been here for generations. I think it is not just a choice but more of a cultural barrier. You are born here, and you do not have a Haitian accent, so they do not realize that there is still a certain cultural difference.

Some interviewees also felt that they were living in a particular hybrid lifestyle since they come from immigrant families, which many of their counterparts do not or might not identify as such. As Megan made mentioned,

> At the same time, in the Black community, there are many people for them; they are Haitian first, then they are Quebecers. Today, I am kind of like a hybrid in the sense that I am both Quebecois and of Haitian descent because I could never take away the fact that when I go

> back home, we speak in Creole, and then that there will always be weird smells in my house because of whatever my mom is cooking.

For Rachel, it made her uncomfortable to interact with her colleagues and ask work-related questions as she recalled: “I had no idea what I was doing, and I did not feel comfortable asking questions because I did not want to be looked at or perceived as stupid.”

Many participants also noticed that the hierarchy in their respective workplaces also fostered that gap in their work environment. With lower job positions being reserved for people of colour and higher managerial positions being primarily held by white people, moving up the corporate ladder often left the interviewees feeling disoriented. These career trajectories often meant leaving behind colleagues with whom the interviewees felt comfortable and like they could be their authentic selves in a challenging environment.

Zara, who chose to work exclusively as a freelancer in Quebec, mentioned that most experiences and work environments are similar. However, even though they might not necessarily be as close to their white colleagues, Megan mentioned that racialized employees are not allowed to be distant since they need the validation of their peers to advance in their careers. She mentioned that she found this lack of internal validation difficult because

> […] you are always validated by others and not by yourself. The first thing people ask you is, “How is it working with her? How is it at work? Is she a team player?” It is usually others who will ask if it is fun working with you and not you who will sell yourself. Well,

> yes, you will inevitably sell yourself, but in the hiring phase, we go through others to see how they work, if they are efficient, and if you provide the goods they must have.

B. Discrepancy in job tasks

The participants in this study generally felt a disconnect between what is outlined as their job tasks versus what is expected of them as Black and racialized people. They identified an implicit double standard between what was expected of them versus what was expected of their white colleagues. This theme, which emerged in the interviewees, was reflected in the survey through the following questions: 1) Could you talk to us or describe some of the content you created? 2) What were or are the storylines you work on? and 3) Would you say that the content you work on puts you in a box because of your identity?

Many participants mentioned that being the only racialized person on a team leads to racialized employees becoming their organization's or community's go-to resource person or spokesperson. Participants noted that they were expected to answer certain questions or provide explanations related to their status as a racialized person and the experiences of Black and racialized people at large. As Aya put it, "Obviously, we have the knowledge, but at the same time, I often say, "I do not know the reality of the Algonquins—I am not the spokesperson for everyone." As seen with Aya's statement, the knowledge of being racialized is held in high regard compared to the knowledge of other things, which is often not solicited from white co-workers. Many participants echoed the same sentiment as Aya, which they identified as a form of pressure which took an emotional toll on them. Participants noted that they are often solicited for projects that appeal to diversity or content viewed through the lenses of suffering or trauma, such as documentaries on 9/11 or specials about police brutality.

Additionally, they were often assigned to teams or projects where people of higher rank disregarded the emotional component or the sensitivity and care required to deal with these topics, as mentioned by Zara. She identified a "mental load" that she believed producers were unaware of because "producers and the development team are white." Megan shared that "the communities working on these projects are expected to maintain a certain rhythm, without losing their minds, even if it is a project that affects them deeply," which is not something expected from their white colleagues and reinforces the discrepancy in job tasks in the industry.

C. Career opportunities

As tragic as the murder of George Floyd was for many in the U.S., it sparked a movement that went beyond the nation's borders — inspiring a global reckoning with racism. Black Lives Matter (BLM) paved the way for a younger generation to get more career opportunities or notice in the workplace. In this context, a career opportunity simply refers to any possibilities that move a person toward their professional objectives or a specific job that could serve as a springboard for bigger and better goals, such as an internship opportunity or training program.

Some interviewees said that the reckoning that happened in 2020 helped them to advance professionally. This was the case for Angele and Kelly. For Angele, "At the same time, George Floyd happened, and they couldn't say no to me at this point because I've been knocking on the doorway too many times." On the other hand, for Kelly, it just kind of paved the way for her to actually enter another job. As she said, "Since I had that previous experience and companies were also trying to fill their diversity quota, the phone rang more than not."

Other participants talked about how it was social media that changed the landscape of media and created more job opportunities for Black and racialized individuals. For Megan, this promise and desire to diversify the industry is not new, but the arrival of platforms where users could create and share their own content filled the gap the industry had been failing to attend to. Back in 2008, corporations such as TVA and CBC/Radio-Canada were already organizing diversity-focused hiring days in Quebec. However, as she mentioned, “Nowadays, you have a lot of round tables, podcasts that exist for the Black communities. I think that’s actually a vector that people have found, where they feel freer to express themselves about their personal realities.” This feeling was echoed by Lewis, who mentioned that “more diverse racialized groups are starting to make appearances, either in the podcast sector, in the writing sector or even the editing sector via social media.” Zara noted that this boost led to more programs such as scholarships and internships, allowing underrepresented people to gain experience and have access to teams.

For the participants, it was important that racialized people cultivate these self-made opportunities or carve their own since many of these organizations are known to hire the same people. As mentioned earlier, having a strong network is a pillar of the broadcasting industry. It is how you get recognized and given credentials for more career advancements. However, only providing these opportunities for a select few provides them with notoriety that allows them to continuously thrive in the industry. As Solange mentioned,

> I have noticed that something they do a lot is that they recycle teams. Let’s say one researcher worked for one show during the fall-winter, and then for the summer, they are going to get a contract for that period of time until it is time to go back on the main show. It’s for that, I can see why they are always inviting the same people, and we don’t hear more diverse voices. I think it’s the same thing with those editors in those magazines. They have a small pool of Black writers and stick to it.

On the other hand, Aya and James noted that sometimes the opportunities are there, but institutional barriers, such as lack of workforce, prevent these positions from being filled. This, in turn, can lead companies to lose out on financing and grants that are specifically allocated towards diversifying media industries. Aya described an example where shows cannot be produced without "an Indigenous director, an Indigenous screenwriter and an Indigenous producer" attached to the project. She saw this stipulation as ridiculous since "although that would be ideal, there are still only three Indigenous directors in Quebec." For other participants like Maren, Demi and Zara, a lack of opportunities was negatively mirrored since, for many families of colour, the arts are not perceived as a viable career path. This perception does not help to fight the labor shortage that the industry is currently witnessing. Racialized people tend to go into STEM and other adjacent careers to make their parents proud, as mentioned by Kelly (Davis, 2021). As for Jazmine, her thoughts follow the same line. She mentioned that people do not give themselves permission to be who they truly are because of their cultural identity.

For James, the lack of opportunities in the Western part of Canada is not nearly as significant as those observed in Ontario and Quebec, which deterred them from wanting to work in parts of the country where Black people are already invisibilized. For this reason, many Black and racialized people choose to either move away to have more career opportunities or leave the industry in order to survive.

As Louane put it, "How do I measure how many Black, colleagues I would have in the media industry if it weren't for this ridiculous racist and just archaic practice of deciding who gets a fair chance and who doesn't?"

Chapter Five: Discussion

As stated in earlier chapters, this thesis addresses the following questions: 1) What is the professional experience of Black and racialized people who work in Canadian media? 2) How do they negotiate their racialized identity in the Canadian media industry? As such, this chapter considers the relevance of these questions and what answers might emerge when considering the discussion in the previous chapters. Indeed, this chapter serves as a place to reflect on this project as a whole and on future projects invested in the experiences of Black and racialized people in the media industry.

Focusing on my research questions, RQ1 asked about the experience of Black and racialized people who work in Canadian media. As the 14 participants demonstrated, despite each participant's unique experiences and background, there were numerous recurring themes. Surprisingly, much of what the individuals shared naturally gravitated toward the three key themes, i.e., cultural backgrounds, skin tone and racialization, outlined in this study. Generally, participants expressed that cultural backgrounds, race and skin colour affect these experiences as well as future opportunities, which led some participants to seek new employment outside of broadcasting media. Although the industry gives the illusion of inclusion, they do not give Black and racialized folks the tools, resources and opportunities to succeed. These themes also broadly align with the existing literature on the underrepresentation of Black and racialized people in the media. The interviews showed that entry into the industry is challenging as it is based on one's network and the leveraging of that network for professional advancement. However, for those breaking into the industry, it is not customary to have a well-developed network. Unfortunately, this ends up acting as a barrier and can negatively impact the chances of getting more career opportunities in the long run

(Medford, 2022). These barriers are added to the discrimination and systemic racism they continually experience.

