

Robert Brym

**Visible, Indigenous, and Gender Minorities among
Canadian Jews, 2021**

Abstract

This paper focuses on Canadian Jewish minorities that have attracted little scholarly attention. It does so mainly by reviewing data from the 2021 Canadian census on Jews who identify as members of visible, Indigenous, and gender minorities. This discussion points to several areas in need of further academic research, and concludes by claiming that, ironically, understudied Canadian Jewish minorities (including but not restricted to those discussed here) may form a majority of Canada's Jewish population, making their inclusion in community affairs a necessity for the continued social cohesion of the country's Jewish community.

Résumé

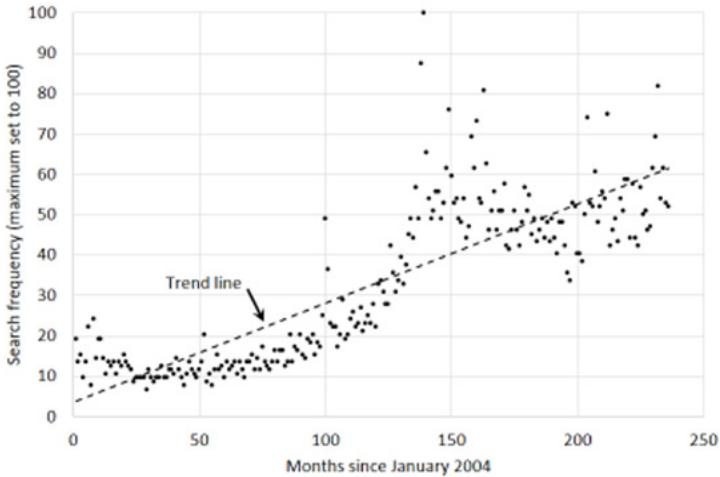
Cet article porte sur les minorités juives canadiennes qui ont peu attiré l'attention de la recherche. Pour ce faire, elle examine les données du recensement canadien de 2021 sur les Juif.ve.s qui s'identifient comme membres de minorités visibles, de minorités de genre et autochtones. Cette discussion indique plusieurs sujets nécessitant des recherches universitaires plus approfondies et conclut en affirmant que, ironiquement, les minorités juives canadiennes moins étudiées (y compris celles discutées ici, mais sans s'y limiter) peuvent former la majorité de la population juive du Canada. Ceci rend leur inclusion dans les affaires communautaires une nécessité pour la cohésion sociale continue de la communauté juive du pays.

A Muted Response

Racial, Indigenous, gender, and sexual minorities are subjects of growing interest in Canada. In recent decades, courses and academic programs focusing on these populations have multiplied. Nearly all institutions of higher education have implemented equity, diversity, and inclusion policies to promote their advancement and integration into university life at student, professorial, and administrative levels.

Similar attentiveness (not all of it supportive) is evident in the larger society. One indicator of interest in minorities is the number of monthly Google searches for the terms “transgender,” “non-binary,” “Indigenous,” and “visible minority,” the last being Canada's administrative euphemism for a non-Indigenous racial group. Since 2004, the trend in the number of searches for these terms originating in a Canadian IP address has been steeply upward. In 2023, such Google searches were about fifteen times more numerous than in 2004 and around twice as numerous in 2011 (Figure 1).¹

Figure 1 Monthly Google Searches for “Visible Minority,” “Indigenous,” “Transgender,” and “Non-binary,” Canada, Jan 2004-Aug 2023



Source: Google Trends (2023).

For the past two decades, Canada’s Jews have increasingly taken note of the country’s Indigenous population, partly because of the mounting society-wide sense of responsibility for their plight, partly because the interests of the two communities coincide in some ways.² However, to date, the influence of this trend on the study of Canadian Jews has been muted. *Canadian Jewish Studies/Études juives canadiennes* is the main forum for the publication of research on Canadian Jewry. In volume 18–19 (2010–2011) through volume 35 (2023), we find 108 research articles, only two of which deal with Jews and Indigenous groups. Similarly, just four research articles focus on visible minority Jews, one on non-cisgender Jews, and none at all on lesbian, gay, bisexual, and asexual Jews.

Apart from drawing attention to the paucity of published research on various minorities in the study of Canadian Jewry, this paper provides a count of the number of Canadian Jews who identify as transgender, non-binary, and members of visible minority and Indigenous groups. It also describes the geographical distribution of their members. Along the way, I adumbrate a few research topics that spring to mind from an examination of data from the 2021 Canadian census, the main source of information for what follows.³

Terms and Method

Before attending to these tasks, I must say a word about my methodology and define several terms to clarify the main subjects of the following discussion. First the terms:

- *Jews*, unless otherwise indicated, are individuals who identify as Jewish by religion or who identify with no religion but select Jewish as at least one of their ethnic/cultural identifiers.
- *Cisgender* people are individuals whose gender identity corresponds to their sex at birth and who identify as either male or female.
- *Transgender* people are individuals whose gender identity does not correspond to their sex at birth.
- *Non-binary* people are individuals who do not identify as exclusively male or female.⁴
- *Visible minority* people are non-Indigenous individuals “who are non-Caucasian in race or non-White in colour. The visible minority population consists mainly of the following groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Arab, West Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, Latin American, Japanese, and Korean.”⁵
- *Indigenous* people include First Nations (North American Indian), Métis and Inuk (Inuit) people.

