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Insights on Canadian Society

Belonging and barriers: Understanding quality of life for transgender, non-binary and 2SLGBTQ+ Canadians



by Helen Foran

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INSIGHTS ON CANADIAN SOCIETY



Belonging and barriers: Understanding quality of life for transgender, non-binary and 2SLGBTQ+ Canadians

by **Helen Foran**

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Overview of the study

This study uses pooled data from the Canadian Social Survey (CSS) collected from 2021 to 2025 to examine quality of life outcomes across key indicators such as life satisfaction and future outlook, as well as experiences of discrimination, among 2SLGBTQ+ people in Canada.

- According to the CSS, from 2021 to 2025, fewer than one-third (32%) of 2SLGBTQ+ people reported high levels of life satisfaction, while half (50%) of the non-2SLGBTQ+ population in Canada reported the same.
- Transgender and non-binary people were less likely to report high levels of life satisfaction, with 22% of gender diverse people reporting high levels of life satisfaction.
- Nearly twice as many 2SLGBTQ+ people in Canada reported experiencing discrimination or unfair treatment in the five years before the survey (61%), compared with non-2SLGBTQ+ people (31%).
- Among the 2SLGBTQ+ population, 67% of people aged 15 to 29 and 62% of people aged 30 to 49 reported having experienced discrimination in the five years preceding the survey, compared with fewer than 4 in 10 among those aged 50 and older (39%).
- Fewer than 4 in 10 2SLGBTQ+ people who reported having experienced discrimination had a hopeful future outlook (38%). By comparison, the majority of 2SLGBTQ+ people who had not experienced discrimination reported feeling hopeful about the future (55%).

Introduction

Canada has implemented several legislative and policy measures—such as human-rights protections for gender identity and expression,[1] national 2SLGBTQI+ action plans,[2] and targeted funding programs[3]—to support Two-Spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer individuals, and those who use other terms related to gender and sexual diversity (2SLGBTQ+).[4] Despite these developments, previous studies have consistently observed disparities between 2SLGBTQ+ people and those who are both cisgender and heterosexual (i.e., non-2SLGBTQ+ people) across domains including mental health,[5] economic well-being,[6] social inclusion and belonging,[7] and quality of life,[8] with gaps especially pronounced among transgender and non-binary individuals.[9] This analysis builds on that existing evidence by providing updated estimates and examining how these inequalities vary within the 2SLGBTQ+ population, with particular attention to the experiences of transgender and non-binary individuals.

Using pooled data from the Canadian Social Survey (CSS) collected from 2021 to 2025, this paper aims to deepen the understanding of the lived experiences of 2SLGBTQ+ people in Canada, with a focus on people who are transgender or non-binary. The term "transgender" refers to people whose reported gender does not correspond to their reported sex at birth. The term "non-binary" is used to describe all genders that are neither exclusively man nor exclusively woman, although individuals may self-identify with other terms. The term "gender diverse" refers to transgender and non-binary people. The term "cisgender" refers to people whose reported gender corresponds to their reported sex at birth.

Specifically, this article explores differences in well-being between 2SLGBTQ+ and non-2SLGBTQ+ people in Canada across key indicators of well-being from the Quality of Life Framework, including life satisfaction, sense of belonging to a local community and hopefulness for the future. The paper then examines the forms and contexts of discrimination most often experienced by 2SLGBTQ+ people. Particular attention is paid to how intersecting characteristics, such as age, Indigenous identity, race, disability, educational attainment and geographic location, are associated with these experiences. Finally, the analysis considers how experiences of discrimination affect overall well-being for 2SLGBTQ+ people in Canada.

Canadian 2SLGBTQ+ people: Younger, more urban and more likely to report a disability

Overall, 2SLGBTQ+ people tended to be younger than the non-2SLGBTQ+ population. For example, nearly half (49%) were aged 15 to 29, while 17% were aged 50 years and older. By contrast, a smaller share of the non-2SLGBTQ+ population fell in the youngest age group (20%), and a larger share was in the 50 and older age group (47%), highlighting the relatively younger age profile of 2SLGBTQ+ individuals. The concentration in younger age groups was even more pronounced among transgender and non-binary individuals, approximately two-thirds (66%) of whom were aged 15 to 29 and 9% of whom were aged 50 and older.