Since the notion of barriers is linked to networks, especially social capital, in this context, we can link the concept of barriers to the theme of otherness brought up by my participants and the idea of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is not just the treatment of the majority group when they engage with minority groups. It describes how folks in my study engage with power structures that have been societally entrenched as predominantly white and possibly how the problem occurs when engaging with other racialized groups. In essence, the context in which multiculturalism is viewed in the project is not homogeneous. Throughout the study, my participants showed me how its imperfections are lived. My participants know that although the industry pretends to be established on the presumption of equality and access, it is not the reality of their lived experiences. As my study participants told me, they were often regarded differently and outside of the norm because of their race, which is the very definition of the concept of racialization as described in the tenets of CRT. They clearly express how they experience differential treatment based on race. Black and racialized people are often excluded from the Canadian collective imagination of what it means to be "Canadian." However, to have an honest conversation about the country's wrongs and what needs to happen moving forward, we must recognize all parties to the conversation as equals.

As they were explaining their experiences, I noticed that although my participants were not using the term multiculturalism explicitly, they were clearly talking about the consequences of the contradictions of Canada's multicultural policy. It made me realize that we, as a society, need to understand how multiculturalism is used as a tool of white supremacy before we can settle the issue of colorism. To help address the silence around the limitations of white supremacy, we as a society need to have honest discussions about the foundational myth surrounding Canada (Midzain-Gobin & Smith, 2020). Its history as a settler colonial nation significantly impacted institutions and structures (i.e., education, politics, culture, justice) that continue influencing the reality and experiences of Black and racialized folks.

Since some Canadians think that multiculturalism is uplifting and exceptional and that Canada stands out as one of the most diverse, peaceful, and world-tolerant societies, they cannot conceptualize that colorism can be an issue. How can people understand and relate to interracial issues if they do not even understand that multiculturalism is not a thing in the way we are being presented because it is a policy in Canada? That is why I was fascinated when they were discussing their experiences related to themes of discrepancy in job tasks and career opportunities. The participants of this study expressed behaviors they thought did not add up or saw unfair treatment compared to their white counterparts. Despite being conscious of the double standard, it remains normalized in the industry.

RQ2 sought to understand how Black and racialized individuals working in Canadian media negotiated their racialized identity in an environment dominated by white people and whiteness. As most of my participants specified while discussing their experiences, the demographics of the broadcasting environment is overwhelmingly white. Historically, the people in decision-making positions or have high-powered broadcasting positions all look a certain way, solidifying this idea of whiteness as a lens. It also allowed me to link this framework to skin colour. The multiple discussions spark a meaningful thread of colorism as an essential conceptual term for my work. As some of my quantitative and qualitative data show, there is a demonstrable need to integrate a new Canadian perspective on colorism in this body of literature because it is currently absent from the social discourse. It pushes further down the level of discrimination based on colorism. After all, we do not have the language to talk about it because we are acting like it does not exist, whereas, in other systems, it is apparent that this is happening. There is a certain reluctance when discussing the country's racial and cultural composition and issues. Until we have a sincere conversation about it, we will not be able to bring the proper terminology for racial issues into the public discourse. Since colorism is a crucial element in explaining the effects of various experiences of racialized people in the industry, there has been much discussion. We must be mindful of colorism while considering racial inclusion to ensure that no one is being held back by it, which is why this concept is relevant. It allowed me to understand another perspective on the experiences of racialized folks working in Canadian media. As voiced by my participants, those in power perpetuate an unfair culture for those who may not understand how the system works or those whose bodies were never part of the conversation in the historical sense of what the system is. It makes it very hard for them to break through and break into the industry, which goes back to the second theme of barriers.

As mentioned by many participants, people with non-white racial identities are placed into boxes that white people are not. They are expected to represent their whole community; they are also treated as though their very existence and presence "solve a problem," whether it does or not. As such, Black and racialized people feel like they are missing the tools or the proper support to feel safe or to be their whole selves in the workplace. The participants described the ways that many Black and racialized folks feel the need to code-switch or have a different persona when amongst different people. In other words, code-switching is a response to knowing that they cannot be their true selves or at least are not comfortable being their true selves because they do not feel comfortable trusting non-racialized people/co-workers. Amber summed it up succinctly when she said that while broadcasting is evolving in diversity, people are not necessarily adapting to these changes adequately. According to her, “It’s a bit of a quote-unquote state of emergency because they’ve got so much to catch up on, so the industry is changing, yes, but the people in it don’t necessarily do.”

Additionally, as noted throughout the analysis chapter, every interviewee spoke passionately about the craft of storytelling and how much they adore their job. These are people who want to be part of the industry and thrive in it. However, those conflicted emotions about frequently being the only racialized person in the room put a stop to their expectations and realities, which made some of their colleagues leave the industry.

Scholars have been writing about this issue of representation for 20 years (Cukier et al., 2011; CNA, 1994; CTRC, 2005; Fleras, 1995; Fleras and Kunz, 2001; Henry, 1999; Miller and Prince, 1994; Pritchard and Sauvageau, 1998; Wilson & Gutiérrez, 1995). However, we see recent studies reporting the same thing (Annenberg Inclusion Initiative, 2020; Canadian Press, 2017; Cukier et al., 2019; Deggans, 2014; Malik and Fatah, 2019; Newman-Bremang, 2020; Nielsen, 2020; Nieman, n.d.; Smith et al., 2021; WMC Reports, 2017). As shown in Malik and Fatah’s study (2019), although the proportion of white Canadians has decreased over the past two decades, the number of white reporters employed by the top three news organizations in Canada has increased. It has not only increased but is not proportionate to the Canadian population. As detailed in an earlier chapter, the problem has been documented, but there has yet to change, and that strengthens the case even more so for my work and its importance (Arce, 2021; Fleras, 1995; Fleras and Kunz, 2001; Henry, 1999; MediaSmarts, 2012; Miller and Prince, 1994; The Canadian Association of Journalists, 2022; Uduehi, 2023). This research project sought to provide further insight into the challenges and lived experiences of Black and racialized media workers in Canada, as well as the barriers that they navigate and the success that they have in their careers despite all of that.

The Experiences Seen Through Critical Race Theory

In the past few years, critical race theory (CRT) has been under attack in various political realms (Maharaj et al., 2022; Ramirez, 2023; Weidner, 2022). Since January 2021, forty-four states in the United States, such as Georgia, Florida, and Mississippi, have proposed legislation or taken other actions that would restrict the teaching of critical race theory or how educators across the country can talk about racism, sexism, and systemic inequality in the classroom (Strout and Wilburn, 2022). Eighteen states have imposed these bans and restrictions either through legislation or other avenues. As for Canada, when the NDP introduced Bill 67 in December of 2021, the Racial Equity in the Education System Act, a bill that would promote the teaching of CRT in Ontario, critics urged people to call their local MPP to vote against this bill. Bill 67 died when the Ontario Legislature was dissolved in May 2022.

Misinformation and fearmongering are a result of the power dynamics and platforms held by certain voices in mainstream media trying to redefine CRT and make people afraid of what it is. It became the perfect culprit for people unwilling to acknowledge a country's racist history and the impact of that history on the present. The current narratives about CRT are a purposeful misunderstanding of the framework by critics who worry that the adoption of CRT incites hatred among racialized people towards white people who are uniformly presented as oppressors who should feel guilty for the actions of their ancestors. Academics, including researchers who created and developed the framework, are perplexed by the broad brush used to describe CRT (Sawchuk, 2023). As it has been reported for decades by multiple scholars, racism can exist without racists (Bonilla-Silva, 2021). However, some people cannot distinguish between their personal identity and the social institutions that surround them; they see themselves as the system. The pursuit of an equitable society is restricted by policies that seek to derail this critical dialogue. In the end, we cannot apply colorblind ideology in a society that is far from colorblind. Whether conscious of it or not, everyone can see it, and Black and racialized people experience it daily, as seen in this thesis. CRT is not the enemy; it is just one tool to explain why there are racial differences and systemic racism in our current society.

