



Racialized Populations in Ajax

Volume 7, Fall 2025

Parastou Saberi, PhD
Community Development Council Durham (CDCD)
© CDCD

458 Fairall Street, Unit 4
Ajax, ON, L1S 1R6

Table of Contents

Land Acknowledgement & Historical Context	1
Labour Acknowledgement	2
Introduction.....	3
Demographics & Diversity in Ajax.....	5
Immigration Status of Ajax’s Racialized Populations	6
Education Levels of Racialized Populations in Ajax.....	10
Employment Reality of Ajax’s Racialized Populations	13
Income Levels of Racialized Populations in Ajax	18
Racialized Poverty in Ajax.....	21
Housing Reality of Racialized Populations in Ajax	24
Conclusion & Recommendations	27
Housing, Settlement, Employment & Social Services in Durham Region.....	29
Housing Services	29
Settlement & Social Services	29
Employment Services	29
Racialized Children & Youth — Afterschool & Community Supports	29
Mental Health Services	30
Bibliography.....	31

Land Acknowledgement & Historical Context

We begin this report by acknowledging that the Town of Ajax in Ontario is situated on the traditional territory of the Mississaugas of Scugog Island First Nation, covered by the Williams Treaties of 1923. For almost ten thousand years before the arrival of European settlers, as archeological records show, these lands were home to Indigenous nations including the Mississaugas, Anishinaabe, Haudenosaunee and Wendat peoples. These communities lived with deep relational ties to the land and water, ties based on care, reciprocity and responsibility.

The history of Town of Ajax and its surroundings includes a series of treaties such as the 1787 Gunshot Treaty, the 1805 Treaty 13 and the Williams Treaties of 1923, which enabled European settlement while undermining Indigenous land rights and governance. These treaties were often marked by coercion, lack of informed consent and the failure of settler governments to honour their obligations. The consequences continue to be felt through the ongoing displacement and disparities of Indigenous peoples and systemic barriers to economic, cultural and territorial self-determination.

As a suburb developed during and after World War II on Indigenous land, Ajax's growth has been shaped by Canadian planning and policies that excluded Indigenous and racialized peoples for much of its early history. While this report focuses on the current realities of racialized populations in Ajax, we affirm that any discussion of equity and inclusion must begin by acknowledging the colonial foundations of the town itself and the ongoing presence and resistance of Indigenous communities.

Ajax has changed dramatically in recent decades. What began as a planned, majority-White wartime and postwar suburb has grown into one of the most racially diverse municipalities in Canada. Immigration policies since the late 1960s have brought newcomers from the Caribbean, South Asia, East Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, many of whom have made Ajax their home.

We offer this Community Lens Report as one small step toward building a fuller understanding of the living conditions and experiences of racialized residents in Ajax today, and the structural forces that continue to shape their opportunities, exclusions and struggles. These conversations about racial equity, justice and inclusion must always take place with full recognition that they unfold on Indigenous lands. We also recognize that Indigenous experiences and histories are distinct from those of racialized populations. A forthcoming report will explore Indigenous realities in Durham Region.

Labour Acknowledgement

We also acknowledge the vital contributions of racialized peoples whose labour has shaped the Town of Ajax from its earliest days to the present. The history of labour and settlement in Ajax and Durham Region cannot be separated from Canada's displacement of Indigenous peoples and the country's broader reliance on enslaved Blacks, indentured workers from Asia, migrant labourers and temporary foreign workers from the global south, whose efforts were often marked by coercion, racial exclusion and systemic inequities.

Ajax itself was founded during the Second World War around a munitions plant where women, immigrants and racialized workers played a central role in Canada's war effort, even as they faced barriers to equal recognition and opportunity. In the postwar decades, racialized workers (particularly Black, South Asian, Chinese, Filipino, Arab, West Asian and Latin American communities) helped sustain Ajax's transformation from a small industrial town into one of Canada's most diverse municipalities.

This report provides a snapshot of the living conditions and experiences of racialized populations in Ajax by presenting a plain language analysis of the latest 2021 Census data. Our labour acknowledgement calls for actively challenging systemic racism, ensuring fair and dignified working conditions for all and building an inclusive Ajax where the contributions of racialized and Indigenous workers are fully recognized and respected.

Introduction

The demographic landscape of Ajax today is inseparable from its longer histories of Indigenous presence, settler-colonial development and more recent patterns of racialized migration, displacement and exclusion. For thousands of years, the lands now known as Ajax were home to Indigenous peoples, including the Mississaugas of Scugog Island First Nation, part of the larger Mississauga and Anishinaabe Nations. These territories formed part of the vast traditional lands covered by the Williams Treaties of 1923, agreements that were marked by coercion, misrepresentation and the ongoing dispossession of Indigenous peoples. The enduring impacts of colonization, land loss and systemic racism continue to shape the realities of Indigenous peoples across Durham Region, including in Ajax.

European settlement in the Ajax area began in the early 19th century, with the expansion of agricultural homesteads and later, small industrial development along Lake Ontario. The area that would become Ajax remained largely rural until 1941, when the Canadian government established a major munitions plant (Defense Industries Limited) as part of Canada's Second World War efforts. It was from this wartime industry that the town derived its name, honouring HMS Ajax, a British warship used in the Battle of the River Plate. Following the war, Ajax developed into a planned suburb, officially incorporated as a town in 1955. Like many postwar suburbs across Ontario, Ajax was designed primarily for White, working- and middle-class families (Harris 2003). For decades, racialized populations¹ faced structural barriers to entering suburban municipalities like Ajax. Discriminatory real-estate practices, racially coded zoning regulations and systemic exclusion from the housing and labour markets ensured that Black, South Asian, Chinese and other racialized groups were largely confined to urban centres such as Toronto, where they often contended with racism, overcrowding and economic marginalization (Teixeira, 2008; Block & Galabuzi, 2011).

The 1967 introduction of Canada's points-based immigration system officially ended race-based restrictions on immigration, facilitating the arrival of skilled immigrants from the Caribbean, South Asia, East Asia, Africa and the Middle East (Li, 2003). Settlement opportunities, however, remained constrained by systemic exclusions. It was only in the 1990s and early 2000s, amidst Toronto's escalating housing crisis and ongoing racial discrimination, that significant numbers of racialized families, particularly Black, South Asian, Filipino, Arab and West Asian communities, began relocating to Ajax and other parts of Durham Region in search of more affordable housing and perceived safety (Teixeira, 2017; Walks, 2013).

This suburban migration has been shaped as much by exclusion as by choice. Research and Census data show that the "suburbanization of racialized poverty" is occurring across the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), with racialized populations increasingly concentrated in suburban municipalities like Ajax that face shortages of affordable housing, public transit and accessible services (Hulchanski 2010; Walks, 2013). Within Ajax, the geographies of racialized settlement reveal both community-driven clustering (near places of worship, cultural businesses and social networks) and the ongoing impacts of systemic housing discrimination, affordability barriers and uneven economic opportunities.

¹ In this report, we use the term "racialized populations" or "racialized groups" instead of the older term "visible minority" to use a more accurate and critical term to refer to non-White populations (excluding Indigenous peoples) in Canada. In 2021, Statistics Canada began using the term "racialized." While the 2021 Census data is still categorized under "visible minority," in the 2021 Census analytical and communications products, Statistics Canada used the terms "racialized populations" and "racialized groups" instead of "visible minority."

Today, Ajax is one of the most racially diverse municipalities in Canada. Between 2016 and 2021, Ajax's overall population grew by 5.8%, while its racialized population increased by 20.7%, nearly four times faster. According to the 2021 Census, 64.6% of Ajax residents identified as racialized, making the town not only the most diverse municipality in Durham Region but one of the few in Canada where racialized groups form the majority. This demographic reality reflects both the aspirations and the structural barriers faced by racialized communities. While Ajax offers relative affordability compared to Toronto, racialized residents continue to encounter systemic inequalities in employment, income and housing, as this report will demonstrate. The rapid demographic transformation of Ajax presents both opportunities and urgent challenges for policymakers, service providers and community organizations committed to building an equitable town.

Community Development Council Durham (CDCD), as the region's primary settlement service providers, recognizes the importance of collecting, analyzing and sharing reliable, disaggregated data to inform equity-focused policy and program responses. This report is the second volume of CDCD's reports on racialized populations in Durham Region that provides a statistically grounded snapshot of the socio-economic and housing conditions of racialized populations in Ajax, based on the latest available Census data from 2021. This report will be followed by similar reports on Oshawa and Pickering. While this report does not claim to offer a comprehensive or qualitative account of the experiences of all racialized residents, it aims to support evidence-informed discussions about equity, inclusion and systemic change in Ajax.

We acknowledge the limitations of relying solely on Census data, particularly in capturing the full diversity, complexity and lived experiences of racialized communities. Nevertheless, this is the first report focused specifically on the situations of racialized populations in Ajax. It is intended as a foundation for ongoing dialogue, community-based research and action to address the persistent structural barriers that shape the lives of racialized residents in Ajax.

Demographics & Diversity in Ajax

Ajax has undergone a profound demographic transformation over recent decades, evolving from a predominantly White suburb into one of the most racially diverse municipalities in Canada. From 2016 to 2021, Ajax's population increased from 119,677 to 126,666, an approximate increase of 5.8%, less than that of Durham Region's (7.9%) in the same period. Over the same five-year period, Ajax's racialized populations increased from 67,540 to 81,560, reflecting a 20.7% increase, four times faster than that of the town's general population. According to the 2021 Census, 64.6% of Ajax residents identified as racialized, making the town not only the most diverse municipality in Durham Region but one of the few places in the country where racialized groups form the majority.

This shift is not merely a demographic fact; it reflects the broader patterns of Canada's immigration policies, global displacement and the ongoing struggles and aspirations of racialized communities seeking safety, opportunity and belonging. The disproportional growth of racialized populations highlights both the attractiveness of Ajax as a settlement destination for newcomers and the role of the town as a site of relatively affordable (if increasingly precarious) housing compared to Toronto. The increasing diversity of Ajax also raises critical questions about how well public institutions, services and local infrastructure have kept pace with these demographic shifts.

Ajax's racialized populations	# of residents	% of the racialized populations
Total Racialized Populations	81,560	
South Asian	33,055	40.5
Black	21,210	26
Filipino	6,670	8.2
Chinese	3,760	4.6
West Asian	3,745	4.6
Arab	2,505	3.1
Latin American	1,695	2.1
Southeast Asian	820	1
Korean	230	0.3
Japanese	245	0.3
Other racialized	3,565	4.4

Table 1: Distribution of different racialized groups in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada Census 2021

As shown in Table 1, among racialized groups in Ajax, the South Asian² community is by far the largest, accounting for 40.5% of all racialized residents and expanding by 32.8% in the five-year period of 2016-2021.

² Statistics Canada uses "South Asian" as one of the racialized groups in compiling census data, the category is also used in monitoring employment equity under the Employment Equity Act. South Asian refers to individuals who identify their ethnic or cultural origins as: East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Bengali, Punjabi, Tamil, Nepali, Goan, Gujarati, Sinhalese, or any other South Asian origin. This classification (along with all other identity classifications) is based on self-identification in the census or National Household Survey (NHS).

The Black³ community is the second largest, making up 26%. Filipino (8.2%), Chinese (4.6%), West Asian⁴ (4.6%), Arab⁵ (3.1%) and Latin American⁶ (2.1%) communities are also significant parts of Ajax's diverse population. It is important to understand that these labels, while standardized for census purposes, contain within them enormous diversity of language, faith, migration histories and lived experiences; differences that are often flattened in public discourses and policy responses. These numbers do not simply describe diversity, rather, they reveal structural patterns tied to migration policy, labour market segmentation, housing affordability and histories of racial exclusion.

Immigration Status of Ajax's Racialized Populations

The growing racial diversity of Ajax is deeply intertwined with Canada's immigration policies, global migration patterns and the systemic inequities that continue to shape settlement experiences for racialized communities in Durham, Ontario and Canada. As shown in Figure 1, in 2021, 55.9% of Ajax's racialized residents were immigrants,⁷ compared to 43.4% of the town's total population, and a minority of 8.3% identified as refugees. The majority of racialized immigrants were first-generation immigrants, while 21.9% were economic immigrants and 18.5% were family sponsored. This aggregate figure masks important differences along racial and gender lines that reflect both historical migration waves and contemporary global crises.