These age statistics do not necessarily mean that younger people are more likely than their older counterparts to be 2SLGBTQ+. Recognizing and disclosing one's 2SLGBTQ+ identity can be influenced by a range of social factors, including growing awareness and acceptance of gender and sexual diversity and changing social norms.[10] As a result, differences in reporting across age groups may reflect individuals' lived experiences and the social contexts in which they choose to share information about themselves.

In addition to age, several other characteristics help demonstrate the diversity of the 2SLGBTQ+ population and reveal important differences from the broader population. Geographically, 2SLGBTQ+ people were more likely to live in urban areas. Data from the CSS show that just over 9 in 10 2SLGBTQ+ people lived in urban areas (91%), compared with 9% in rural regions. Across the provinces, Nova Scotia had the highest proportion of 2SLGBTQ+ people, at 8% of the population aged 15 and older, while Quebec had the lowest proportion, at 5%.

Among 2SLGBTQ+ people in Canada, 72% were non-racialized and non-Indigenous, 23% were racialized, and 6% were Indigenous. While non-racialized, non-Indigenous people made up the largest share of the 2SLGBTQ+ population, Indigenous people were proportionally the most likely to identify as 2SLGBTQ+, at 11%, compared with 6% of non-racialized, non-Indigenous people and 5% of racialized people.

Educational attainment among 2SLGBTQ+ individuals varied as well. More than 4 in 10 2SLGBTQ+ individuals aged 25 to 64 held a bachelor's degree or higher (42%), slightly greater than the proportion among non-2SLGBTQ+ individuals (37%). A further 32% of 2SLGBTQ+ people held a trades or college certificate or diploma, or a university certificate or diploma below the bachelor's level, while about one-quarter (26%) of 2SLGBTQ+ people had a high school diploma or less. Among the non-2SLGBTQ+ population, 36% held a trades or college certificate or diploma, or a university certificate or diploma below the bachelor's level, and 28% had a high school diploma or less.

Lastly, 2SLGBTQ+ Canadians were more likely to report having a disability or long-term condition. About one-quarter of 2SLGBTQ+ people in Canada (26%) identified as having a disability or long-term condition—more than double the rate than among non-2SLGBTQ+ people (12%). Among transgender and non-binary Canadians specifically, 44% reported having a disability or long-term condition.[11]

Transgender and non-binary youth report the lowest levels of life satisfaction

Compared with non-2SLGBTQ+ people, 2SLGBTQ+ people reported poorer well-being outcomes across several indicators, including overall life satisfaction. From 2021 to 2025, fewer than one-third (32%) of 2SLGBTQ+ people reported high levels of life satisfaction, while half (50%) of the non-2SLGBTQ+ population in Canada reported the same. However, there were important nuances between age groups. Among the 2SLGBTQ+ population, high life satisfaction was less commonly reported among youth aged 15 to 29 (25%), compared with those aged 30 to 49 (32%) and those aged 50 and older (49%).[12]

There were other important differences by sexual orientation and gender diversity that highlight the range of experiences and outcomes across 2SLGBTQ+ populations. Even after accounting for age in a regression model, gay and lesbian people were more likely to report high levels of life satisfaction (41%) compared with those who were bisexual or pansexual (27%).

Meanwhile, transgender and non-binary people reported some of the lowest levels of life satisfaction, with 22% of gender diverse people reporting high levels of life satisfaction, compared with almost half (49%) of cisgender people.[13] This gap is evident within younger populations: among those aged 15 to 29, 17% of transgender and non-binary people reported high life satisfaction, compared with 44% of cisgender people in the same age group. Among people aged 30 to 49, roughly one in four transgender and non-binary individuals reported high life satisfaction (25%), compared with 44% of cisgender people. Among people aged 50 and older, over half (52%) of transgender and non-binary people reported high life satisfaction—a similar proportion to cisgender people in the same age group (55%). While these patterns show that disparities were most pronounced among younger transgender and non-binary people, it is important to note the larger share of transgender and non-binary people among younger age groups.