When I think about my work and using CRT as my main conceptual framework, I consider it relevant since the theory speaks back to those critics. For the people that I study and the bodies they live in, it is evident what CRT is, and it is crucial to understand everything that they share with me about being media workers in Canada. In the current political context, when there is much fearmongering and hate around the use of CRT or the numerous backlashes about schools teaching the theory, my research resists that misinformation by centering the voices of Black and racialized folks who were never allowed to take space. It is not denigrating white people; it is talking about the system of power and oppression and how different bodies navigate or fail to navigate those systems. That is the importance of CRT as part of my framework.

CRT addresses the problems, including racism, microaggressions, marginality syndrome, and the status of an outsider within (Collins, 1986, 1990, 1998; Robinson & Howard-Hamilton, 2000) that makes me understand my own experience as a Black woman that I will continue to encounter in my life. Although it is not a picture-perfect theory, it is a good starting point to understand the lived experience of marginalized folks.

The Redirection of the Research

Initially, I wanted to explore how colorism impacts the lack of on-screen representation of dark-skinned Black public personalities in the 21st-century Canadian broadcasting landscape.

Although the current thesis's result is close to that original plan, as I did explore the state of racialized representation for television personalities, anchors, and contributors in Canadian media, specifically in broadcasting and digital media, I had to expand the scope.

Some of the vital focal points I thought I needed to highlight were skin tone in association with dialogue to colorism and cultural background. However, as I progressed in conducting the research and collecting the data by having these rich conversations with the Black and racialized folks laboring in this field, I realized that those themes were not the only relevant ones. I noticed that the conversation surrounding colorism is still new for the general population in Canada. In turn, people were more reluctant to be part of such research.

Moreover, as I mentioned earlier in the chapter, even the people I interviewed do not have the language to explain what they are going through. They are aware of the problem and that the treatment they receive is not the same, but the myth of multiculturalism prevents them from actually understanding why they are going through the things they are going through. To be aware of and dedicated to understanding racism, sexism, classism, ableism, heterosexism, and all other oppressive systems that impact each one of us, we need to recognize how power operates. In a system built to support and sustain white supremacy, no one can thrive. Canada's solution to reducing the gap between racialized people is to promote the myth of multiculturalism. However, the dream sold by multiculturalism hides how systems of oppression and systemic racism work under the guise of Canada's attitude towards racialized people as kind, open, and welcoming of diversity. What critically interrogating multiculturalism does is shift our attention to the core of the issue, which is white supremacy and its deployment through multiple systems of oppression. These systems will remain unchallenged if the myth of multiculturalism is not dismantled. If we remember correctly, multiculturalism was designed to reduce the gap between English Canada and

French Canada regarding bilingualism (Jedwab, 2020). So, they are reusing the same technique to reassure the white population that they will keep their places in society despite the increase in racialized people in the public sphere. However, when people talk about systems of oppression to describe their experiences, they are told that they are in a multicultural society, so everything is okay. Multiculturalism is weaponized against racialized people in order to stall complaints and questions about how white supremacy is manifested and operates throughout Canadian society and the Canadian media industry.

For this reason, I tried to understand the gap between racialized people who talk about their experiences versus the academic and societal perspectives. The public discourse in Canada was reinvigorated in 2020 due to what we now call the Summer of Racial Reckoning (Moliere, 2021). However, it did not reflect the demographic and historical reality of Canada[9].

In addition to this, the pool of prospective interviewees was shallow. With this in mind, the scope of the project was expanded to include broadcasting and digital media, such as radio and podcasts in English or French spheres. This ensured that I was able to connect with and interview more people. As a Black Canadian who has noticed patterns in our experiences and representation in the industry, I ended up discussing their career path and work environment. I examined various questions on identity, experience, perception and the broadcasting world more broadly. Ultimately, I did not expect to focus as much on their work environment and the industry they work in.

Limitations of the Survey and for the Interview

Although these networks identified above have the potential for a "naturally occurring snowball effect," I noticed that while my posts were shared across social media (Twitter: eighteen retweets,

---

[9] See discussion of Canada's demographic from the Context and Background chapter.

one quote tweet, fourteen likes; Facebook: nine likes and two shares), people were more reluctant to complete the survey than to do a semi-structured interview. This offers a partial answer as to why the sample size was smaller than initially expected. Since the questions were related to their identity and industry, potential participants might have felt uncomfortable answering questions of this nature. In other words, as much as the possibility of reaching more people is an advantage of the survey methodology, the likelihood that people will self-censor is exacerbated because some are concerned about how others perceive them. In some cases, potential participants might be reluctant to share answers that could be interpreted as prejudiced or racist.

Similarly, there is potential for participants to refuse to answer the survey since they think they are outside the desired demographic, creating a self-exclusion and a final sample size that is not perfectly representative. Based on the aforementioned limitations, I would have promoted the survey more on my social media and digital networks by publishing more reminders and calls to action on various social media platforms. I would have written to more specific people and asked them to share it on their social media platforms, and I would have emailed school alums and various organizations to reach a bigger audience. Lastly, depth issues could arise in surveys as well. Since the questions had to adhere to a standard format, I had to keep the questions very general so that the majority of participants could understand. Due to the general nature of the survey questions, the results may not be as accurate as those obtained through other data collection techniques like interviews that allowed for thoroughly examining the topic under study (DeCarlo, 2018).

On the other hand, a limitation of the interview was the sample size of participants. Only fourteen participants, five of whom spoke French and nine of whom spoke English, were included in the study, making it a relatively small sample size. Since the results of this study only reflect the experiences and viewpoints of the specific participants in this project, they should only be generalized to some extent because a small group cannot represent all similar groups or situations. This is especially important since visible members of marginalized groups are often asked to become spokespeople for entire communities, and it is problematic, in part, because we know that communities, even if they connect individuals based on certain characteristics, are not monolithic entities.

Furthermore, the process does not end after developing an interview guide, selecting a sample, and conducting interviews. Analyzing the qualitative data and writing out what was said in interviews took time, and much of the work was emotionally draining. Seeing and hearing about those social issues' impact on my participants was sometimes challenging. Although satisfied with the results and grateful for the trust I built with my participants, I underestimated the extent that undertaking a project such as this one would have on my mental health when hearing participants' stories throughout the interviews.

Future Research

In future research, I would design questions that would isolate gender very specifically so I would not have to guess or make assumptions based on the data I have. I would ask, "What does it mean to be a Black woman in Canadian media?" I would ask for a follow-up, such as, "Do you have any specific experiences?" to have data that helps categorize and understand the effects of all these thematic elements on the participants. It should alert us that although specific experiences due to race might be similar regarding gender, those experiences might be navigated through a different lens. It speaks to the intersections of gender and race that many of my participants referred to during their interviews. Lastly, if time had allowed, I would have gone to observe people in the workplace to get the contextual dynamics of their environments rather than relying on the workers' ethnography.

Bibliography

Abdel-Nabi, H. (2020, June 23). *The systemic racism of Canadian journalism*. The Sprawl. https://www.sprawlcalgary.com/bipoc-representation-in-local-newsrooms

Adams, M. (2021, October 7). *50 years of multiculturalism: It's as Canadian as maple syrup*. Canadian Geographic. https://canadiangeographic.ca/articles/50-years-of-multiculturalism-its-as-canadian-as-maple-syrup/

Ahmed, N., & Bannerman, S. (2022, June 6). *Online Streaming Act claims to level the playing field … but for whom?* The Conversation. http://theconversation.com/online-streaming-act-claims-to-level-the-playing-field-but-for-whom-179051

Alessi, G., Jacobs, G., & Das, D. K. (2015). *The Ins and Outs of Business and Professional Discourse Research: Reflections on Interacting with the Workplace*. Palgrave Macmillan UK. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ryerson/detail.action?docID=4082428

Alzner, B. (2012, April 4). *Minority report: Taking a closer look at newsroom diversity—J-Source*. https://j-source.ca/minority-report-taking-a-closer-look-at-newsroom-diversity/

Anderson, B.R.O. (1983). *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso Editions and NLB.