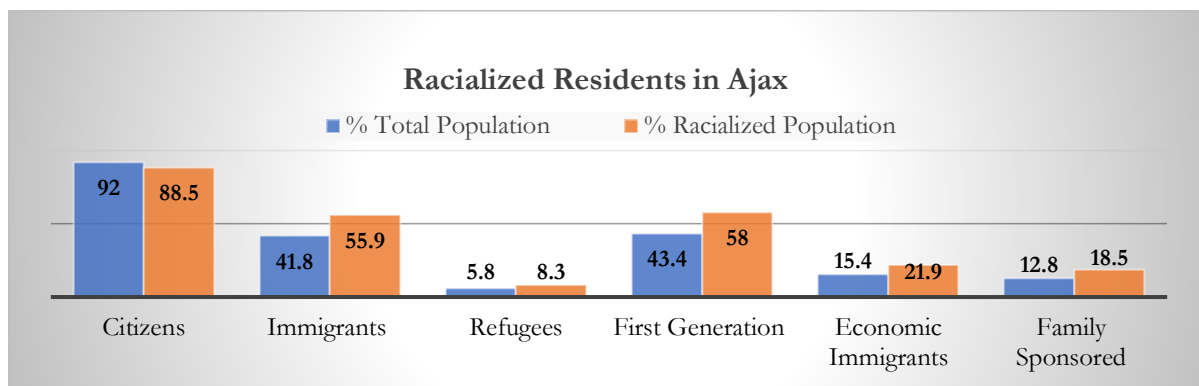


Figure 1: Immigration status & class of racialized and total populations in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

³ Statistics Canada uses "Black" as a social and racial identity, not a nationality or ethnic group. Black refers to persons who identify as having African ancestral origins, including those from: Sub-Saharan Africa; The Caribbean, African American ancestry and central or south America, if they identify as Black. The identification is based on self-reporting.

⁴ Statistics Canada defines "West Asian" as persons who identify their ethnocultural or ancestral origins as being from the region of Southwest Asia (excluding Arab countries). West Asian includes those who self-identify as: Iranian, Afghan, Armenian, Georgian, Kurdish, Azerbaijani, Turkmen and other related groups.

⁵ Statistics Canada defines "Arab" as persons who identify their ethnic or cultural origins as being from Arabic-speaking countries in the Middle East and North Africa. This includes: Lebanese, Syrian, Palestinian, Egyptian, Iraqi, Jordanian, Moroccan, Algerian, Tunisian (and other Arabic-speaking backgrounds).

⁶ Statistics Canada defines "Latin American" as persons who identify with Central or South American origins, or the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, regardless of race, and who do not report being White or of European descent. Latin American includes those non-White people who identify as: Mexican, Colombian, Salvadoran, Chilean, Argentinian, Peruvian, Dominican, Cuban and others from Central and South America.

⁷ We follow Statistics Canada's definition of "immigrant" as "a person who is, or who has ever been, a landed immigrant or permanent resident," meaning they were not born in Canada or did not have Canadian citizenship at birth. This category does not include temporary residents (e.g. international students, temporary foreign workers, visitors), Canadian citizens born abroad to Canadian parents and non-permanent residents (unless they later obtained PR status).

While mainstream narratives often frame Ajax's growing diversity as a sign of multicultural success, the immigration patterns behind these statistics reveal enduring global inequalities and domestic policy choices that have structured who comes to Canada, under what conditions and where they settle. As we will see in the following pages, Ajax's racialized communities are shaped by both opportunity and exclusion, drawn to the area by relative housing affordability, yet often pushed out of central Toronto by escalating housing costs, systemic racism, and precarious employment conditions.

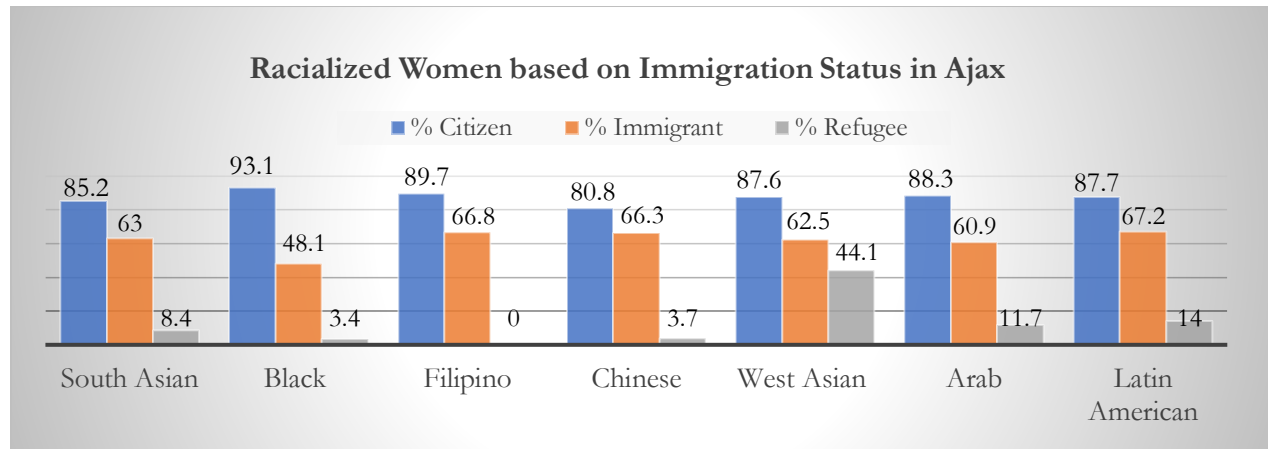


Figure 2: Immigration status of main groups of racialized women in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

As shown in Figure 2, Black women, for example, had the highest rate of Canadian citizenship among all racialized women in Ajax at 93.1%, and less than half (48.1%) identified as immigrants. This reflects a longer history of Black migration to Canada, particularly from the Caribbean, shaped by both targeted labour recruitment programs and the gradual opening of Canada's racist immigration system after the 1960s (James et al., 2010; Henry et al., 2017). The relatively high citizenship rates among Black residents point to their more established presence in Ajax and Canada.

Latin American women, in contrast, had the highest rate of immigrant status at 67.2%, indicating more recent patterns of migration, often shaped by economic instability and political upheaval in Latin America and Canada's evolving family reunification and refugee policies (Broughton & Shields, 2020; El-Assal & Fields, 2018). The higher immigrant status among Latin American women also signals potential barriers to citizenship acquisition, whether due to systemic delays, precarious immigration status, or economic challenges (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Similarly, West Asian women had the highest refugee rate among women in Ajax at 44.1%, reflecting the enduring impacts of war, conflict and displacement in the region, and Canada's role as a destination for refugee resettlement (El-Assal & Fields, 2018).

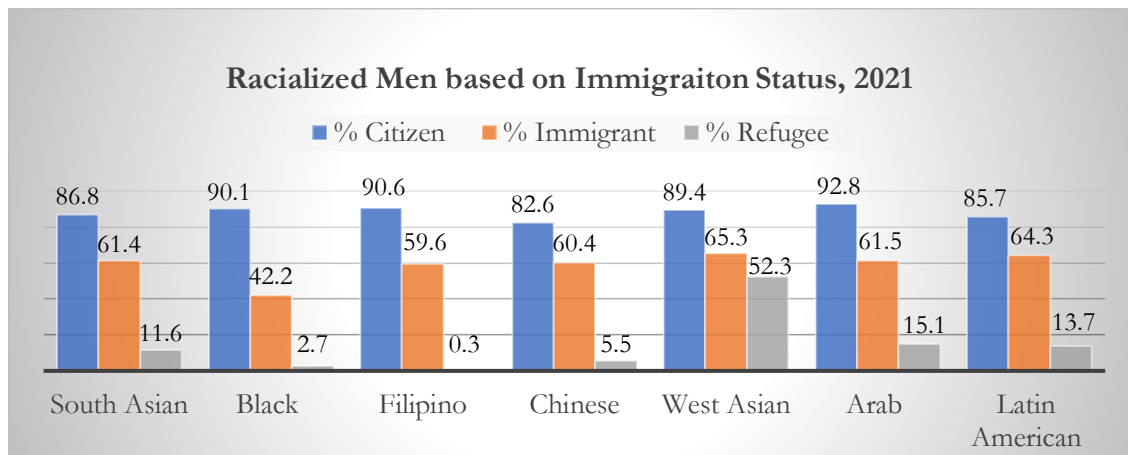


Figure 3: Immigration status of main groups of racialized men in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

Among men, as shown in Figure 3, comparable patterns emerge. Arab men had the highest rate of citizenship at 92.8%, reflecting both longer-term settlement and successful pathways to permanent residency and citizenship. West Asian men had both the highest immigrant status (65.3%) and refugee rate (52.3%), reinforcing the disproportionate burden of forced displacement and precarious status among certain racialized groups.

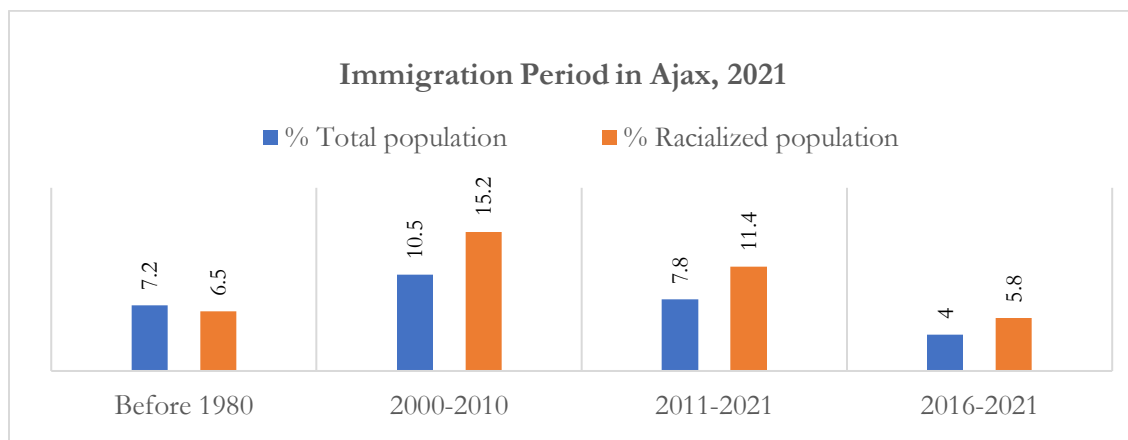


Figure 4: Immigration period of total & racialized populations in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

Figure 4 shows the immigration period and patterns of racialized populations in Ajax. These patterns cannot be understood in isolation from Canada's immigration history. Until the late 1960s, Canada's racist immigration system was explicitly designed to only allow White, European and American immigrants, systematically excluding racialized groups (Li, 2003). The introduction of the 1967 points-based system, which officially removed "race" as a selection criterion, marked a turning point, opening doors to immigrants from the Caribbean, South Asia, East Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

As Figure 5 displays, racialized migration to Ajax and Durham Region specifically accelerated only in recent decades. Prior to 1980, only 6.5% of Ajax's racialized population had immigrated to Canada, with a slightly higher rate among women (3.6%) than men (2.8%). The Black community stands out here: 14% of Black residents in Ajax immigrated before 1980, largely reflecting Caribbean migration patterns of the 1960s and

1970s, driven by programs such as the West Indian Domestic Workers Scheme (James et al., 2010; Henry et al., 2017).