People who are 2SLGBTQ+ are less likely than non-2SLGBTQ+ people to report a strong sense of belonging or hopeful future outlook

Poorer quality of life outcomes were observed for 2SLGBTQ+ people across other related measures of well-being, with lower proportions reporting a strong sense of belonging and a hopeful outlook. For instance, 40% of 2SLGBTQ+ people reported feeling a strong sense of belonging to their local community, compared with 57% of non-2SLGBTQ+ people (Table 1). Likewise, 45% of 2SLGBTQ+ people reported always or often feeling hopeful about the future, compared with 60% of non-2SLGBTQ+ people.

Table 1
Selected quality of life indicators, by 2SLGBTQ+ status and age group, 2021 to 2025

	2SLGBTQ+ people (ref.)				Non-2SLGBTQ+ people			
		95% confidence interval				95% confidence interval		
Selected quality of life indicators and age groups	Proportion	Lower	Upper	Predicted probability	Proportion	Lower	Upper	Predicted probability
	percent							
High levels of life satisfaction								
Total, all ages	**31.6**	**30.2**	**33.1**	**33.6**	**50.2**	**49.8**	**50.5**	**52.6***
15 to 29 years	25.3	23.1	27.5	24.9	46.4	45.4	47.5	43.4*
30 to 49 years	32.0	29.8	34.2	30.7	44.7	44.1	45.3	40.9*
50 years and older	49.2	46.5	51.9	46.8	55.5	55.1	56.0	52.7
Strong sense of belonging to local community								
Total, all ages	**40.1**	**38.3**	**41.9**	**41.7**	**57.0**	**56.6**	**57.5**	**59.2***
15 to 29 years	34.6	31.6	37.5	32.8	54.0	52.8	55.2	49.5*
30 to 49 years	39.5	36.8	42.2	39.2	51.6	50.8	52.4	48.7*
50 years and older	56.8	53.5	60.0	56.0	62.2	61.7	62.7	59.7
Hopeful outlook for the future								
Total, all ages	**44.6**	**42.9**	**46.2**	**45.4**	**60.4**	**60.0**	**60.8**	**60.9***
15 to 29 years	40.5	37.9	43.2	38.3	62.2	61.1	63.3	57.2*
30 to 49 years	45.4	42.8	48.0	40.3	60.2	59.5	60.8	52.4*
50 years and older	54.5	51.4	57.6	50.3	59.8	59.3	60.3	55.2

* significantly different from reference category (ref.) ($p < 0.05$)
Note: Predicted probabilities are the result of a logistic regression controlling for 2SLGBTQ+ identity, age group, racialized status, disability status, province, rural or urban designation, and education level.
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Social Survey, 2021 to 2025.

Similar age-related trends were observed across generations for these other well-being measures. Younger 2SLGBTQ+ people aged 15 to 29 were less likely to report strong community ties or hopefulness about the future compared with their counterparts aged 50 and older.

When comparing 2SLGBTQ+ people with their non-2SLGBTQ+ counterparts across age groups, different patterns emerge. Among adults younger than 50, 2SLGBTQ+ people were consistently less likely to report a positive future outlook than non-2SLGBTQ+ people in the same age group. The persistence of this pattern after accounting for age and other sociodemographic characteristics in a regression model suggests that the observed disparity cannot be attributed solely to differences in population age structure. By contrast, among adults aged 50 and older, there were no statistically significant differences between 2SLGBTQ+ and non-2SLGBTQ+ people. These results suggest that the relationship between 2SLGBTQ+ status and future outlook varies by age and may be shaped by factors that differ across the life course.