Anderson, M. C., & Robertson, C. L. (2014). *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*. University of Manitoba Press. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/york/detail.action?docID=3280029

Anekwe, O. (n.d.). Global Colorism: An Ethical Issue and Challenge in Bioethics. *Voices in Bioethics*, *1*. https://doi.org/10.7916/vib.v1i.6470

Annenberg Inclusion Initiative. (2020, September). Inequality in 1,300 Popular Films: Examining Portrayals of Gender, Race/Ethnicity, LGBTQ & Disability from 2017 to 2019. Retrieved from https://assets.uscannenberg.org/docs/aii-inequality_1300_popular_films_09-08-2020.pdf

Anti-Racism. (n.d.). Alberta Civil Liberties Research Centre. Retrieved May 29, 2023, from https://www.aclrc.com/antiracism

Apentiik, C. R. A., & Parpart, J. L. (2006). Working in different cultures: Issues of race, ethnicity and identity. SAGE Publications. In *Doing Development Research*. SAGE Publications, Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208925

Arce, F. (2021, November 25). "Historic" report slams Canadian newsrooms for overwhelming whiteness. *New Canadian Media*. https://newcanadianmedia.ca/caj-canadian-newsrooms-diversity-survey/

Arce, F. (2023, January 6). Canada's newsrooms don't reflect the country's diversity: Study. *New Canadian Media*. https://newcanadianmedia.ca/canadas-newsrooms-dont-reflect-the-countrys-diversity-study-journalists/

Archibald, M. M., Ambagtsheer, R. C., Casey, M. G., & Lawless, M. (2019). Using Zoom Videoconferencing for Qualitative Data Collection: Perceptions and Experiences of Researchers and Participants. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *18*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919874596

Assel, K., Larissa, N., O, L., N, E., & Gulnar, M. kaliyeva. (2021). IMPACT OF MASS MEDIA ON PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS IN MODERN WORLD. *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology*, *18*(08), Article 08.

Bannerji, H. (2000). *The dark side of the nation essays on multiculturalism, nationalism and gender*. Canadian Scholars' Press.

Barrett, S. R. (1987). *Is God a racist? : The right wing in Canada*. University of Toronto Press.

Banks, T. L. (1999). Colorism: A darker shade of pale. *UcLa L. Rev.*, *47*, 1705.

Becker, M. (1999) "Patriarchy and Inequality: Towards a Substantive Feminism," University of Chicago Legal Forum: Vol. 1999: Iss. 1, Article 3. Available at: http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1999/iss1/3

Beezer, L., Co-Host, C. N. A., Contact, F. |, Kaiser, L., writer, Ctvn. ca, & Contact. (2022, March 1). *"You're isolated": Black representation still lacking in many workplaces, including Canadian media*. Atlantic. https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/you-re-isolated-black-representation-still-lacking-in-many-workplaces-including-canadian-media-1.5801225

Being seen on screen 2021. (2021, December 1). Nielsen. https://www.nielsen.com/insights/2021/being-seen-on-screen/

Bernard, H. R. (2013). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. SAGE.

Bhattacherjee, A. (2012). *Social Science Research: Principles, Methods, and Practices*. Open Textbook Library. https://open.umn.edu/opentextbooks/textbooks/79

Bonilla-Silva, A. W. D., Eduardo (Ed.). (2003). *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203412107

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2021). *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America, Sixth Edition* (Sixth Edition). https://rowman.com/ISBN/9781538151419/Racism-without-Racists-Color-Blind-Racism-and-the-Persistence-of-Racial-Inequality-in-America-Sixth-Edition

Borter, G. (2021, September 22). *Explainer: What "critical race theory" means and why it's igniting debate | Reuters*. Reuters. https://www.reuters.com/legal/government/what-critical-race-theory-means-why-its-igniting-debate-2021-09-21/

Bourke, B. (2014). Positionality: Reflecting on the Research Process—ProQuest. *The Qualitative Report*, *19*(33), 1–9.

Braun, V. (2013). *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners*. SAGE.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Brown, D., Branden, K., & Hall, R. E. (2018). Native American Colorism: From Historical Manifestations to the Current Era. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *62*(14), 2023–2036. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218810751

Burke, M. (2008). Colorism. In W. Darity (Ed.), International encyclopedia of the social sciences (p. 17). New York, NY: Macmillan Library Reference.

Burma, J. H. (1946). The Measurement of Negro "Passing." *American Journal of Sociology*, *52*(1), 18–22. https://doi.org/10.1086/219915

Canada, E. and S. D. (2021, February 23). *List of federally regulated industries and workplaces*. https://www.canada.ca/en/services/jobs/workplace/federally-regulated-industries.html

Canadian Association of Journalists. (2023, March 15). *CAJ launches third annual Canadian Newsroom Diversity Survey*. Cision Canada. https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/caj-launches-third-annual-canadian-newsroom-diversity-survey-892778755.html

Canadian Heritage. (2017, September 26). *Creative Canada Policy Framework*. Government of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/campaigns/creative-canada/framework.html

Canadian Press. (2017, July 16). *Not enough Canadian TV diversity: Report*. IHeartRadio. https://www.iheartradio.ca/cjad/news/not-enough-canadian-tv-diversity-report-1.2855469

Carroll, S. (2014). The Construction and Perpetuation of Whiteness. *Journal of Unschooling and Alternative Learning*, *8*(15), 92–116.

Case, J. (2020, March). *Push for Terminology Change: Middle East*. Arabizi Translations. https://www.arabizitranslations.com/blog/push-for-terminology-change-middle-east

Castañeda, M. (2018). The Power of (Mis)Representation: Why Racial and Ethnic Stereotypes in the Media Matter. *Challenging Inequalities: Readings in Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration*. https://scholarworks.umass.edu/communication_faculty_pubs/60

CBC (Director). (2023, January 23). *It's a Canada thing*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xf_m_kMLSJ0

CBC/Radio-Canada. (n.d.). *Our numbers*. Retrieved April 3, 2023, from https://cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/working-with-us/jobs/diversity-inclusion-cbc-rc/our-numbers

Chakradhar, S. (2021, December 2). Overwhelmingly white but leaning female: See the results of the Canadian Association of Journalists' inaugural diversity survey. *Nieman Lab*. https://www.niemanlab.org/2021/12/overwhelmingly-white-but-leaning-female-see-the-results-of-the-canadian-association-of-journalists-inaugural-diversity-survey/

Charles, C. A. (2014). Skin Bleaching: Internalized Oppression (Self-Hate), Colorism or Miseducation?. *Colorism or Miseducation*.

Cheney-Rice, Z. (2021, June 30). *The Right's New Reason to Panic About "Critical Race Theory" Is Centuries Old*. New York Magazine. https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2021/06/the-white-panic-behind-critical-race-theory.html

Clark, B. (2014). “Walking Up a Down-Escalator”: The Interplay Between Newsroom Norms and Media Coverage of Minority Groups. *InMedia. The French Journal of Media Studies*, *5*, Article 5. https://doi.org/10.4000/inmedia.749

Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2013). *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners*. SAGE Publications, Limited.

Clore, G. L., & Huntsinger, J. R. (2007). How emotions inform judgment and regulate thought. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, *11*(9), 393–399. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2007.08.005

Collins, P. H. (1986). Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought. *Social Problems*, *33*(6), S14–S32. https://doi.org/10.2307/800672

Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (2nd ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203900055

Collins, P. H. (1998). It’s All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation. *Hypatia*, *13*(3), 62–82.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *U. Chi. Legal F.*, *1989*, 139.

Critical Race Theory FAQ. (n.d.). *Legal Defense Fund*. Retrieved September 25, 2023, from https://www.naacpldf.org/critical-race-theory-faq/

Cukier, W., Jackson, S., & Gagnon, S. (2019). The Representation of Women and Racialized Minorities as Expert Sources On-Air in Canadian Public Affairs Television. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, *44*(1), 25–47. https://doi.org/10.22230/cjc.2019v44n1a3321

Cukier, W., Miller, J., Aspevig, K., & Dale, C. (2012). Diversity in Leadership and Media: A Multi-perspective Analysis of the Greater Toronto Area, 2010. *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities, and Nations*, *11*(6), 63–78. https://doi.org/10.18848/1447-9532/CGP/v11i06/39062

Cukier, W., Trenholm, S., Carl, D., & Gekas, G. (2011). Social Entrepreneurship: A Content Analysis. *Journal of Strategic Innovation and Sustainability*, *7*(1), 99–119.