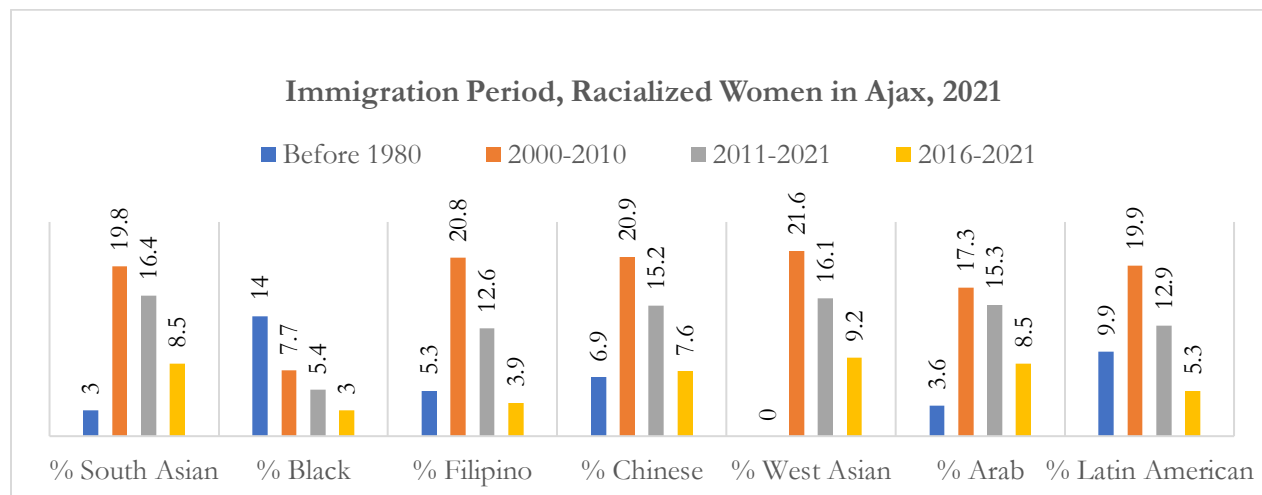


Figure 5: Immigration period of main groups of racialized women in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

The 2000s and 2010s marked a significant period of racialized migration to Ajax, consistent with trends across suburban Greater Toronto and Hamilton Areas (GTHA) municipalities. As housing affordability crises, racial exclusion and rising living costs pushed families out of Toronto, Ajax became a key destination for newcomers seeking relative affordability and homeownership opportunities (Teixeira, 2008; Walks, 2013).

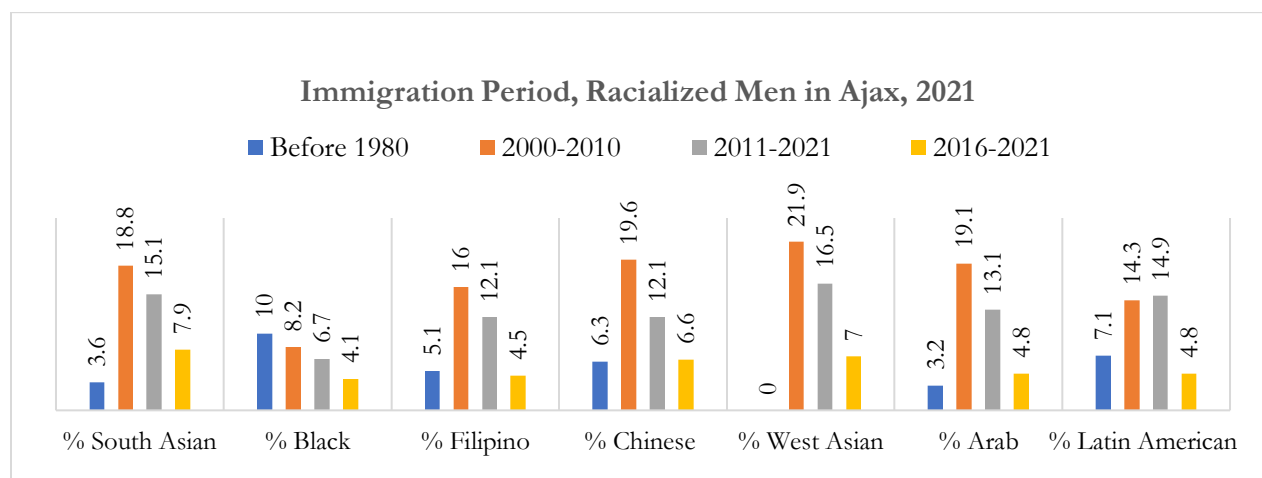


Figure 6: Immigration period of main groups of racialized men in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

Majority of West Asian, Chinese, Filipino, Arab and Latin American populations in Ajax settled during the first two decades of the 21st century, as the town became part of a broader suburban migration corridor for racialized communities. Notably, most groups experienced higher rates of migration in the 2000s than the 2010s, suggesting both the saturation of available affordable housing and the increasing challenges newcomers face in securing housing and stable settlement conditions in the region (Hulchanski 2010; CMHC, 2022).

Education Levels of Racialized Populations in Ajax

The educational profile of Ajax’s racialized populations, as captured in the 2021 Census, reflects a complex and often overlooked reality: high levels of educational attainment coexist with ongoing challenges shaped by systemic barriers, historical patterns of exclusion and the migration pathways that have brought diverse racialized communities to Ajax and Durham Region.

In 2021, 60.1% of Ajax’s racialized residents held a postsecondary credential, slightly higher than the 58% for the town’s total population. Notably, this trend held true for both racialized men and women, and aligns with broader patterns across Durham Region, where racialized populations, particularly immigrants, often arrive with high levels of formal education. Yet, while these numbers suggest educational “success,” they must be understood within the historical and structural context of racialized migration and education in Canada. The strong educational profile of Ajax’s racialized communities is not coincidental. It is deeply shaped by Canada’s immigration policies, particularly the 1967 introduction of the points-based system, which prioritized migrants with higher education and professional training (Li, 2003). In Ajax, this history intersects with patterns of suburban settlement.

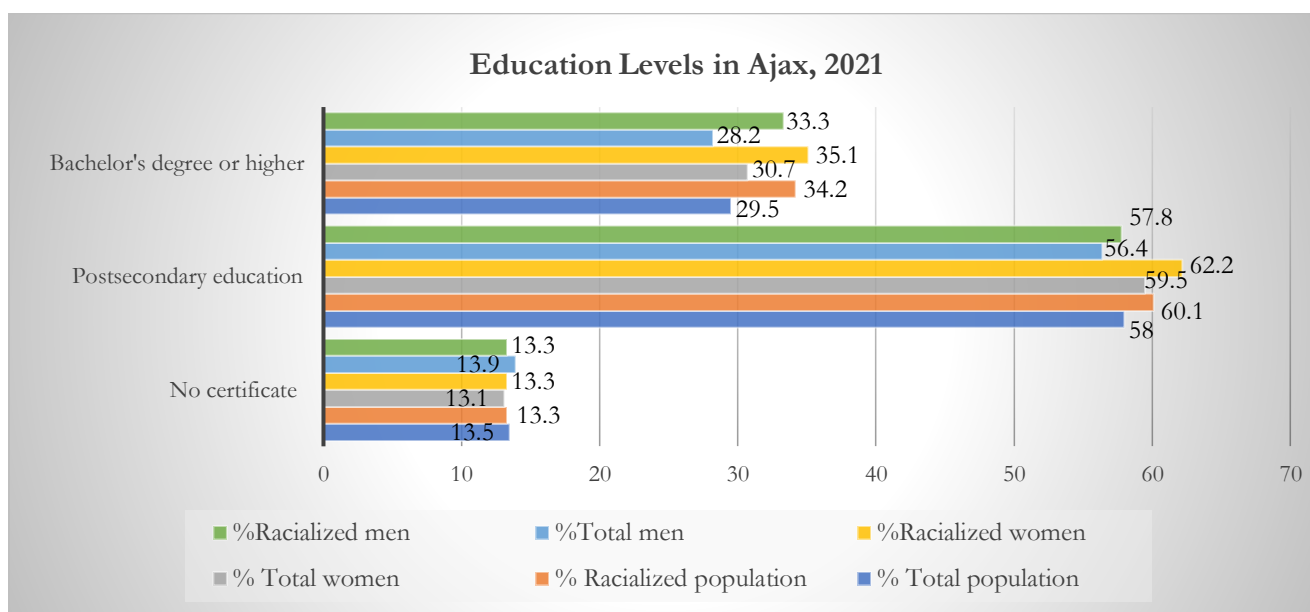


Figure 7: Education levels of racialized & total populations in Ajax, sorted by gender
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

The 2021 Census data reveals significant gendered and racial differences within the educational landscape of Ajax’s racialized populations. As shown in Figure 7, racialized women in Ajax, as a group, demonstrated the highest education levels compared to both the town’s total population and its total female population. This finding reflects broader trends across Canada, where racialized and immigrant women often surpass their male and non-racialized counterparts in educational attainment, despite facing distinct barriers in the labour market (Block & Galabuzi, 2011).

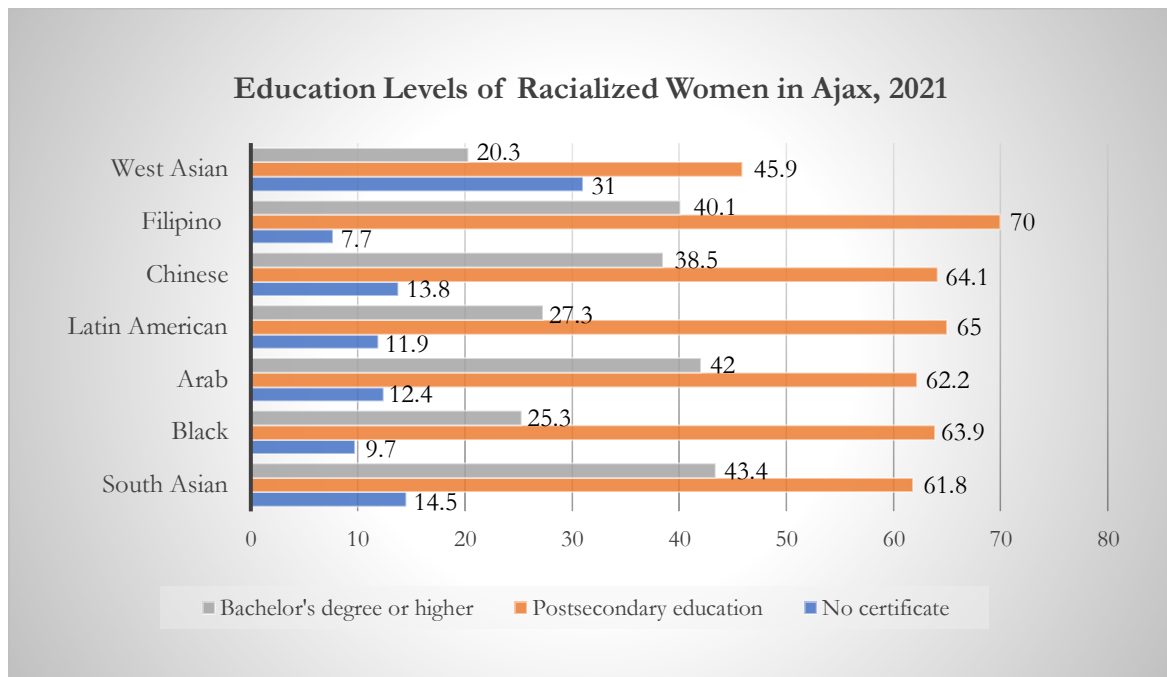


Figure 8: Education levels of the main groups of racialized women in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

Within this group, as demonstrated in Figure 8, Filipino women stood out, with 70% holding postsecondary education (the highest among racialized women in Ajax). This reflects long-standing migration patterns, where highly educated Filipino women have migrated through caregiving, healthcare and skilled worker programs (Kelly & Lusi, 2006). South Asian women had the highest rate of bachelor's degrees or higher, at 43.4%, underscoring both cultural emphasis on education and the impacts of Canada's skilled migration policies. At the same time, West Asian and Black women had the lowest levels of education among racialized women in Ajax in 2021. These patterns can be linked to migration pathways shaped by forced displacement, refugee experiences and systemic barriers to accessing or completing education both pre- and post-migration (Broughton & Shields, 2020; El-Assal & Fields, 2018).

Among racialized men in Ajax, as shown in Figure 9, South Asian men had the highest educational attainment, with 63.2% holding postsecondary qualifications and 45.1% possessing a bachelor's degree or higher. This aligns with broader patterns of skilled economic migration from South Asia (Li, 2003). Filipino men followed closely, with 62.6% having postsecondary education, again reflecting highly skilled migration streams. West Asian and Black men had the lowest education levels among racialized men in Ajax, consistent with the experiences of groups whose migration has been shaped by conflict, forced migration, and systemic barriers to education access (El-Assal & Fields, 2018; Broughton & Shields, 2020).