Transgender and non-binary people reported even poorer well-being in these areas as well. Fewer transgender and non-binary individuals (28%) reported a strong sense of belonging to their community than their cisgender counterparts (56%). In terms of future outlook, around one in three transgender and non-binary people (34%) reported always or often feeling hopeful about the future, compared with around three in five cisgender people (60%). These patterns are consistent with broader gaps in self-reported mental health.[14]

The CSS indicates that 2SLGBTQ+ people report lower well-being across multiple measures, compared with people who are both cisgender and heterosexual. The Canadian Mental Health Association identifies positive mental health and well-being as shaped by three key factors: social inclusion, freedom from discrimination and violence, and access to economic resources.[15] Individuals who are 2SLGBTQ+ have historically faced barriers in these areas.[16] This context helps situate some of the disparities observed in the CSS. The next section explores one of these key factors: freedom from discrimination.

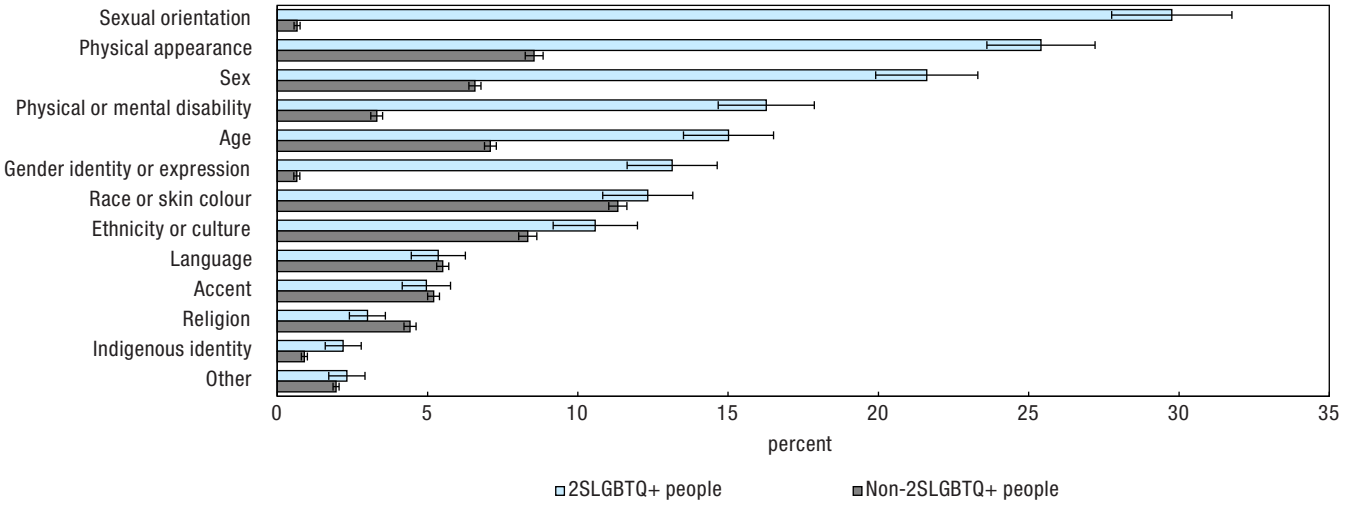
Discrimination remains a significant challenge for 2SLGBTQ+ people in Canada

Despite evolving societal attitudes over recent decades, 2SLGBTQ+ people continue to face high

levels of discrimination, violent victimization and stigma.[17] According to the CSS, nearly twice as many 2SLGBTQ+ people in Canada reported having experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in the five years before the survey (61%), compared with non-2SLGBTQ+ people (31%). Among sexual minority groups, 61% of gay, lesbian, bisexual and pansexual people reported having experienced discrimination, about double the rate of heterosexual people (31%). Rates did not differ significantly between respondents who were gay or lesbian and those who were bisexual or pansexual. By contrast, transgender and non-binary people faced the highest levels of discrimination, with over three-quarters (76%) having faced some form of discrimination or unfair treatment, compared with 32% of cisgender people.

When asked about the perceived causes of discrimination or unfair treatment, 3 in 10 2SLGBTQ+ people reported having experienced discrimination or unfair treatment based on their sexual orientation (30%). One-quarter (25%) reported having experienced discrimination or unfair treatment because of their physical appearance, 22% because of their sex, and 13% because of their gender identity or expression (which could include discrimination based on being a transgender or non-binary person) (Chart 1).