Daftary, K., Krishnam, N. S., & Kundu, R. V. (2023). Uncovering the roots of skin bleaching: Colorism and its detrimental effects. *Journal of Cosmetic Dermatology*, *22*(1), 337–338. https://doi.org/10.1111/jocd.15049

Dalal, F. (2002). *Race, Colour and the Processes of Racialization: New Perspectives from Group Analysis, Psychoanalysis and Sociology*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203768679

Davis, R. J. (n.d.). *The Contribution of African American Parents' STEM Racial Socialization and Support to Adolescent Academic Outcomes*.

DeCarlo, M. (2018). *11.2 Strengths and weaknesses of survey research*. https://pressbooks.pub/scientificinquiryinsocialwork/chapter/11-2-strengths-and-weaknesses-of-survey-research/

(n.d.). *CBC/Radio-Canada reports increased workforce diversity in 2022-25 EDI plan*. Retrieved April 3, 2023, from https://playbackonline.ca/2021/12/14/cbcradio-canada-reports-increased-workforce-diversity-in-2022-25-edi-plan/

Deggans, E. (2014, August 6). Why Aren't Top Films Diverse As The Real World? They Miss Hispanics. *NPR*. https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2014/08/06/338324139/why-arent-top-films-diverse-as-the-real-world-they-miss-hispanics

Delgado, R. (1995). *The Rodrigo chronicles: Conversations about America and race*. University Press.

Delgado, R. (2023). *Critical Race Theory, Fourth Edition: An Introduction.* (1st ed.). New York University Press. https://doi.org/10.18574/nyu/9781479818297.001.0001

Desai, V., & BPotter, R. (2006). *Doing Development Research*. SAGE Publications, Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208925

Desai, V., Potter, R., Apentiik, C. R. A., & Parpart, J. L. (2006). *Working in Different Cultures: Issues of Race, Ethnicity and Identity*. 34–43. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208925.n4

Dhillon, S. (2018, November 4). Journalism While Brown and When to Walk Away. *LEVEL*. https://level.medium.com/journalism-while-brown-and-when-to-walk-away-9333ef61de9a

Dibb, S., Rushmer, A. and Stern, P. (2001) "New survey medium: Collecting marketing data with e-mail and the World Wide Web", Journal of Targeting, Measurement and Analysis for Marketing, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 17–25.

Donaldson, L. (2015, August 12). When the media misrepresents black men, the effects are felt in the real world. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/12/media-misrepresents-black-men-effects-felt-real-world

Driedger, L. (2008). Multicultralism: Bridging ethnicity, culture, religion and race. *Forum on Public Policy: A Journal of the Oxford Round Table*. https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/ps/i.do?p=AONE&sw=w&issn=1556763X&v=2.1&it=r&id=GALE%7CA197721337&sid=googleScholar&linkaccess=abs

Driedger, L., & Halli, S. S. (Eds.). (2000). *Race and racism: Canada's challenge*. Published for Carleton University by McGill-Queen's University Press.

Du Bois, W. E. B., & Alexander, S. L. (2018). The souls of black folk: essays and sketches. UMass Amherst Libraries.

Dunn, K., & Mahtani, M. (2001). Media representations of ethnic minorities. *Progress in Planning*, *55*(3), 163–172.

Dubrovsky, V., Kiesler, S., & Sethna, B. (1991). The equalisation phenomena: Status effects in computer-mediated and face-to-face decision-making groups. *Journal of Human-Computer Interaction*, 13, 133–152.

Durr, M., & Harvey Wingfield, A. M. (2011). Keep your 'N' in check: African American women and the interactive effects of etiquette and emotional labor. Critical Sociology, 37(5), 557–571.

Edwards, O. L. (1973). Skin Color as a Variable in Racial Attitudes of Black Urbanites. *Journal of Black Studies*, *3*(4), 473–483. https://doi.org/10.1177/002193477300300405

Fairclough, N. (1995). Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language. Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2009). NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH. *Language in Society*, *38*(3), 369—. https://doi.org/10.1017/S004740450909054X

Fekri, F. (2016, August 17). Just How White Is The CBC? *CANADALAND*. https://www.canadaland.com/just-white-cbc/

Fenlon, B. (2021, August 24). *How CBC is diving deeper when it comes to newsroom diversity | CBC News*. CBC. https://www.cbc.ca/news/editorsblog/editors-note-diversity-update-1.6150424

Fleras, A. (1995). Please Adjust your Set: Media and Minorities in a Multicultural Society.

Communications in Canadian Society, 4th ed., Toronto: Nelson Canada.

Fleras, A. (2001). *Media and minorities: Representing diversity in a multicultural Canada*. Thompson Educational Pub.

Fleras, A. (2011). *Media Gaze: Representations of Diversities in Canada*. UBC Press. http://ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=434742&site=ehost-live

Forbes, H. D. (2019). *Multiculturalism in Canada: Constructing a Model Multiculture with Multicultural Values*. Springer International Publishing AG. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ryerson/detail.action?docID=5942855

Framke, C. (2015, September 21). *Viola Davis's incredible Emmy speech shows how far Hollywood has to go*. Vox. https://www.vox.com/2015/9/21/9363787/emmys-viola-davis-speech

Fries, C. J., & Gingrich, P. (2010, Spring). A "great" large family: understandings of multiculturalism among newcomers to Canada. *Refuge*, *27*(1), 36+. https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.torontomu.ca/apps/doc/A269028060/CPI?u=rpu_main&sid=bookmark-CPI&xid=2561163b

Gee, G. C., & Hicken, M. T. (2021). Structural Racism: The Rules and Relations of Inequity. Ethnicity & disease, 31 (Suppl 1), 293–300. https://doi.org/10.18865/ed.31.S1.293

Gee, D. (2023, April 20). *Study finds B.C.-shot film and TV productions lack in gender and diversity representation*. Vancouver Sun. https://vancouversun.com/entertainment/television/study-finds-b-c-shot-film-and-tv-productions-lack-in-gender-and-diversity-representation

Gibbon, J. M. (1938). *Canadian mosaic: The making of a northern nation*. McClelland & Stewart.

Gill, P., Stewart, K., Treasure, E., & Chadwick, B. (2008). Methods of data collection in qualitative research: Interviews and focus groups. *British Dental Journal*, *204*, 291–295. https://doi.org/10.1038/bdj.2008.192

Gold, M. (2015, September 20). *Viola Davis's Emmy Speech*. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/live/emmys-2015/viola-daviss-emotional-emmys-acceptance-speech/

Goldsmith, A. H., Hamilton, D., & Darity, W. (2006). Shades of Discrimination: Skin Tone and Wages. *The American Economic Review*, *96*(2), 242–245. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30034650

Government of Canada, C. R. and T. C. (CRTC). (2007, November 1). *Content that Meets the Needs and Interests of Canadians* [Consumer information]. https://crtc.gc.ca/eng/cancon/mandate.htm

Government of Canada, C. R. and T. C. (CRTC). (2014, March 21). *Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission*. https://crtc.gc.ca/eng/home-accueil.htm

Government of Canada, S. C. (2019, February 27). *Diversity of the Black population in Canada: An overview*. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-657-x/89-657-x2019002-eng.htm

Government of Canada, S. C. (2022a, February 9). *Profile table, Census Profile, 2021 Census of Population—Canada [Country]*. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E

Government of Canada, S. C. (2022b, October 26). *The Daily — Immigrants make up the largest share of the population in over 150 years and continue to shape who we are as Canadians*. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/221026/dq221026a-eng.htm

Grant, C. S. (2023, April 11). *Colorism: Understanding Skintone Discrimination*. Verywell Mind. Retrieved from https://www.verywellmind.com/what-is-colorism-5077380

Greene, P. (n.d.). *Teacher Anti-CRT Bills Coast To Coast: A State By State Guide*. Forbes. Retrieved March 19, 2023, from https://www.forbes.com/sites/petergreene/2022/02/16/teacher-anti-crt-bills-coast-to-coast-a-state-by-state-guide/

Griffith, A. (2015, September 22). *Multiculturalism in Canada: Evidence and Anecdote*. Policy Options. https://policyoptions.irpp.org/2015/09/multiculturalism-in-canada-evidence-and-anecdote

Hall, R. E. (1992). Bias Among African-Americans Regarding Skin Color: Implications for Social Work Practice—Ronald E. Hall, 1992. *Social Work Practice. Research on Social Work Practice*, *2*(4). https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/104973159200200404

Hannon, L. (2015). White colorism. *Social Currents*, *2*(1), 3–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/2329496514558628

Hansen, A., & Machin, D. (2018). *Media and Communication Research Methods*. Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ryerson/detail.action?docID=6234736

Haque, E. (2012). *Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada*. University of Toronto Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/9781442686083

Hargrove, T. W. (2019). Light Privilege? Skin Tone Stratification in Health among African Americans. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity (Thousand Oaks, Calif.)*, *5*(3), 370–387. https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649218793670

Hays, M. (2022, January 13). *Canada's "America Problem": We can't address our issues until we get over theirs*. Thestar.com. https://www.thestar.com/opinion/contributors/2022/01/13/canadas-america-problem-we-cant-address-our-issues-until-we-get-over-theirs.html

Henry, F. (1999). *The racialization of crime in Toronto's print media: A research project*. Ryerson Polytechnic University, School of Journalism.