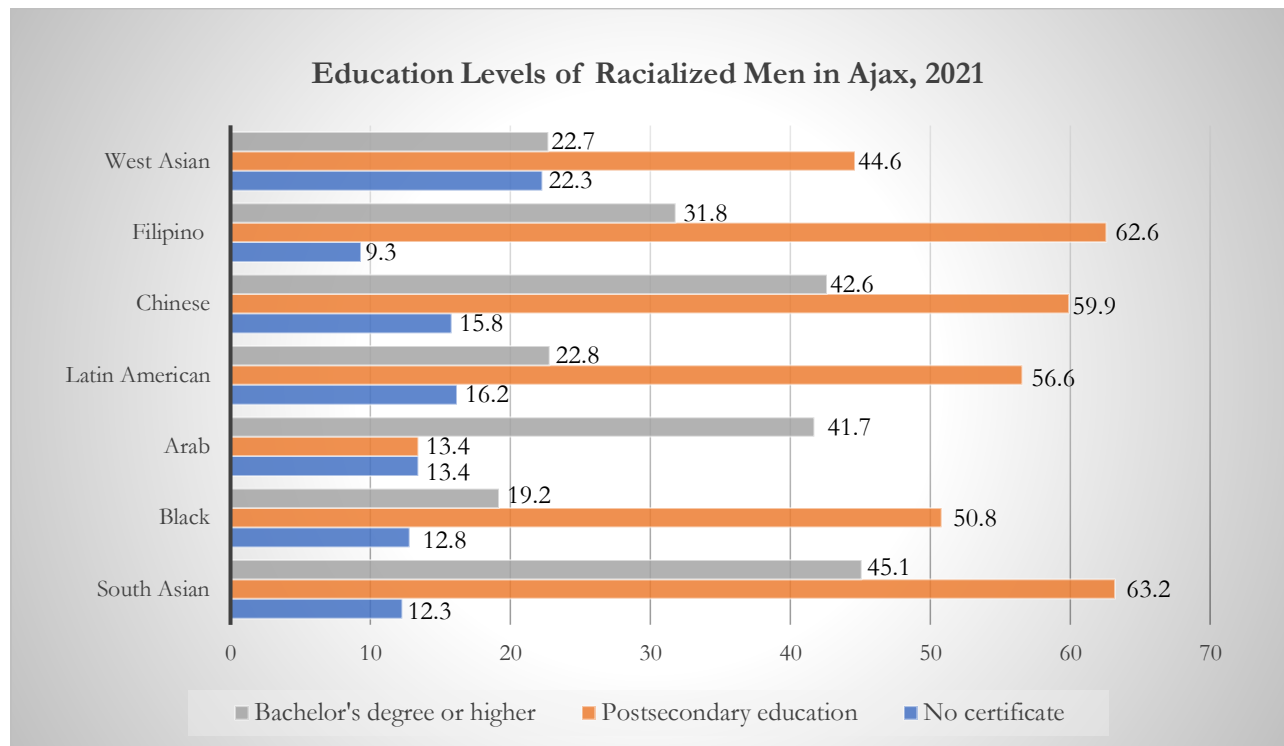


Figure 9: Education levels of the main groups of racialized men in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

These patterns demonstrate that while Ajax’s racialized populations are, on average, highly educated, educational attainment cannot be divorced from broader structures of inequality. Educational disparities among specific groups (such as West Asian and Black residents) highlight how histories of displacement, refugee migration and structural exclusion continue to shape uneven access to education, both before and after arrival in Canada.

Employment Reality of Ajax's Racialized Populations

The 2021 Census data on employment paints a revealing, and in many ways troubling, picture of the structural barriers confronting racialized populations in Ajax. While these communities are highly engaged in the labour market, their experiences demonstrate how educational attainment and workforce participation do not translate into equitable access to stable, well-paid employment, a pattern rooted in systemic racism, gender discrimination and the migration histories that shape who works where and under what conditions.

As shown in Figure 10, in 2021, 59.3% of Ajax's racialized population was employed, a figure slightly higher than the town's overall employment rate of 57.9%. This seemingly positive statistic, however, is accompanied by a higher unemployment rate of 14.2% among racialized residents, compared to 13.4% for the total population. These figures underscore a well-documented national trend: racialized workers, particularly newcomers, are often highly active in the labour market but face disproportionate levels of job insecurity, unemployment and underemployment (Block & Galabuzi, 2011).

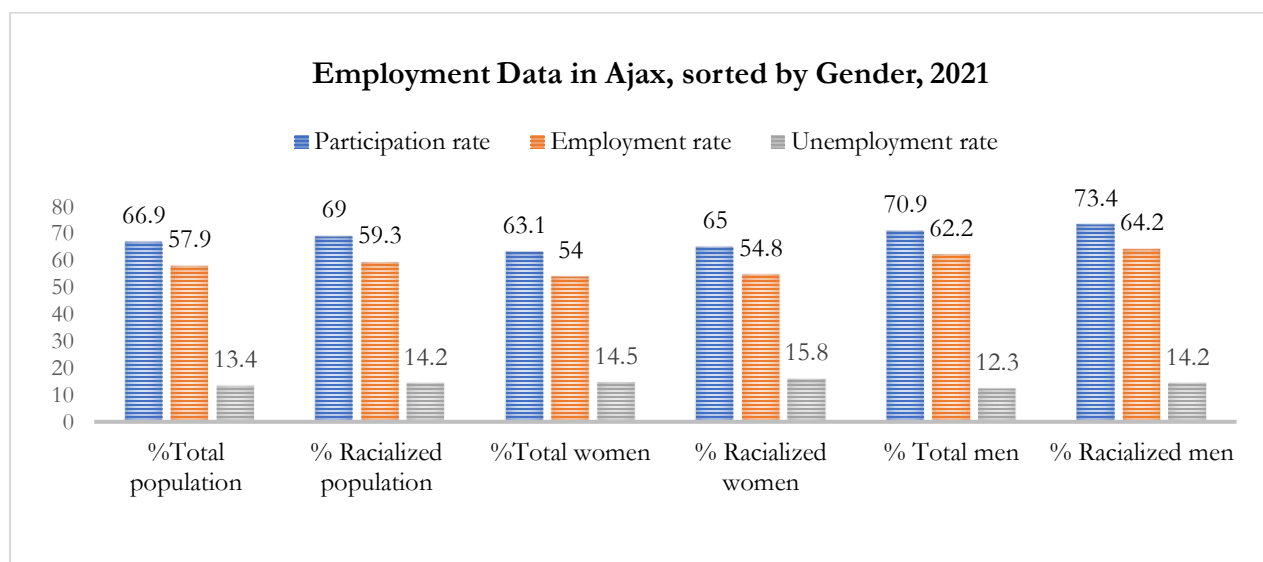


Figure 10: Employment data of racialized & total populations in Ajax, sorted by gender
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

This reality reflects broader structural dynamics in Canada's urban regions, where racialized populations are overrepresented in precarious, low-wage and part-time work; often the only employment available due to systemic barriers like non-recognition of foreign credentials, racial discrimination and the deskilling of immigrant labour (Kelly & Lusi, 2006; Teixeira, 2019). The employment data, as Figure 10 demonstrate, further reveals deep gender disparities in employment within Ajax's racialized communities. Racialized women had a lower employment rate (54.8%) and a higher unemployment rate (15.8%) than racialized men (64.2% employment and 14.2% unemployment). Given the fact that racialized women were the most educated group in the town, this gap reflects how intersecting systems of gender and racial inequality constrain the labour market opportunities available to racialized women, a trend well documented across Canada (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Henry et al., 2017).

It is important to pay attention that racialized women are not a homogenous group. The data, as shown in Figure 11, highlights significant variations among different groups of racialized women. For example, Filipino women had the highest labour force participation (73.2%) and employment rates (64.3%) among racialized women in Ajax. This aligns with national patterns of highly feminized labour migration from the Philippines, often tied to caregiving and health care sectors, where demand remains high but working conditions are frequently precarious (Kelly & Lusi, 2006). Black women followed, with a participation rate of 68.4% and employment rate of 59.2%, reflecting their longstanding presence in Ajax and Durham, but also the ongoing barriers to stable, well-paid employment faced by Black communities (James et al., 2010).

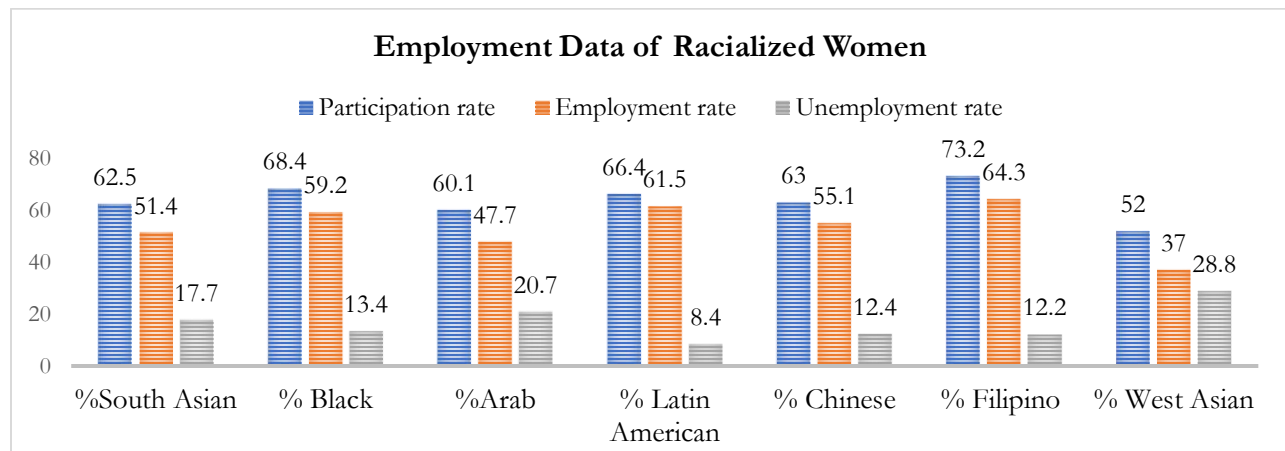


Figure 11: Employment data of main groups of racialized women in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

In stark contrast, West Asian women had the lowest employment rate (37%) and the highest unemployment rate (28.8%) among racialized women. These figures mirror the experiences of many West Asian newcomers (particularly refugees) who face compounded challenges including disrupted education, language barriers and systemic discrimination (El-Assal & Fields, 2018). Arab women similarly experienced high unemployment (20.7%) and lower employment (47.7%) rates, reflecting both the impacts of forced migration and broader labour market exclusion.