Chart 1
Discrimination in the five years before the survey and perceived reason for discrimination, by 2SLGBTQ+ status, 2021 to 2025



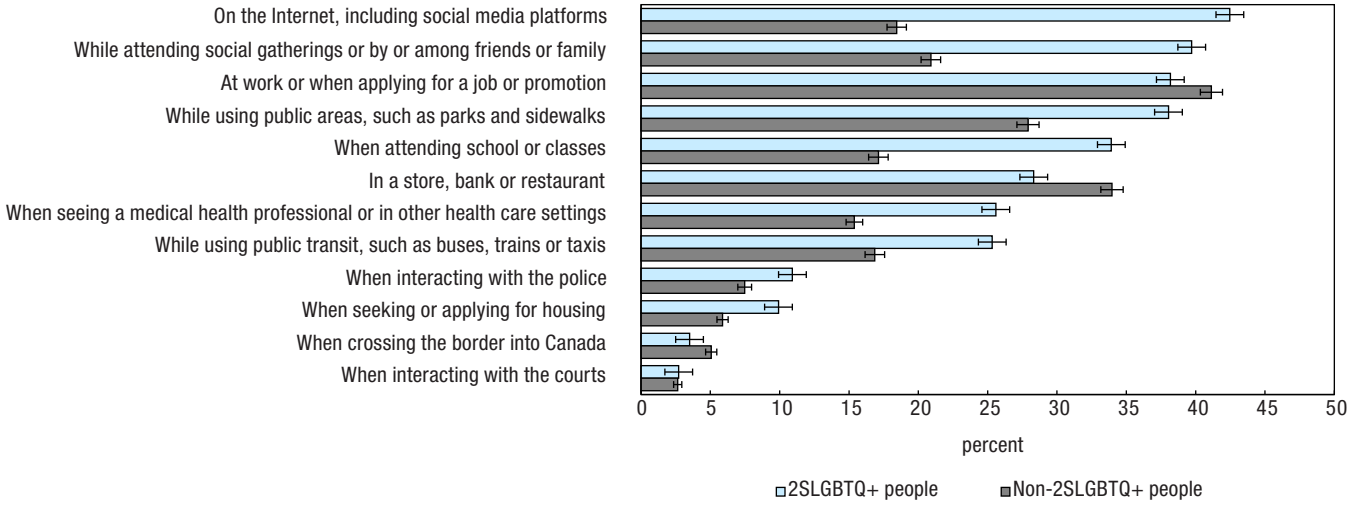
Note: Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Social Survey, 2021 to 2025.

Nearly two-thirds (64%) of transgender and non-binary people reported having experienced discrimination or unfair treatment because of their gender identity or expression in the five years preceding the survey, compared with 1% of cisgender people. In this analysis, transgender and non-binary people were grouped together because of sample size limitations; however, it is important to acknowledge that experiences of discrimination may differ between these populations.

The most common places where 2SLGBTQ+ people experienced discrimination were on the Internet, including social media platforms (43%); while attending social gatherings or by or among friends or family (40%); and while using public areas, such as parks or sidewalks (38%) (Chart 2).

In addition, 2SLGBTQ+ people were more likely to experience discrimination when seeing a medical health professional or in other health care settings (26%) compared with their non-2SLGBTQ+ counterparts (15%). For transgender and non-binary people, nearly one-third (31%) experienced discrimination in this situation, compared with 16% of their cisgender counterparts.

Chart 2
Discrimination in the five years before the survey and situation in which discrimination was experienced, by 2SLGBTQ+ status, 2021 to 2025



Note: Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Social Survey, 2021 to 2025.