Heritage, C. (2017, September 11). *Broadcasting* [Navigation page—topic page]. https://www.canada.ca/en/services/culture/arts-media/broadcasting.html

Herring, C. (2004). *Skin deep: How race and complexion matter in the "color-blind" era*. University of Illinois Press.

Hill, M. E. (2002). Skin color and the perception of attractiveness among African Americans: Does gender make a difference? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *65*(1), 77.

Homogeneity and Heterogeneity—Canadian Audit and Accountability Foundation. (n.d.). Canadian Audit & Accountability Foundation. Retrieved May 18, 2023, from https://www.caaf-fcar.ca/en/sampling-methodology-concepts-and-context/population-characteristics/homogeneity-and-heterogeneity

Hsieh, H.-F., & Shannon, S. E. (n.d.). *Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis—Hsiu-Fang Hsieh, Sarah E. Shannon, 2005*. Retrieved June 3, 2023, from https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1049732305276687?journalCode=qhra

Hunter, M. L. (1998). Colorstruck: Skin color stratification in the lives of African American women. *Sociological Inquiry*, *68*(4), 517–535.

Hunter, M. (2007). The Persistent Problem of Colorism: Skin Tone, Status, and Inequality—Hunter—2007—Sociology Compass—Wiley Online Library. *Sociology Compass*, *1*, 237–254. https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.torontomu.ca/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2007.00006.x

Hunter, M. L. (2008). Teaching and learning guide for: the persistent problem of colorism: skin tone, status, and inequality. *Sociology Compass*, *2*(1), 366–370.

Hunter, M. L. (2013) b. *Race Gender and the Politics of Skin Tone*. Routledge.

Hussain, M. (2022, May 18). *Beauty and the Bleach: The colonial history of colourism explored in BBC documentary*. The Conversation. http://theconversation.com/beauty-and-the-bleach-the-colonial-history-of-colourism-explored-in-bbc-documentary-181278

Hylton, K. (2012). Talk the talk, walk the walk: Defining Critical Race Theory in research. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *15*(1), 23–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2012.638862

II, J. H. S. (Ed.). (2016). *Rethinking Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315420899

Indra, D. (1981). The Invisible Mosaic: Women, Ethnicity and the Vancouver Press, 1905–1976. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *13*(1), 63–74.

Ioris, A. A. R. (2023). Racism and Indifference in Brazil: Anti-indigenous Text, Action, and Sensibility. *Human Arenas*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42087-022-00321-7

Jamshed, S. (2014). Qualitative research method-interviewing and observation. *Journal of Basic and Clinical Pharmacy*, *5*(4), 87–88. https://doi.org/10.4103/0976-0105.141942

Jablonski, N.G. (2012). *Living color: The biological and social meaning of skin color*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jedwab, J. (Ed.). (2014). *Multiculturalism Question: Debating Identity in 21st Century Canada* (20160314th ed.). McGill-Queen's University Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1bpmbfz

Jedwab, J. (2020). Multiculturalism. In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/multiculturalism

Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, *1*(2), 112—133. https://doi.org/10.1177/1558689806298224

Jung, D. (2021, October 5). *Malgré le rapport de la coroner, Legault ne croit toujours pas au racisme systémique | Le décès de Joyce Echaquan | Radio-Canada.ca*. Radio-Canada; Radio-Canada.ca. https://ici.radio-canada.ca/espaces-autochtones/1829374/legault-systemique-racisme-mort-joyce-echaquan-coroner-reactions

Kang, M., Lessard, D., Heston, L., & Nordmarken, S. (2017). *Social Constructionism*. https://openbooks.library.umass.edu/introwgss/chapter/social-constructionism/

Karim, H. & Sansom, G. (1991). *Ethnicity and the Mass Media: An Annotated Survey of Canadian Materials.* Ottawa: Policy and Research, Multiculturalism Branch, Multiculturalism and Citizenship.

Kelly, J. (1998). *Under the gaze: Learning to be black in white society*. Fernwood.

Keplinger, K., & Smith, A. (2022). Stigmatization of Women in the Workplace: Sources of Stigma and its Consequences at the Individual, Organizational and Societal Level. In M. Latukha (Ed.), *Diversity in Action* (pp. 23–38). Emerald Publishing Limited. https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-80117-226-420221003

Kerr, A. E. (2005). The Paper Bag Principle: Of the Myth and the Motion of Colorism. *The Journal of American Folklore*, *118* (469), 271–289. https://doi.org/10.1353/jaf.2005.0031

King, D. K. (1988). Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology. *Signs*, *14*(1), 42–72.

Khan, T. (2022, July 8). *Canada needs to get on with tackling racism in concrete ways*. Policy Options. https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/july-2022/canada-wrong-on-racism/

Khayambashi, S. (2021, July 6). *Implicit bias within Canadian media often means providing excuses for white accused*. The Conversation. http://theconversation.com/implicit-bias-within-canadian-media-often-means-providing-excuses-for-white-accused-162887

Kolchin, P. (2002). Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America. *Journal of American History*, *89*(1), 154–173. https://doi.org/10.2307/2700788

Korzinski, D. (2023, July 13). *As newsrooms grapple with shifting media landscape, most Canadians oppose government intervention*. Angus Reid Institute. https://angusreid.org/canada-media-consolidation-torstar-postmedia-government-funding-cbc/

Koski, J., Xie, H., & Olson, I. R. (2015). Understanding Social Hierarchies: The Neural and Psychological Foundations of Status Perception. *Social Neuroscience*, *10*(5), 527–550. https://doi.org/10.1080/17470919.2015.1013223

Kosut, M. E. (2012). *Encyclopedia of Gender in Media*. SAGE Publications, Incorporated. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/york/detail.action?docID=996572

Kowalsky, B. M. (2022, September 20). The Dangers and Delusions of Critical Race Theory. *C2C Journal*. https://c2cjournal.ca/2022/09/the-dangers-and-delusions-of-critical-race-theory/

Krippendorff, K. (2019). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. SAGE Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071878781

Kumar, Ranjit. (2014). *Research methodology: A step-by-step guide for beginners* (Fourth edition). SAGE.

Kurz, C. (2021, October 29). *Global Audiences Want Better Representation on Screen.* Paramount Insights. https://insights.paramount.com/post/global-audiences-want-better-representation-on-screen/

Kwak, A. J. (2020, August 21). The Colour of Canadian Media. *The Mcgill International Review*. https://www.mironline.ca/the-colour-of-canadian-media/

Kymlicka, W. (2007). Multicultural Odysseys. *Ethnopolitics*, *6*(4), 585–597. https://doi.org/10.1080/17449050701659789

Kymlicka, W. (2010). The rise and fall of multiculturalism? New debates on inclusion and accommodation in diverse societies. *International Social Science Journal*, *61* (199), 97–112. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2451.2010.01750.x

Laderas, C. (2022, June 1). *Canadian Broadcasters get failing grade on Asian representation*. CityNews Vancouver. https://vancouver.citynews.ca/2022/06/01/canadian-broadcasters-asian-representation-fail

LeDuff, K. M. (2016). Critical Race Theory: Everything Old is New Again. In *The Routledge Companion to Media and Race*. Routledge.