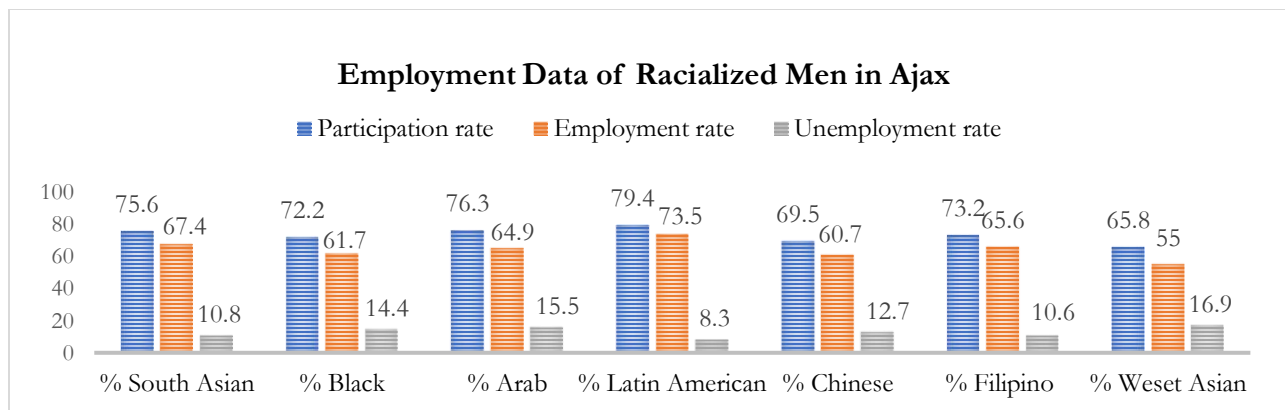


Figure 12: Employment data of main groups of racialized men in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

Among racialized men in Ajax, patterns of employment reveal an uneven picture, showing both success stories and persistent inequalities. Latin American men, as shown in Figure 12, had the highest employment rate (73.5%) and the lowest unemployment rate (8.3%), suggesting relative success in securing work. However, as other research indicates, Latin American men are often concentrated in physically demanding, lower-wage sectors like construction, which carry their own risks (Shields et al., 2019). South Asian men also reported high employment (67.4%) and lower unemployment (10.8%) rates, a reflection of both Canada's economic immigration policies and the barriers they still face to securing employment that matches their qualifications (Li, 2003). At the other end of the spectrum, West Asian and Arab men experienced the highest unemployment rates (16.9% and 15.5%, respectively), followed by Black men (14.4%), underscoring the ongoing racial exclusion faced by these groups in accessing stable employment opportunities.

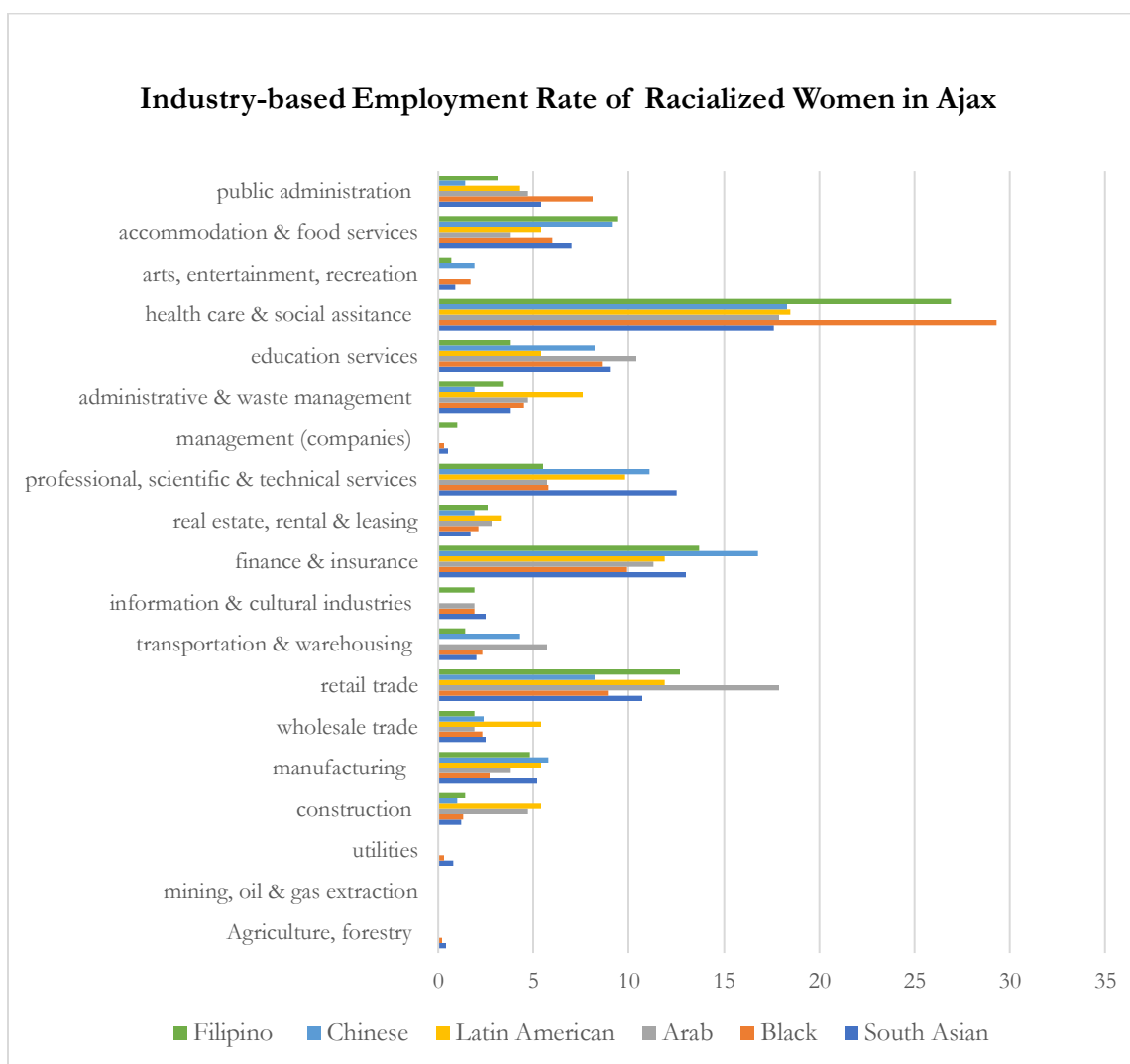


Figure 13: Industry-based employment data of main groups of racialized women in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

The data on industry-based employment in Ajax further reflects historical migration patterns, gendered labour market segmentation and systemic barriers. As shown in Figure 13, the top four industries employing racialized women in Ajax in 2021 were:

1. Healthcare and Social Assistance (22.1%)
2. Finance and Insurance (12.1%)
3. Retail Trade (10.7%)
4. Professional, Scientific and Technical Services (8.9%)

These figures align with both national trends and the feminization of care and service sectors within racialized migration pathways (Kelly & Lusi, 2006). Notably, Black women were heavily concentrated in health care and social assistance, with over 29.3% working in this sector, consistent with their historical and ongoing roles in health care and caregiving in Ontario and Canada (James et al., 2010). Arab women had the highest employment rate in retail trade (17.9%) and education services (10.4%), sectors often marked by part-time work and lower wages, especially for racialized women (Block & Galabuzi, 2011).



Figure 14: Employment data of main groups of racialized men in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

As shown in Figure 14, for racialized men, the top industries were:

1. Professional, Scientific and Technical Services (11.5%)
2. Retail Trade (11%)

3. Transportation and Warehousing (10.7%)

4. Manufacturing (9.5%)

South Asian men, for example, had the highest employment in professional, scientific, and technical services (14.5%) and finance and insurance (11.9%), reflecting their representation among skilled immigrants in the region. Black men were overrepresented in transportation and warehousing (13.1%), consistent with broader patterns of labour market segmentation for Black workers (Henry et al., 2017). Arab men had the highest employment rate in retail trade (14.7%), a sector often associated with precarious work for newcomers. Filipino men were most concentrated in manufacturing (15.5%), reflecting both skilled and semi-skilled employment pathways. Latin American men had the highest employment rate in construction (22.4%), a physically demanding sector with elevated injury risks and job insecurity.

These patterns of employment are rooted in both Canada's historical immigration policies and the specific dynamics of suburban settlement in places like Ajax. As outlined in previous sections, the majority of Ajax's racialized populations arrived in the town as part of broader suburban migration patterns in the 2000s and 2010s, often driven by housing affordability crises and racial exclusion in Toronto (Teixeira, 2017; Walks, 2013). For many, despite high levels of education, accessing stable, well-paid employment has been shaped by systemic barriers including credential devaluation, racial discrimination and the overrepresentation of racialized workers in precarious, low-wage sectors (Block & Galabuzi, 2011).

Income Levels of Racialized Populations in Ajax

The 2021 Census income data for Ajax offers a sobering reminder that despite the growing educational achievements and labour market participation of racialized populations in Ajax, systemic barriers continue to produce deep economic inequalities along both racial and gender lines. These income gaps are not isolated statistical anomalies but the direct outcome of historical exclusion, discriminatory labour market structures and migration patterns that have shaped the lived realities of racialized communities in Ajax and beyond.

As shown in Figure 15, in 2020, both the median and average incomes of racialized residents in Ajax were significantly lower than those of the town's total population. This mirrors national trends, where racialized groups, particularly those who arrived as immigrants, often face persistent wage gaps even when they possess higher education and qualifications than the broader population (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). The data is particularly stark for racialized women, whose economic realities reflect the compounded impact of both racial and gender discrimination in Canada's labour market.

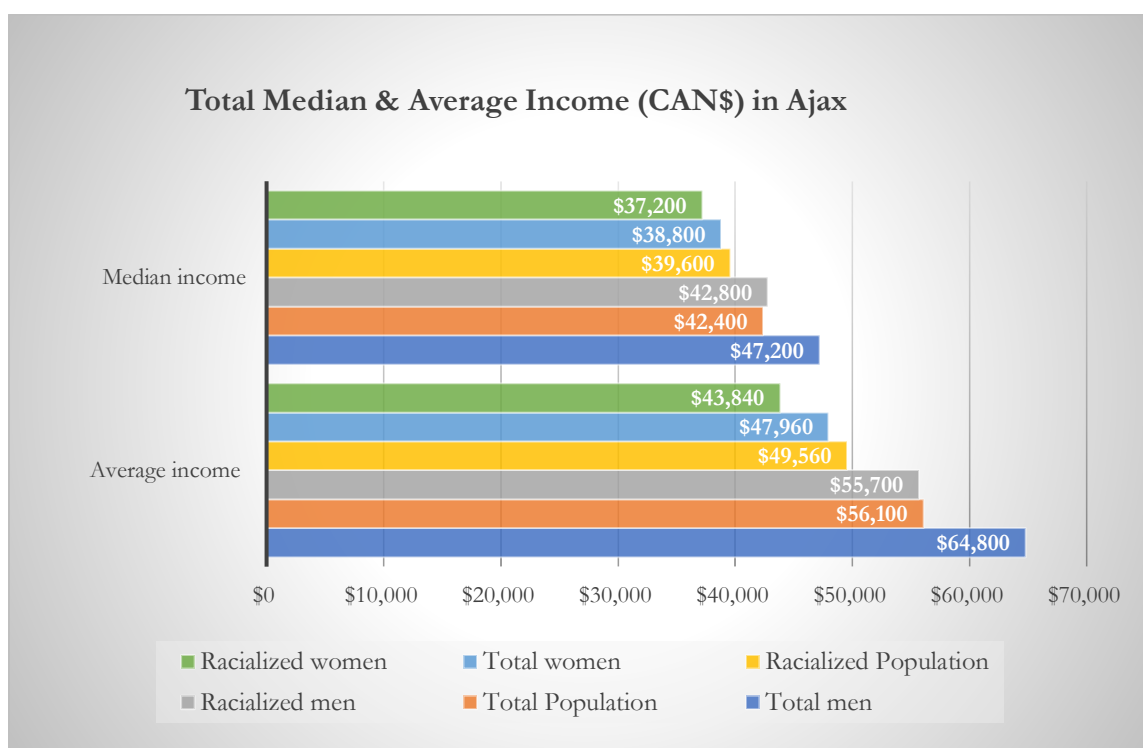


Figure 15: 2020 Total median & average income (CAN\$) of racialized & total populations in Ajax, sorted by gender
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

The gender income gap within Ajax's racialized communities, as shown in Figure 15, is striking. The median income of racialized women was just under 90% of that of racialized men, while their average income was even lower, amounting to only 78.7% of that of their male counterparts. These gaps tell a familiar story, one wherein racialized women face systemic devaluation of their labour, concentrated in lower-wage sectors, part-time work and precarious forms of employment, regardless of their education or professional experience (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Henry et al., 2017).