Beyond self-reported discrimination, data from the Survey of Safety in Public and Private Spaces show that the LGB+ population (those who are lesbian, gay, bisexual or of another sexual orientation that is not heterosexual) and gender diverse individuals face disproportionately high levels of violent victimization. More than 1 in 10 LGB+ people (12%) and gender diverse people (15%) experienced physical or sexual assault in the 12 months preceding the survey, exceeding the proportions of their heterosexual (4%) and cisgender (4%) counterparts.[18] Experiences of victimization may exacerbate the outcomes among affected individuals.[19]

Experiences of discrimination and unfair treatment differ across personal characteristics

Overlapping characteristics can shape how a person is treated, the obstacles they encounter, and how different systems of inequality interact and reinforce one another.[20] Intersectionality shows how people can face multiple, interconnected forms of discrimination. Alongside cis-heteronormativity,[21] individuals may also experience racism, ableism, sexism, ageism, poverty, and other barriers that may intersect and compound, exposing them to increased discrimination and possibly poorer well-being.

As with measures of well-being, younger 2SLGBTQ+ people were more likely to report experiences with discrimination and unfair treatment than their older counterparts. For example, among the 2SLGBTQ+ population, 67% of people aged 15 to 29 and 62% of people aged 30 to 49 reported having experienced discrimination in the five years preceding the survey, compared with fewer than 4 in 10 among those aged 50 and older (39%).

Experiences of discrimination were also more common for 2SLGBTQ+ individuals who reported having a disability or long-term condition. They had a greater incidence of discrimination and unfair treatment (77%) compared with 2SLGBTQ+ people who did not identify as having a disability or long-term condition (55%) or non-2SLGBTQ+ people who identified as having a disability or long-term condition (40%).

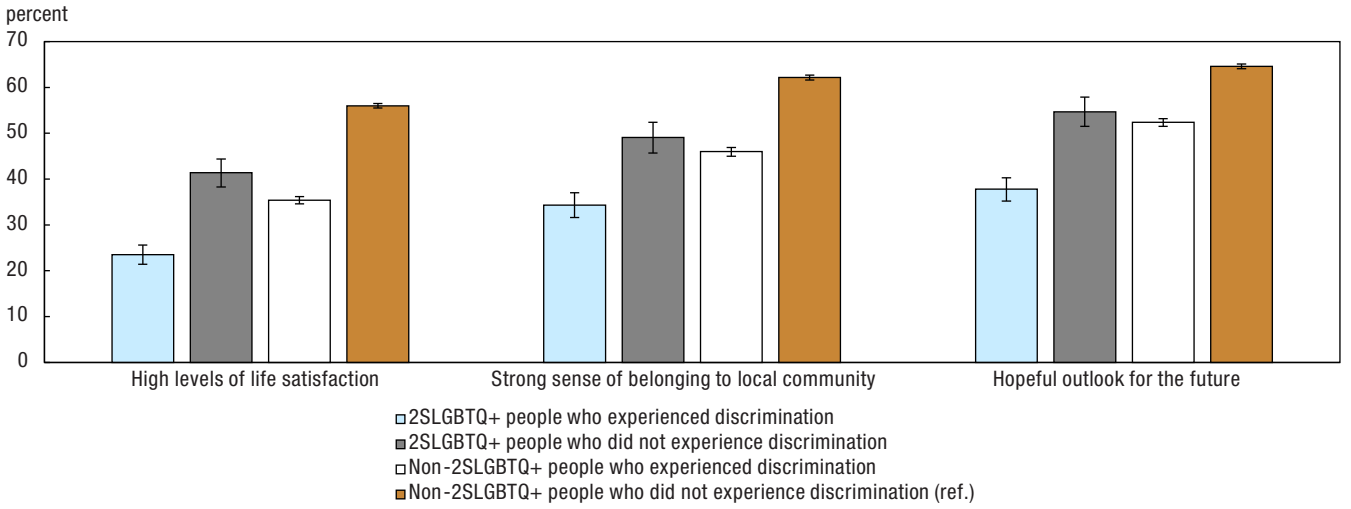
Additionally, discrimination was reported by 2SLGBTQ+ Indigenous people (74%) and 2SLGBTQ+ racialized people (64%) at rates exceeding those of 2SLGBTQ+ non-racialized, non-Indigenous people (59%); non-2SLGBTQ+ Indigenous people (41%); and non-2SLGBTQ+ racialized people (48%).