Letzring, T. D., Block, J., & Funder, D. C. (2005). Ego-control and ego-resiliency: Generalization of self-report scales based on personality descriptions from acquaintances, clinicians, and the self. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *39*(4), 395–422. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2004.06.003

Ley, D. (2010). Multiculturalism: A Canadian defence. In *The Multiculturalism Backlash* (1st Edition, pp. 190–206). Routledge. https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780203867549-14/multiculturalism-canadian-defence-david-ley?context=ubx&refId=26a11d7f-d12e-4067-bedf-389d5eea937f

Librarians, H. L. (n.d.). *LibGuides : Qualitative Study Design: Surveys & questionnaires*. Retrieved March 20, 2023, from https://deakin.libguides.com/qualitative-study-designs/surveys

Lindgren, A. (2011). Missing and Misrepresented: Portrayals of Other Ethnic and Racialized Groups in a Greater Toronto Area Ethnocultural Newspaper. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *43*(3), 99–121. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2011.0027

Lindsey, T. B. (2011). Black no more: Skin bleaching and the emergence of new negro womanhood beauty culture. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, *4*(4), 97–112.

Lowrie, P. M., Greenhill, L. M., Subramaniam, M., & Gorczyca, K. (2013). Origin of Coordinates: The Dilemma of Social Constructs. In P. M. Lowrie, L. M. Greenhill, K. C. Davis, & S. F. Amass (Eds.), *Navigating Diversity and Inclusion in Veterinary Medicine* (pp. 41–54). Purdue University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt6wq4j2.8

Maddox, K. B., & Gray, S. A. (2002, February 1). Cognitive representations of Black Americans: Reexploring the role of skin tone. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *28*(2), 250–259.

Maharana, D. K. (2010). In Defence of Indian Perspective of Multiculturalism. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, *71*(1), 69–83.

Maharaj, S., Tuters, S., & Shah, V. (2022, October 20). *Even school boards are now experiencing severe political polarization*. The Conversation. http://theconversation.com/even-school-boards-are-now-experiencing-severe-political-polarization-191102

Mahtani, M. (2001). Representing minorities: Canadian media and minority identities. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *33*(3), 99–133.

Mahtani, M. (2009). The racialized geographies of news consumption and production: Contaminated memories and racialized silences. *GeoJournal*, *74*(3), 257–264. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-008-9217-x

Mahtani, M. (2014). Mixed Metaphors: Positioning “Mixed Race” Identity. In *Situating “Race” and Racisms in Space, Time, and Theory*. McGill-Queen’s University Press. https://books-scholarsportal-info.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/uri/ebooks/ebooks0/gibson_crkn/2009-12-01/4/407600

Malik, A., & Fatah, S. (2019, November 11). *Newsrooms not keeping up with changing demographics, study suggests*. The Conversation. http://theconversation.com/newsrooms-not-keeping-up-with-changing-demographics-study-suggests-125368

McClay, C. (2019, December 13). *Why women are fighting back against hair oppression*. BBC. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-50786370

McCluney, C. L., Durkee, M. I., Smith, R. E., Robotham, K. J., & Lee, S. S.-L. (2021). To be, or not to be … Black: The effects of racial codeswitching on perceived professionalism in the workplace. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *97*, 104199. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2021.104199

McCluney, C. L., Robotham, K., Lee, S., Smith, R., & Durkee, M. (2019, November 15). The Costs of Code-Switching. *Harvard Business Review*. https://hbr.org/2019/11/the-costs-of-codeswitching

McDonald, S. N. (2015, September 21). *“You cannot win an Emmy for roles that are simply not there”: Viola Davis on her historic Emmys win—The Washington Post* [Newspaper]. The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/arts-and-entertainment/wp/2015/09/21/you-cannot-win-an-emmy-for-roles-that-are-simply-not-there-viola-davis-on-her-historic-emmys-win/

McHenry, J., theater, a V. senior writer covering, film, & TV. (2016, December 12). *Viola Davis Didn’t Think Her Famous Emmy Acceptance Speech Was Landing With the Audience*. Vulture. https://www.vulture.com/2016/12/viola-davis-didnt-know-if-her-emmy-speech-was-landing.html

McWhorter, L. (2005). Where do white people come from? : A Foucaultian critique of Whiteness Studies. *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, *31* (5–6), 533–556. https://doi.org/10.1177/0191453705055488

Medford, M. (2022, February 17). Canada’s media industry: “A heartbreaking feeling.” *New Canadian Media*. https://newcanadianmedia.ca/canada-media-industry-heartbreaking-feeling/

MediaSmarts Staff. (2012, March 7). *Racial and Cultural Diversity in The Newsroom*. MediaSmarts. https://mediasmarts.ca/digital-media-literacy/media-issues/diversity-media/visible-minorities/racial-cultural-diversity-newsroom

MediasSmarts Staff. (2012, April 5). *Racial and Cultural Diversity in Entertainment Media*. MediasSmarts. https://mediasmarts.ca/digital-media-literacy/media-issues/diversity-media/visible-minorities/racial-cultural-diversity-entertainment-media

Melo, S. (2018, June 15). Advantages and disadvantages of Google forms. *DataScope*. https://datascope.io/en/blog/advantages-and-disadvantages-of-google-forms/

Merriam, S. B., & Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. Jossey-Bass.

Midzain-Gobin, L., & Smith, H. A. (2020). Debunking the Myth of Canada as a Non-Colonial Power. The American Review of Canadian Studies, 50(4), 479–497.

Miller, J. & K. Prince. (1994) The Imperfect Mirror: Analysis of Minority Pictures and News in *Six Canadian Newspapers*. Toronto: Canadian Daily Newspaper Association.

Miller, J. (2006). Who's Telling The News?: Racial Representation Among News Gatherers in Canada's Daily Newsrooms. *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities, and Nations*, *5*(4), 133–142. https://doi.org/10.18848/1447-9532/CGP/v05i04/39084

Mishra, N. (2015). India and Colorism: The Finer Nuances. *Washington University Global Studies Law Review*, *14*(4), 725–750.

Mishra, S., Devarakonda, B., & Kumar, B. (2015). Transition from cultural diversity to multiculturalism: Perspectives from offshore industry in India. *AI & SOCIETY*, *30*(2), 283–289. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00146-014-0537-8

Mitchell, J. (2022a). Back to race, not beyond race: Multiraciality and racial identity in the United States and Brazil | Comparative Migration Studies | Full Text. *Comparative Migration Studies*, *10*(22). https://comparativemigrationstudies.springeropen.com/articles/10.1186/s40878-022-00294-0

Mitchell, J. (2022b). Spectacles of multiculturalism: Brazilian national identity, FIFA, and hegemonies of whiteness at the 2014 World Cup ceremonies. *Sport in Society*. https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.torontomu.ca/10.1080/17430437.2022.2149929

Mitchell, T. A. (2020). Critical Race Theory (CRT) and colourism: A manifestation of whitewashing in marketing communications?: Journal of Marketing Management: Vol 36, No 13–14. *Journal of Marketing Management*, *36* (13–14), 1366–1389. https://doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2020.1794934

Moliere, A. (2021, January 8). *After 2020's racial reckoning, Black activists urge Canadians to keep conversation going | CBC News*. CBC. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/racial-reckoning-black-vancouver-2021-1.5857921

Nagra, B., & Peng, I. (2013). Has Multiculturalism Really Failed? A Canadian Muslim Perspective. *Religions*, *4*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel4040603

(n.d.). *How the industry is building more diverse crews at all levels*. Retrieved April 3, 2023, from https://playbackonline.ca/2022/09/15/how-the-industry-is-building-more-diverse-film-at-all-levels/

Newman-Bremang, K. (2020, January 30). *Why Is Canadian Television So White?* Refinery29. https://www.refinery29.com/en-ca/canadian-tv-shows-black-media-diversity-problem

Nolen, S. (2015, July 31). Brazil’s colour bind: How one of the world’s most diverse countries is just starting to talk about race. *The Globe and Mail*. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/brazils-colour-bind/article25779474/

Nugent, C. & Regina, T. (2020, December 16). *How Black Brazilians Are Fighting Racial Injustice Today*. Time. https://time.com/5915902/brazil-racism-quilombos/

Oei, T. I., & Zwart, F. M. (1986). The assessment of life events: Self-administered questionnaire versus interview. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, *10*(3), 185–190. https://doi.org/10.1016/0165-0327 (86) 90003-0

People of Colour in Canada (Quick Take). (2021, December 15). *Catalyst*. https://www.catalyst.org/research/people-of-colour-in-canada/

Portillo, S. (2010). How Race, Sex, and Age Frame the Use of Authority by Local Government Officials. *Law & Social Inquiry*, *35*(3), 603–623. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-4469.2010.01197.x

Pritchard, D., & Sauvageau, F. (1998). The journalists and journalisms of Canada. *The Global Journalist: News People around the World*, 373–393.