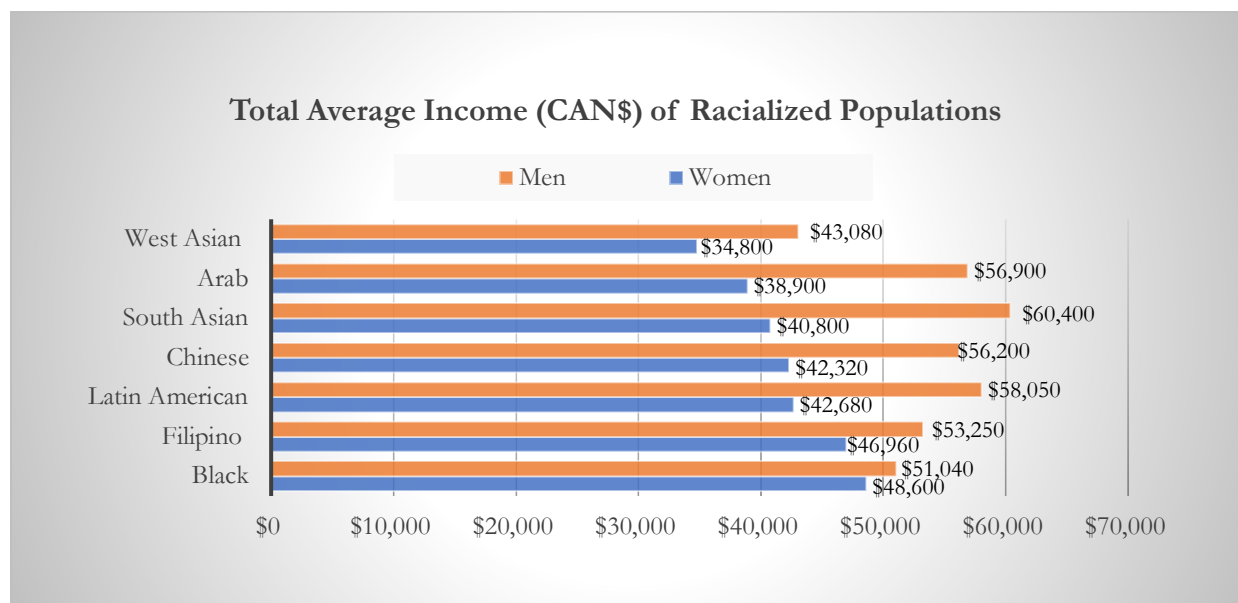


Figure 16: 2020 Total average income (CAN\$) of main groups of racialized populations in Ajax, sorted by gender
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

Across all groups, as demonstrated in Figures 16 and 17, West Asian and Arab communities reported the lowest overall incomes in Ajax. This reflects the intersection of racial discrimination, migration pathways shaped by forced displacement and refugee experiences, as well as the systemic barriers newcomers face in accessing stable, well-paid work. As research has shown, racialized refugees and recent immigrants often face the highest rates of poverty and economic insecurity in Canada, regardless of their skills or qualifications (El-Assal & Fields, 2018).

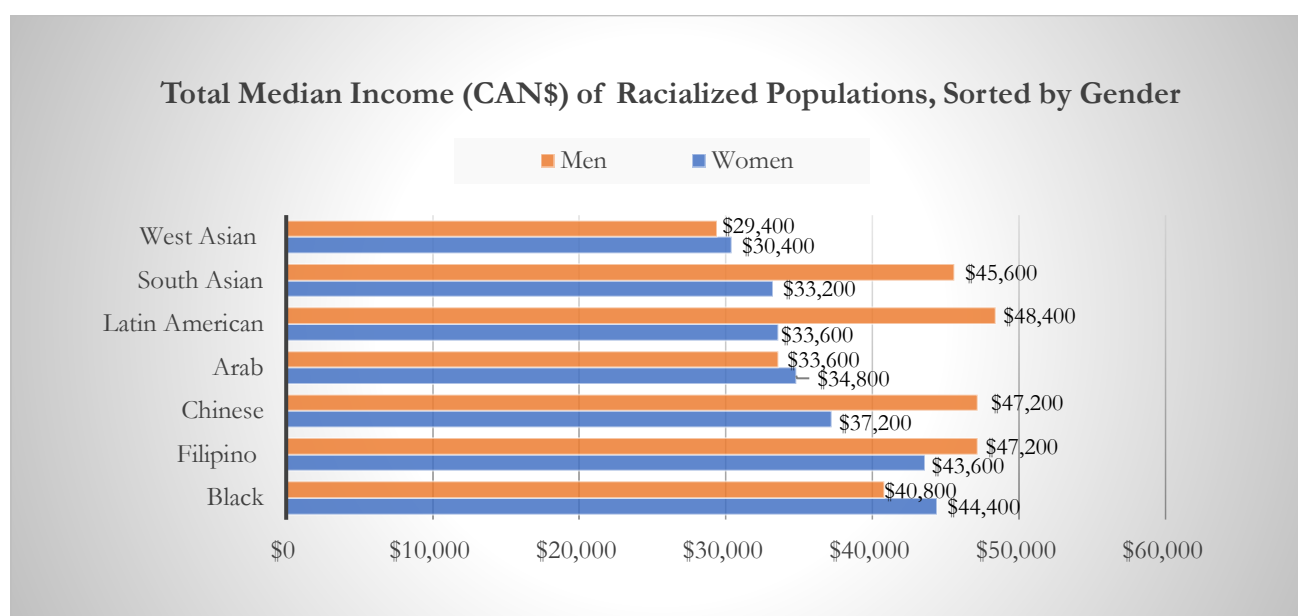


Figure 17: 2020 Total median income (CAN\$) of main groups of racialized populations in Ajax, sorted by gender
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

At the same time, communities such as South Asian, Latin American and Chinese residents, while often portrayed as economically successful, exhibited some of the widest gender disparities in income. This reveals how even within groups that may demonstrate higher educational attainment or labour market participation, women remain structurally disadvantaged; a reality that reflects the gendered nature of Canada's racial wage gap (Block & Galabuzi, 2011).

These income disparities are inseparable from the broader social and economic structures of Ajax and Durham Region. Despite these diverse migration pathways, racialized residents of Ajax, and particularly racialized women, continue to experience lower incomes, even when they possess higher levels of education and are highly engaged in the labour market. These realities point to the enduring operation of systemic racism and gender inequality within Canada's labour market and economic systems, where formal credentials and workforce participation alone do not guarantee economic security for racialized communities.

Racialized Poverty in Ajax

The 2021 Census data reveals that poverty in Ajax is shaped not only by economic factors but by deep-rooted patterns of racial and gender inequality that have defined the migration, labour market participation and living conditions of racialized populations in the town. While Ajax presents itself as an increasingly diverse and prosperous community, beneath these surface-level indicators lie structural disparities that continue to confine racialized groups, particularly women, newcomers and those arriving through forced migration pathways, to conditions of poverty and economic insecurity.

As shown in Figure 18, in 2021, 5.6% of racialized residents in Ajax lived in poverty,⁸ a figure slightly higher than the 5.4% poverty rate for the town’s total population. At first glance, these numbers may appear marginal. However, when viewed alongside the persistent income gaps, employment disparities and systemic barriers to economic advancement faced by racialized populations, it becomes clear that poverty among racialized groups in Ajax is not simply an issue of individual circumstance but the result of intersecting structural inequalities.

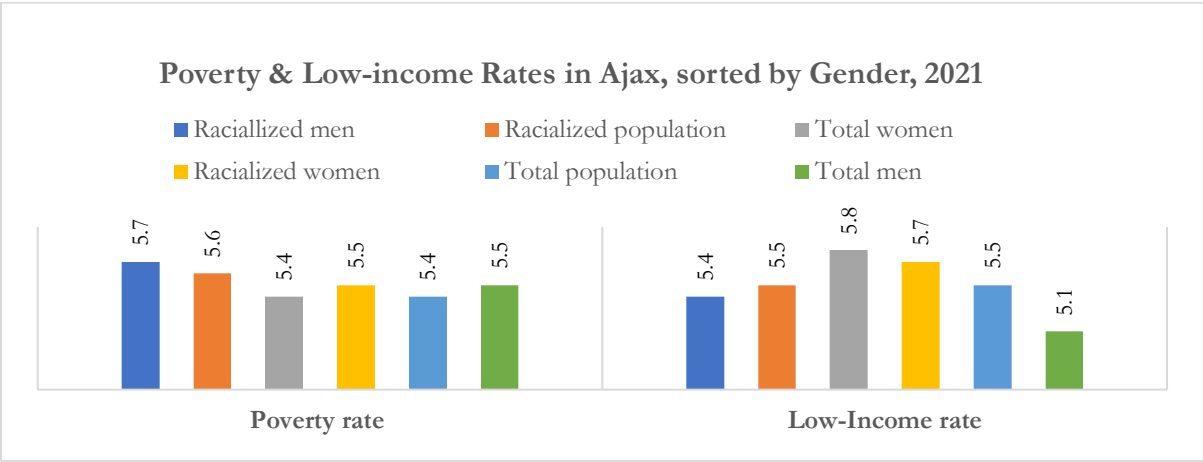


Figure 18: Poverty & low-income rates of total and racialized populations in Ajax, sorted by gender
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

The gender dimensions of poverty are especially revealing, as Figure 18 demonstrates. Racialized men in Ajax reported the highest poverty rate at 5.7%, while racialized women experienced the highest rate of living in or near poverty, with 5.5% living below the poverty line and 5.7% identifying as low-income. These figures reflect a familiar pattern seen across Canada, where racialized women face the double burden of racial and gender-based economic marginalization, often working in lower-wage, precarious jobs that leave them vulnerable to poverty despite their participation in the labour market (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Henry et al., 2017).

⁸ Census Canada defines poverty using the Market Basket Measure (MBM), Canada’s Official Poverty Line, which reflects the cost of a modest, basic standard of living. Low-income rates are measured using thresholds such as the Low-Income Cut-Off (LICO) and Low-Income Measure (LIM), which identify households whose income is significantly below the average and who are therefore more likely to experience financial strain.

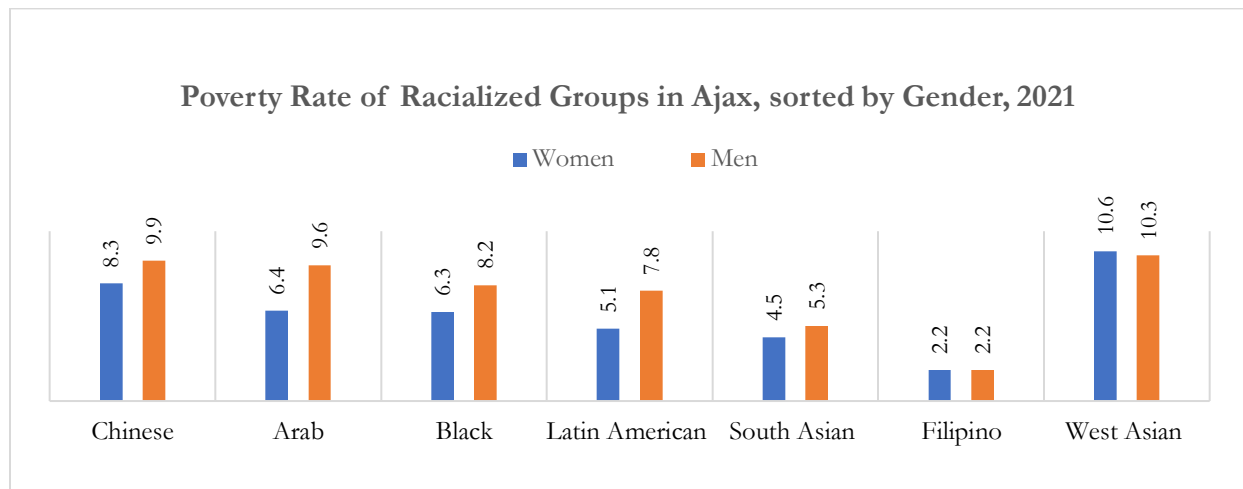


Figure 19: Poverty rate of main groups of racialized populations in Ajax, sorted by gender
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

The picture is more complicated once we look at different racialized groups. Figure 19 highlights significant variations in poverty rates across different racialized communities, underscoring the importance of understanding how migration histories, pathways to settlement and labour market exclusion shape economic outcomes. For example, West Asian residents experienced the highest poverty rates in Ajax, with 10.6% of West Asian men and 10.3% of West Asian women living below the poverty line. These alarmingly high rates reflect the broader economic vulnerabilities faced by West Asian communities across Canada, many of whom arrive through refugee pathways or as displaced persons, encountering systemic barriers to stable employment, recognition of foreign credentials and adequate housing (El-Assal & Fields, 2018; Broughton & Shields, 2020). As we saw in previous sections, West Asian residents in Ajax also report some of the lowest income levels and highest unemployment rates, painting a clear picture of how poverty is produced and sustained through structural exclusion.