When 2SLGBTQ+ identity intersects with multiple other characteristics, individuals may experience unique or exacerbated challenges. For example, nearly 3 in 10 2SLGBTQ+ Indigenous people identified as having a disability (29%), which is about twice the proportion of people reporting a disability among the 2SLGBTQ+ non-racialized, non-Indigenous population (15%). These intersecting characteristics may shape experiences of discrimination as well, although the sample size of the survey was insufficient to assess these relationships.[22]

People who experience discrimination report poorer well-being outcomes

Across several measures of well-being, clear differences emerge between 2SLGBTQ+ people who reported discrimination and those who did not, with people who reported discrimination also reporting lower levels of well-being. Compared with 2SLGBTQ+ people who did not experience discrimination and non-2SLGBTQ+ people who did, 2SLGBTQ+ people who experienced discrimination were less likely to report high life satisfaction (24%), a strong sense of belonging to their local community (34%) or a hopeful future outlook (38%) (Chart 3).

Chart 3
Selected quality of life indicators, by 2SLGBTQ+ status and experiences of discrimination, 2021 to 2025



Note: Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Social Survey, 2021 to 2025.

As 2SLGBTQ+ people are disproportionately exposed to stressors such as discrimination, they may face an elevated risk of poorer well-being and mental health outcomes, helping to explain the patterns observed in the data.[23]

Despite lower well-being scores, many 2SLGBTQ+ Canadians report strong support networks

While public attitudes have evolved over time, many challenges remain for 2SLGBTQ+ people in Canada, such as higher levels of discrimination.[24] These negative experiences are associated with poorer mental health and well-being outcomes among 2SLGBTQ+ people.[25] However, previous research shows that strong support from family and peers can be a protective factor.[26]

From 2021 to 2025, about 7 in 10 2SLGBTQ+ people reported in the CSS always or often having someone that they can depend on when they really need it (70%), nearly matching the corresponding percentage for non-2SLGBTQ+ people (74%). Among transgender and non-binary people, this proportion was still over two-thirds, at 67%.

Relatedly, the majority of 2SLGBTQ+ people reported high levels of satisfaction with their family relationships and friendships. Nearly 6 in 10 2SLGBTQ+ people (59%) reported being satisfied with their family relationships, and 56% reported being satisfied with their friendships. Notably, a higher proportion of transgender and non-binary people reported satisfaction with their friendships, at nearly two in three (65%). However, 38% of this population reported being satisfied with their family relationships. For context, among the non-2SLGBTQ+ population, 79% reported satisfaction with their family relationships, and 68% reported being satisfied with their friendships.

Conclusion

Although Canada has introduced measures aimed at supporting 2SLGBTQ+ communities, the findings from this paper underscore that the 2SLGBTQ+ population continues to experience a lower level of well-being, and some groups are more likely to report experiencing discrimination. All 2SLGBTQ+ people do not experience these disparities in the same way. Instead, disparities reflect the sociodemographic diversity of this population, people's age and life stage, and other intersecting factors (such as being racialized or having a disability) that all shape how individuals navigate and experience the world. Important variations also exist within the 2SLGBTQ+ population itself, particularly across age groups and between LGB+ individuals and transgender and non-binary people.

Data from the CSS demonstrate that exposure to discrimination remains closely linked to well-being outcomes among 2SLGBTQ+ people in Canada. The large survey sample allowed for an analysis of the well-being of transgender and non-binary people. Notably, transgender and non-binary people consistently reported lower levels of well-being across several domains, while also experiencing higher levels of discrimination, highlighting the uneven distribution of risk within the broader 2SLGBTQ+ community.

Despite these findings, many 2SLGBTQ+ people reported having positive relationships with their friends and having people that they can count on, an important source of connection that contributes to overall well-being.[27] In sum, these results highlight the persistent inequalities faced by many 2SLGBTQ+ people in Canada and the diversity of experiences that shape well-being across this population.

Helen Foran is an analyst with the Centre for Social Data Development and Insights at Statistics Canada.