Pritchard, D., & Stonbely, S. (2007). Racial Profiling in the Newsroom. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly—JOURNALISM MASS COMMUN*, *84*, 231–248. https://doi.org/10.1177/107769900708400203

Quiros, L., & Dawson, B. A. (2013). The Color Paradigm: The Impact of Colorism on the Racial Identity and Identification of Latinas. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, *23*(3), 287–297.

Råheim, M., Magnussen, L. H., Sekse, R. J. T., Lunde, Å., Jacobsen, T., & Blystad, A. (2016). Researcher—researched relationship in qualitative research: Shifts in positions and researcher vulnerability. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-Being*, *11*, 10.3402/qhw.v11.30996. https://doi.org/10.3402/qhw.v11.30996

Ramirez, N. M. (2023, February 1). DeSantis Moves to Ban CRT From Florida's Public Higher Education. *Rolling Stone*. https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/desantis-crt-reforms-ban-florida-higher-education-1234671910/

Ray, V., & Ray, V. (2022). *On Critical Race Theory: Why It Matters and Why You Should Care*. Random House Publishing Group. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ryerson/detail.action?docID=6816482

Redhead, D., & Power, E. A. (2022). Social hierarchies and social networks in humans. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, *377* (1845), 20200440. https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2020.0440

Regehr, N. (2023, February 25). *Opinion | Lack of diversity in Canadian media*. Wellandtribune. Com. https://www.wellandtribune.ca/opinion/contributors/2023/02/25/lack-of-diversity-in-canadian-media.html

Robinson, T. L. (2000). *The convergence of race, ethnicity, and gender: Multiple identities in counseling*. Merrill.

Russell, K., Wilson, M., & Hall, R. E. (1992). *The color complex: The politics of skin color among African Americans*. Anchor.

Sawchuk, S. (2021, May 18). What Is Critical Race Theory, and Why Is It Under Attack? *Education Week*. https://www.edweek.org/leadership/what-is-critical-race-theory-and-why-is-it-under-attack/2021/05

Schoemann, A. M., & Branscombe, N. R. (2011). Looking young for your age: Perceptions of anti-aging actions. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *41*(1), 86–95. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.738

Schwartz, S. (2021, June 11). Map: Where Critical Race Theory Is Under Attack. *Education Week*. https://www.edweek.org/policy-politics/map-where-critical-race-theory-is-under-attack/2021/06

Seale, C. (2004a). *Researching Society and Culture*. SAGE.

Seale, C. (2004b). *Social research methods: A reader*. Routledge.

Shroff, H., Diedrichs, P. C., & Craddock, N. (2018). Skin Color, Cultural Capital, and Beauty Products: An Investigation of the Use of Skin Fairness Products in Mumbai, India. *Frontiers in Public Health*, *5*. https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpubh.2017.00365

Smith, S.L., Pieper, K., Choueiti, M., Yao, K., Case, A., Hernandez, K. & Moore, Z. (2021, February). *Inclusion in Netflix Original U.S. Scripted Series & Films.* Retrieved from https://assets.uscannenberg.org/docs/aii-inclusion-netflix-study.pdf

Smith, J.S. (2011, December 21). *Americans rank mixed race people ahead of blacks socially. The Grio*: An online magazine. Retrived from https://thegrio.com/2011/12/21/americans-rank-mixed-race-people-ahead-of-blacks-socially/

Steckley, J. (2003). *Aboriginal voices and the politics of representation in Canadian introductory sociology textbooks*. Canadian Scholars' Press.

Stout, C., & Wilburn, T. (2022, February 1). *CRT MAP: Critical race theory legislation and schools*. Chalkbeat. https://www.chalkbeat.org/22525983/map-critical-race-theory-legislation-teaching-racism

Story, K. A. (2010). All the Kings Men: The Colonial and Imperial Marketing of Colorism: A Review of Shades of Difference: Why Skin Color Matters. (Ed.) Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009, 299p.

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implica-tions for clinical practice. American Psychologist, 62, 271–286. http://dx.doi.org/ 10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271

Summerfield, P. (2022, August 22). *The role of media in reaching diverse audiences*. https://mediaincanada.com/2022/08/22/the-role-of-media-in-reaching-diverse-audiences/

Syed, K. T., & Hill, A. (2011). Awakening to White Privilege and Power in Canada. *Policy Futures in Education*, *9*(5), 608–615. https://doi.org/10.2304/pfie.2011.9.5.608

Tator, Carol. (1990). *Race relations and the media in Canada*. Tator, Carol. (1990). Unpublished manuscript.

Turley, A., & Hermano, T. (2001, December 15). *"Who Makes the News?"* Nieman Reports. https://niemanreports.org/articles/who-makes-the-news/

TV Statistics. (n.d.). Women and Hollywood. Retrieved June 1, 2023, from https://womenandhollywood.com/resources/statistics/tv-statistics/

Uduehi, P. (2023, January 6). *CAJ survey suggests 8 in 10 newsrooms have no Black, Indigenous journalists on staff*. Thestar.Com. https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/2023/01/06/caj-survey-suggests-8-in-10-newsrooms-have-no-black-indigenous-journalists-on-staff.html

Ungerleider, C. S. (1991). Media, minorities, and misconceptions: The portrayal by and representation of minorities in… *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Etudes Ethniques Au Canada*, *23*(3), 158.

Vijaya, R. M., & Bhullar, N. (2022). Colorism and employment bias in India: An experimental study in stratification economics. *Review of Evolutionary Political Economy*, *3*(3), 599–628. https://doi.org/10.1007/s43253-022-00073-8

Viglione, J., Hannon, L., & DeFina, R. (2011). The impact of light skin on prison time for black female offenders. *The Social Science Journal*, *48*(1), 250–258.

Walker, A. (1983). *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers.

Walton, J., & Truong, M. (2023). A review of the model minority myth: Understanding the social, educational and health impacts. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *46*(3), 391–419. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2022.2121170

Wechsler, S. (2021). *Half of Canadian newsrooms entirely white, says first CAJ survey of race in media—J-Source*. https://j-source.ca/half-of-canadas-newsrooms-entirely-white-says-first-caj-survey-of-race-in-media/

Weidner, J. (2022, June 20). *Public school board trustees vote down call for report on critical race theory lessons*. Therecord.Com. https://www.therecord.com/news/waterloo-region/2022/06/20/waterloo-region-district-school-board-votes-down-call-for-report-on-critical-race-theory-lessons.html

Wernicke, M. (2022). "I'm Trilingual — So What?": Official French/English Bilingualism, Race, and French Language Teachers' Linguistic Identities in Canada. *The Canadian Modern Language Review/La Revue Canadienne Des Langues Vivantes*, *78*(4), 344–362.

Wilder, J. (2010, September). Revisiting "color names and color notions": A contemporary examination of the language and attitudes of skin color among young Black women. *Journal of Black Studies*, *41*(1), 184–206.

Wilson, C. C. (1985). *Minorities and media: Diversity and the end of mass communication*. Sage Publications.

Wilson, C., and Gutierrez, F. (1995) Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media: From Mass to Class Communication. 2nd Edition, Sage Publications, London, 77–78.

Wolf, J. (2020, February 6). *2020 Hollywood Diversity Report: A different story behind the scenes*. UCLA. https://newsroom.ucla.edu/releases/2020-hollywood-diversity-report

Women in the Workforce: Canada (Quick Take). (2020, August 19). *Catalyst*. https://www.catalyst.org/research/women-in-the-workforce-canada/

Women's Media Center. (2017, March 22). *Divided 2017: The Media Gender Gap*. Women's Media Center. https://womensmediacenter.com/reports/divided-2017

Yampolsky, M. A., Amiot, C. E., & de la Sablonnière, R. (2013). Multicultural identity integration and well-being: A qualitative exploration of variations in narrative coherence and multicultural identification. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *4*, 126. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2013.00126

Yu, S.S. (2013). [Review of the book *The Media Gaze: Representations of Diversities in Canada*, by Augie Fleras]. *Canadian Ethnic Studies 45*(1), 276–277. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2013.0014

Zeng, A. (2016, April 6). *Token Effort | [] Review of Journalism: The School of Journalism*. https://rrj.ca/token-effort/