Similar patterns emerge among Chinese and Arab communities, both of whom reported some of the highest poverty rates and prevalence of low-income individuals in Ajax. These figures reflect not only systemic labour market discrimination but also the complex realities of migration, where newcomers from these groups may face language barriers, interrupted education, or underemployment despite possessing high qualifications; a well-documented phenomenon across Canada. In contrast, Filipino residents reported the lowest poverty rates in Ajax, with just 2.2% of both men and women living in poverty. While this may suggest relative economic stability, it is important to situate these numbers within the context of the Canadian economy's long-standing reliance on highly educated Filipino migrants, particularly women, for caregiving, health care and other essential services (Kelly et al., 2011). Despite lower official poverty rates, many Filipino workers remain concentrated in sectors characterized by long hours, demanding labour and limited pathways to upward mobility, conditions that reflect economic precarity even when they do not meet statistical definitions of poverty.

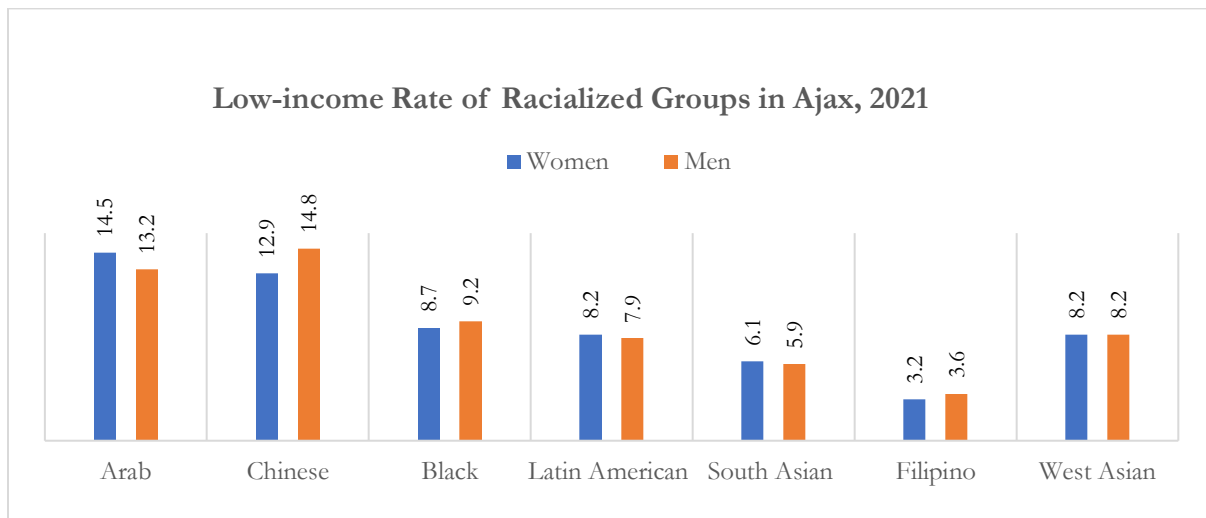


Figure 20: Prevalence of low-income racialized individuals in Ajax, sorted by gender
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

The data in Figure 20 also reveal gendered variations in poverty rates within specific communities. In most racialized groups in Ajax, men reported higher rates of poverty and low-income status. Among Arab and Latin American residents, however, women experienced higher rates of low-income status than their male counterparts. This gendered pattern reflects the combined effects of migration pathways that disproportionately channel women into precarious work, limited access to affordable child care and cultural or systemic barriers to stable, well-paid employment.

These poverty patterns cannot be understood without considering the broader history of racialized migration to Ajax and Durham Region. Despite their diverse migration pathways, many racialized residents have found that access to economic security remains elusive, constrained by systemic barriers that limit their ability to translate education, labour and aspirations into stable incomes and secure living conditions. The 2021 Census poverty data reflects these structural realities. It illustrates how, for many racialized residents of Ajax, poverty is not the result of a lack of effort or qualifications, but the product of an economic and social system that continues to undervalue their labour, restrict their access to opportunity, and perpetuate cycles of economic insecurity.

Housing Reality of Racialized Populations in Ajax

Housing remains one of the most visible indicators of social and economic inequality in Canada, and the 2021 Census data reveals that racialized populations in Ajax continue to face significant structural barriers in accessing affordable, suitable and secure housing. While Ajax has become an increasingly popular destination for racialized newcomers and established immigrant families seeking homeownership outside Toronto's prohibitively expensive market, the data makes clear that this suburban migration has not translated into equitable housing conditions for all.

In 2021, as shown in Figure 21, almost one-fifth of Ajax's total population (19.3%) lived in unaffordable housing, yet racialized residents accounted for a staggering 75% of those affected. Similarly, while 9.8% of the town's population lived in unsuitable housing (defined as housing that does not meet the needs of the household in terms of size or adequacy), racialized residents represented 83.7% of this group. The pattern repeats for housing in core need of repair, with 67.8% of those living in substandard housing being from racialized communities.

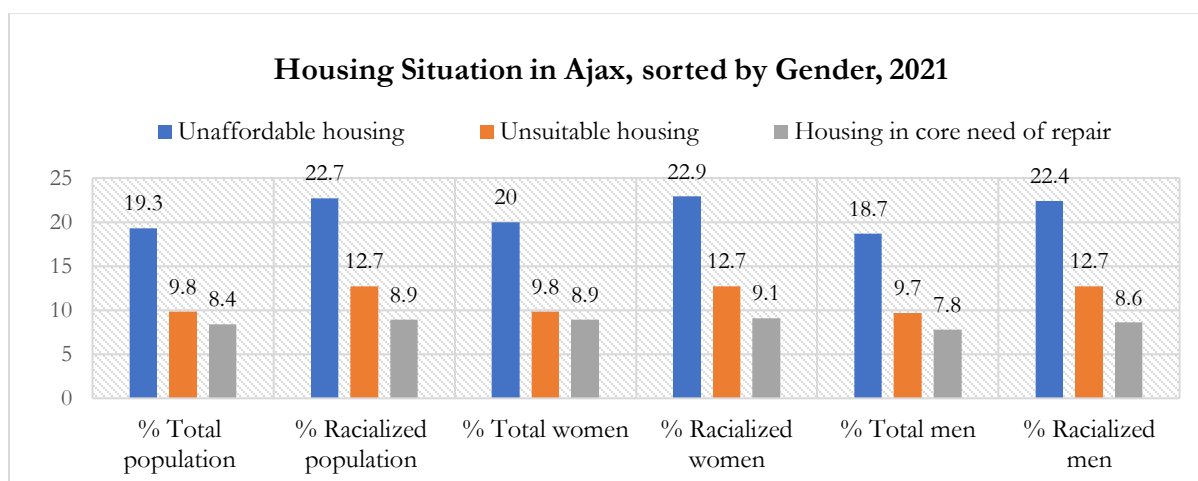


Figure 21: The housing situation of racialized & total populations in Ajax, sorted by gender
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

These figures are not coincidental. They reflect a convergence of factors rooted in Canada's immigration policies, labour market discrimination, tenancy regulations and the legacy of racial exclusion from housing opportunities, both in urban centres like Toronto and increasingly in suburban communities like Ajax (Teixeira, 2017; Walks, 2013). While Ajax has become home to many racialized families pushed out of Toronto by gentrification and skyrocketing housing costs, access to affordable, suitable and well-maintained housing within Ajax itself remains highly unequal. The data in Figure 21 shows that 22.7% of racialized residents in Ajax lived in unaffordable housing in 2021, a rate significantly higher than the town's overall figure. Additionally, 12.7% lived in unsuitable housing, while 8.9% lived in housing that required core repairs. These housing conditions cannot be separated from the income and employment realities faced by racialized communities, as discussed in earlier sections of this report.

The data also reveals important gender dimensions of the housing crisis in Ajax. Racialized women, who as shown earlier experience the greatest disparities in income and employment, also report higher rates of living

in unaffordable, unsuitable and substandard housing. These patterns mirror national trends, where racialized and immigrant women face heightened housing insecurity due to their concentration in precarious, low-wage employment, combined with systemic gender discrimination and caregiving responsibilities that limit their economic mobility (Kelly & Lusi, 2006; Henry et al., 2017).

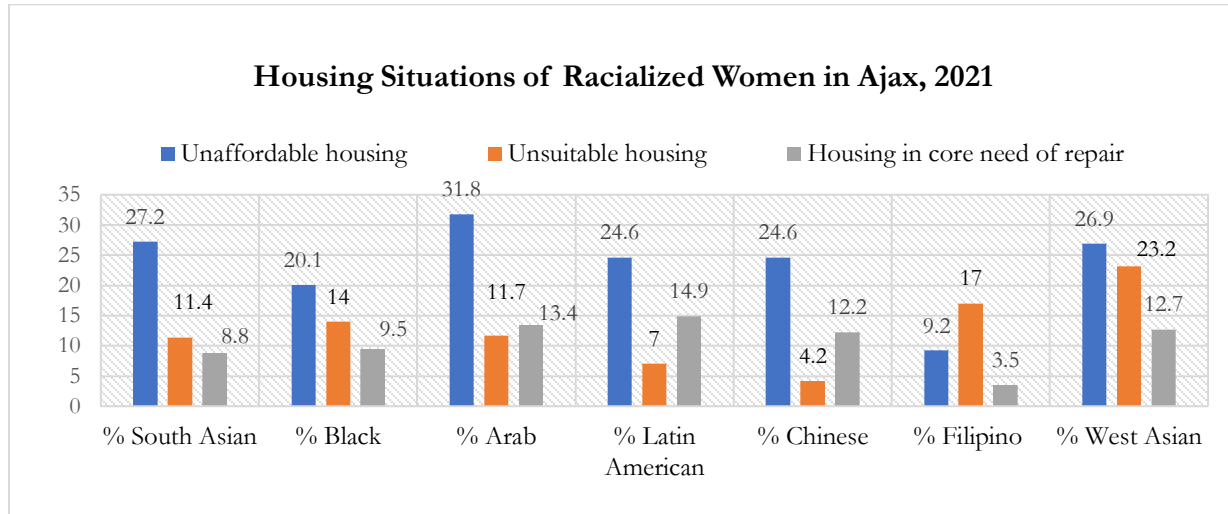


Figure 22: The housing situations of racialized women in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

The severity of housing challenges in Ajax varies across different groups of racialized women, reflecting the intersection of migration history, labour market positioning and systemic discrimination. As shown in Figure 22, Arab women, for example, reported the highest rate of living in unaffordable housing, with nearly one-third (31.8%) affected. They were followed by South Asian women (27.2%) and West Asian women (26.9%). These high rates are not surprising given that these groups also face some of the highest unemployment rates, gender wage gaps and barriers to stable employment, particularly among those who arrived through refugee pathways or family reunification streams (El-Assal & Fields, 2018; Broughton & Shields, 2020). Filipino women, by contrast, reported the lowest rate of living in unaffordable housing (9.2%), reflecting both their relatively higher labour market participation and Canada's targeted recruitment of Filipino workers into health care and caregiving roles. Yet, as previous research cautions, lower rates of unaffordable housing do not necessarily indicate economic stability, given the overrepresentation of Filipino women in precarious, emotionally demanding and underpaid work (Kelly & Lusi., 2006).

Unsuitable housing is another pressing issue, particularly for West Asian women, Filipino women and Latin American women. For West Asian women, nearly one in four (23.2%) lived in housing that did not meet their household needs, reflecting both the economic barriers they face and the challenges associated with multigenerational living; common strategies among newcomer families coping with housing unaffordability (Teixeira, 2008).