Data sources, methods and definitions

The data used in this article are from the Canadian Social Survey (CSS), using waves collected from April 2021 to June 2025. The CSS is a voluntary, cross-sectional, quarterly survey that collects information on well-being, health, time use, confidence in institutions and other social issues. The target population for the CSS is all non-institutionalized people aged 15 and older living off reserve within the 10 provinces of Canada. Exclusions represent less than 2% of the Canadian population aged 15 and older. The response rate for each cycle varied from 40.3% to 58.9%, with a stratified sample of approximately 20,000 dwellings selected probabilistically. Population-level estimates in the time series were determined using survey and bootstrap weights to reflect the underlying population of Canada.

The Government of Canada adopted the acronym 2SLGBTQI+ to refer to Two-Spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex people and those who use other terms related to gender and sexual diversity. Statistics Canada uses the acronym 2SLGBTQ+ for data analysis purposes, as information is not yet specifically collected about intersex people in surveys.

The term **cisgender** refers to people whose reported gender corresponds to their reported sex at birth, while the term **transgender** refers to people whose reported gender does not correspond to their reported sex at birth. In this release, the term **non-binary** is used to describe all genders that are neither exclusively man nor exclusively woman, although individuals may self-identify with other terms. The term **gender diverse** refers to transgender and non-binary people.

Life satisfaction is measured using the question "Using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Very dissatisfied' and 10 means 'Very satisfied,' how do you feel about your life as a whole right now?" For this analysis, high life satisfaction refers to respondents who selected 8, 9 or 10.

Sense of belonging is represented through respondents' sense of belonging to their local community, based on the question "How would you describe your sense of belonging to your local community?" This analysis focuses on the proportion of respondents who reported a somewhat strong or very strong sense of belonging.

Hopefulness about the future is measured using the question "Thinking about your life in general, how often would you say you have a hopeful view of the future?" This analysis focuses on the proportion of respondents who reported always or often feeling hopeful about the future.

Notes

1. Walker, 2016.
2. Women and Gender Equality Canada, 2025a.
3. Women and Gender Equality Canada, 2025b.
4. Statistics Canada uses the acronym 2SLGBTQ+ for data analysis purposes, because information is not yet specifically collected about intersex people in surveys.
5. Kingsbury and Findlay, 2024.
6. Statistics Canada, 2024 (January 25).
7. Foran, 2025.
8. Statistics Canada, 2026.
9. Hajo et al., 2024; Statistics Canada, 2024 (January 25).
10. Rauh et al., 2025.
11. These data come from the CSS. As a result, estimates may vary slightly from data about 2SLGBTQ+ people from the Canadian Community Health Survey or other Statistics Canada sources. The CSS was used because it provides estimates that can be disaggregated by sexual orientation.
12. Life satisfaction is a widely used and internationally recognized measure of subjective well-being, included in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's Better Life Index and Statistics Canada's Quality of Life Framework.

13. While transgender and non-binary people have distinct lived experiences and outcomes, the limited sample sizes in the CSS prevented disaggregation of these groups for this analysis. Therefore, results reflect the combined transgender and non-binary population.
14. Statistics Canada, 2024 (January 25).
15. Rainbow Health Ontario and Canadian Mental Health Association Ontario, 2026.
16. Women and Gender Equality Canada, 2026.
17. Kingsbury and Findlay, 2024.
18. Sutton-Preddie and Rauh, 2026.
19. Sinha, 2025.
20. Comeau et al., 2023.
21. Cis-heteronormativity refers to discourses that assume and privilege heterosexuality and cisgender identities as the norm.
22. Similarly, a greater proportion of 2SLGBTQ+ Indigenous people identified as bisexual or pansexual (62%), compared with gay or lesbian (25%). This is notable given that previous studies have shown that bisexual people are more likely to experience violent victimization, including physical or sexual assault (Cotter and Burczycka, 2026). Together, these overlapping characteristics may contribute to distinct experiences and vulnerabilities among 2SLGBTQ+ Indigenous people.
23. Comeau et al., 2023.
24. Meyer, 2003.
25. Meyer, 2003.
26. Kingsbury and Findlay, 2024.
27. Statistics Canada, 2024 (July 30).

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