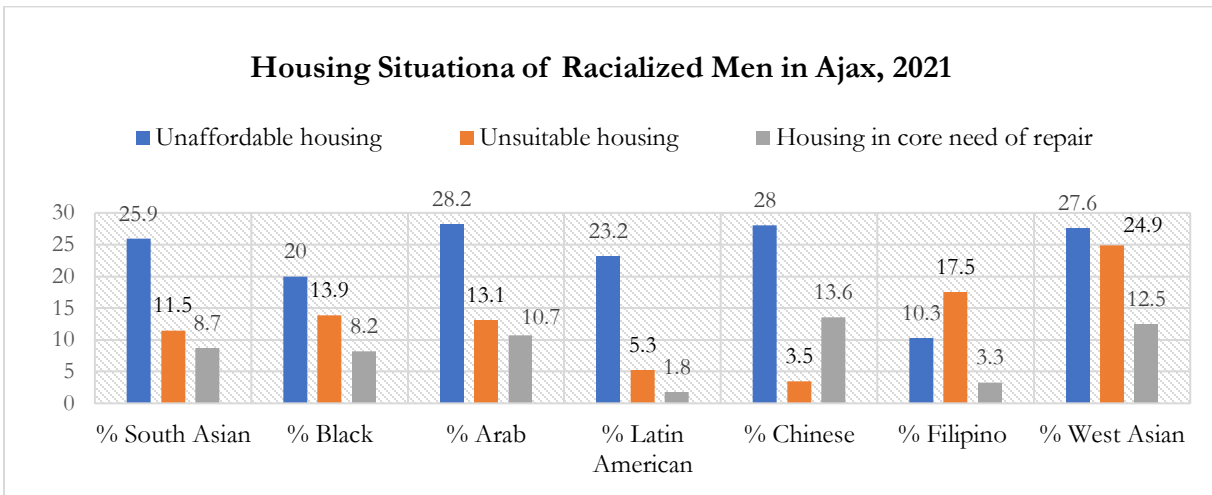


Figure 23: The housing situations of racialized men in Ajax
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2021

Among racialized men in Ajax, as Figure 23 shows, similar patterns emerge. Arab men, Chinese men and West Asian men reported the highest rates of living in unaffordable housing, with more than a quarter of each group affected. These high rates reflect the combination of labour market exclusion, income disparities and discriminatory housing practices that limit access to affordable, quality housing, even for those with stable employment (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). West Asian men reported the highest rate of unsuitable housing (24.6%), followed by Filipino men and Black men. Chinese men had the highest rate of living in housing requiring core repairs (13.6%), underscoring the ongoing challenges many racialized residents face in accessing safe, well-maintained housing stock.

These housing challenges are not new but are rooted in the historical exclusion of racialized groups from equitable housing opportunities in the GTA. For decades, discriminatory housing practices, limited access to affordable homeownership and the suburbanization of poverty have pushed many racialized families to the margins of the housing market, both geographically and economically (Teixeira, 2019; Walks, 2013). While Ajax has provided a degree of respite from Toronto's escalating housing crisis, the 2021 Census data reveals that patterns of housing insecurity, exclusion and inequality have followed racialized communities into the suburbs.

The linkages between education, employment, income and housing conditions in Ajax demonstrate that individual achievements (such as high levels of education or workforce participation) are insufficient to overcome systemic barriers that restrict access to affordable, suitable and secure housing. For racialized residents, and especially for racialized women, the promise of stable housing remains constrained by structural forces that operate across the migration, labour and housing systems.

Conclusion & Recommendations

The 2021 Census confirms that Ajax has transformed into one of the most racially diverse municipalities in Canada, with nearly two-thirds of residents (64.6%) identifying as racialized; primarily South Asian (40.5%) and Black (26%) communities. This growth reflects both global migration patterns and the movement of racialized families from Toronto due to affordability issues. While Ajax offers relative affordability and established cultural networks, the data in this report reveals persistent structural inequalities in employment, income, housing and access to opportunity for the town's racialized populations.

Racialized residents, particularly women, often arrive with high levels of education yet face barriers to stable, well-paid employment. Unemployment among racialized residents (14.2%) is higher than the general population and racialized women earn significantly less than both racialized men and non-racialized women, despite higher levels of education. Certain groups, including West Asian, Arab and Latin American residents, experience higher unemployment, poverty and housing precarity, reflecting the compounded challenges of refugee migration, credential devaluation and systemic racism.

Housing data shows deep inequities in Ajax: 22.7% of racialized residents live in unaffordable housing, 12.7% in unsuitable housing and 8.9% in housing requiring major repairs. Racialized women (particularly, Arab, South Asian and West Asian) bear the brunt of housing insecurity. These challenges are intertwined with income disparities, precarious employment and systemic barriers in the housing market.

The findings underscore that diversity alone does not guarantee equity. As our labour acknowledgement reminds us, Ajax's growth and prosperity have been built on the undervalued labour of racialized workers, from wartime industries to today's care, service and technical sectors. As the land acknowledgement highlights, the foundations of Ajax lie on Indigenous territories taken through coercive treaties and colonial dispossession. The inequities experienced by racialized communities in Ajax today cannot be understood in isolation but are part of these longer histories of colonialism, settlement and systemic exclusion. Recognizing these intertwined histories is essential to building a more just and inclusive future for all residents. To move toward equity and inclusion for racialized populations in Ajax, we offer the following key policy and programmatic recommendations:

1. Expand and Fund Affordable, Suitable and Culturally Safe Housing

- Increase the supply of family-sized affordable housing units to meet the needs of multigenerational households common among newcomer families.
- Support non-profit, co-operative and community land trust models to create permanently affordable housing that prevents displacement.
- Strengthen municipal rental standards enforcement to address the overrepresentation of racialized residents in substandard housing.

2. Close the Employment and Income Racial and Gender Gaps

- Create local employment equity programs requiring large employers and municipal contractors to adopt transparent, anti-racist hiring practices.
- Establish an Ajax Workforce Integration Hub providing credential recognition, bridging programs, and sector-specific training for internationally educated professionals.

- Expand subsidized childcare to support racialized women’s full participation in the workforce.

3. Strengthen Refugee and Newcomer Integration Supports

- Develop wraparound settlement services in Ajax that integrate employment, housing and mental health supports under one roof.
- Increase stable funding for ESL, digital literacy and professional language training, particularly for groups facing higher unemployment.

4. Advance Gender and Racial Equity in Policy and Planning

- Implement Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) in all municipal housing, economic development, and social planning initiatives.
- Require the Town of Ajax to publish annual racial equity reports using disaggregated data on employment, housing and income.
- Support leadership development programs for racialized women and youth to increase representation in decision-making bodies.

5. Invest in Community-Led Solutions

- Provide stable, multi-year operational funding to racialized and newcomer-led organizations delivering housing, employment and advocacy services.
- Expand cultural community hubs in Ajax that combine settlement services, after-school programs, and spaces for cultural expression.
- Foster tenant advocacy and legal support programs to combat housing discrimination and eviction.

In conclusion, Ajax’s diversity is a strength, but without structural change, it risks becoming a backdrop to persistent racial and gender inequities. By embedding racial equity, gender justice and anti-racism into housing, employment and integration policies, Ajax can move from being simply diverse to being genuinely inclusive. Linking back to the land and labour acknowledgements and Ajax’s history in the introduction, building equity today means recognizing Indigenous stewardship of this land, valuing the contributions of racialized workers and dismantling systemic barriers so that all residents, regardless of race, gender, class, or immigration status, can live with dignity, security and opportunity in Ajax.

Housing, Settlement, Employment & Social Services in Durham Region

Housing Services

Housing Supports & Housing Stability Program (HSP): Durham Region provide housing support in Ajax.

Durham Access to Social Housing (DASH): residents of Ajax can put their name on this central wait-list for Durham Region's Rent-Geared-to-Income (RGI) and modified (accessible) housing in community/social housing providers.

Affordable housing providers: programs under Canada–Ontario Affordable Housing (IAH) offering subsidized homes at ~80 % of average market rent.

Other community-based co-ops: located across Ajax offering RGI or subsidized housing.

Settlement & Social Services

Ajax Welcome Centre Immigrant Services: providing free newcomer supports: housing search, forms assistance, referrals (employment, health, education), English classes, child supervision while in class in Ajax.

Community Development Council Durham (CDCD): provides settlement services and Newcomer Youth Services including leadership programs, workshops, referrals on housing, legal, social support in Ajax.

Women's Multicultural Resource & Counselling Centre of Durham (WMRCC): while located in Pickering, WMRCC provides culturally-responsive, trauma-informed counselling, crisis supports, youth & children's programs, newcomer support, mentorship and anti-racism advocacy for residents of Ajax as well.

Durham Black Educators Network: A network of Durham District School Board (DDSB) educators, representing Durham's Black diaspora, who help optimizing education experiences for students, parents, community and staff within DDSB.

Durham Community Action Group: provides a range of services to support the community, including a food pantry, seniors programming and supports, youth personal development, training and counseling.

Employment Services

Durham Region Unemployed Help Centre (DRUHC): provides job seekers and employers with a single location to access a range of employment-related services and resources.

Racialized Children & Youth — Afterschool & Community Supports

Newcomer Youth Services: by CDCD and Welcome Centre: orientation workshops, school-based settlement supports, youth leadership programs, parent-and-youth sessions. These are tailored to newcomer and racialized youth in Ajax, Oshawa and surrounding areas.

WMRCC youth & children programming: trauma-informed, culturally responsive counselling, mentorship, outreach, crisis support targeted to racialized youth and girls of diverse cultural and religious backgrounds.

Mental Health Services

Community Development Council Durham (CDCD): Newcomer Mental Health & Wellness: offers immediate, culturally sensitive, short-term counselling via Mental Health Settlement Workers for adults age 13+ in multiple languages (e.g. Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu). Also provides wellness workshops and regular check-ins under Newcomer Wellness initiative.

IFARADA Centre for Excellence: Ifarada seeks to support, heal and empower community members through the use of holistic interventions, providing services that include individual psychotherapy, family therapy, child and youth therapy, group therapy, life coaching and more.

Bibliography

- Block, S., & Galabuzi, G.-E. (2011). [*Canada's colour coded labour market: The gap for racialized workers*](#). Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.
- Broughton, S., & Shields, J. (2020). *Resilience and the immigrant settlement sector: A consideration of the place of accountability and performance management*. Research Report. Toronto Metropolitan University.
- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). (2022). *Core Housing Need in Canada, 2021 Census Results*. Government of Canada.
- El-Assal, K., & Fields, D. (2018). *Canada 2040: No immigration versus more immigration*. Ottawa: The Conference Board of Canada.
- Harris, R. (2003). *Creeping conformity: How Canada became suburban, 1900-1960*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Henry, F., Dua, E., James, C.E., Kobayashi, A., Li, P., Ramos, H., & Smith, M. S. (2017). *The equity myth: Racialization and indigeneity at Canadian Universities*. UBC Press.
- Hulchanski, D. (2010). *The three cities within Toronto: Income polarization among Toronto's neighbourhoods, 1970-2005*. Cities Centre. University of Toronto.
- James, C. E., Este, D., Bernard, W., Benjamin, A., Lloyd, B., & Turner, T. (2010). *Race & Well-Being: The Lives, Hopes, and Activism of African Canadians*. Fernwood Publishing.
- Kelly, P., Lusi, T. (2006). Migration and the transnational habitus: Evidence from Canada and Philippines. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*
- Li, P.S. (2003). *Destination Canada: Immigration debates and issues*. Oxford University Press.
- Statistics Canada. (2021). *2021 Census of Population: Special Interest Profile*. [Special Interest Profile, 2021 Census of Population](#)
- Teixeira, C. (2017). New Canadian's settlement experiences in Vancouver's suburbs. *Papers in Applied Geography*, 3 (3-4), 1-6.
- Teixeira, C. (2008). Barriers and outcomes in the housing searches of new immigrants and refugees: A case study of "Black" Africans in Toronto's rental market. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 23(4), 253–276.
- Vaswani, M, Sutter, A., Lapshina, N., & Esses, V. M. (2023). Discrimination experienced by immigrants, racialized individuals, and Indigenous peoples in small- and mid-sized communities in southwest Ontario. *Canadian Review of Sociology*, 60(1).
- Walks, A. (2013). *Income inequality and polarization in Canada's cities: An examination and new form of measurement*. Toronto: University of Toronto.