As far as methodology is concerned, I must emphasize that most of the data I analyze refer to aggregates of people, while most of the inferences I draw refer to the behaviour of individuals within those aggregates. The problem with drawing inferences about individual behaviour from aggregate data has been recognized for many years: except in rare circumstances, relationships at the aggregate level are not necessarily replicated at the individual level.⁶ For example, across regions, one might find that low average annual income is associated with the incidence of a particular disease, but that does not mean low-income individuals in those regions are prone to the disease. It is even possible for low-income individuals to be immune to the disease while, across regions, the incidence of a particular disease is positively correlated with average annual income. Individual-level analysis is required to determine how closely a relationship among individuals resembles a relationship found in the aggregate.

Nonetheless, aggregate data alone have their uses. For instance, if individual-level data are unavailable, aggregate data can be used to develop hypotheses that can be tested when and if individual-level data are released. That is the current situation with respect to 2021 census data on Canadian Jews. Statistics Canada has published aggregate census data on the country's Jewish population. I have also been granted access to some unpublished custom tabulations containing aggregate data.⁷ However, until individual-level data are made available in Statistics Canada's Research Data Centres and a social scientist analyzes them, one is restricted to creating testable hypotheses based on aggregate data alone. It should thus be understood that in what follows I am proposing hypotheses that are plausible to the degree they are consistent with data at the aggregate level, but these hypotheses will be neither supported nor disproven until they are tested against individual-level data. In fact, at times I

simply bring ignorance to light, which is also intended to serve as a spur to further research.

Cisgender, Transgender, and Non-binary Jews

Bearing in mind these considerations, let us turn our attention to Table 1, which displays data on cisgender, transgender, and non-binary Jews in Canada in 2021.

1. Area	2. Cisgender	3. Transgender	4. Non-binary	5. Total	6. Area Jews as % of all Jews in Canada	7. Area non-cisgender Jews as % of all non-cisgender Jews in Canada	8. Area non-cisgender Jews as % of all Jews in area	9. Area Jews with no religion as % of all Jews in area
Montreal	89,890	200	155	90,245	22.3	13.9	0.4	9
Ottawa-Gatineau	14,800	90	55	14,945	3.7	5.7	1.0	24
Toronto	186,000	430	475	186,905	46.3	35.4	0.5	11
Winnipeg	13,840	60	40	13,940	3.5	3.9	0.7	20
Vancouver	27,735	100	200	28,035	6.9	11.7	1.1	28
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>332,265</i>	<i>880</i>	<i>925</i>	<i>334,070</i>	<i>82.7</i>	<i>70.6</i>	<i>0.5</i>	
Other	69,190	255	495	69,940	17.3	29.4	1.1	
Total Canada	401,455	1,135	1,420	404,020	100.0	100.0	0.6	

Source: Brym (2024 [forthcoming]); Shahar (2023).

Some 99.4% of Jews in Canada identified as male or female in the 2021 census, so 0.6% of Jews—2,555 individuals—identified as transgender or non-binary (Table 1, columns 3 and 4). For the entire Canadian population, the comparable figure is 0.3%.

These numbers may seem surprisingly small to some readers given the considerable attention given to transgender and non-binary people in the mass media and elsewhere in Canadian society. And there is reason to believe they are in fact underestimates since marginalized populations who face discrimination may be reluctant to disclose personal information. On the other hand, nationally representative surveys (not censuses) conducted in 2020–21 in the United States, England and Wales, Ireland, New Zealand, and Belgium on various age cohorts (not entire national populations) find that between 0.5% and 0.8% of people define themselves as non-cisgender. The Canadian data are thus in line with findings elsewhere.⁸ It may also be surmised that some members of marginalized groups are eager to list their group memberships in official counts due to pride in their identity and awareness of the tendency of governments to attend to the interests of identifiable groups based on their size. This tendency may compensate in whole or in part for the reluctance referred to earlier.

In short, some uncertainty surrounds the reliability of the estimates just cited. Qualitative research involving interviews with members of the non-cisgender community are needed to assess their willingness or reluctance to respond reliably to questions about their gender identity. Such research might also suggest why Canadian Jews are apparently twice as likely as members of the Canadian population as a whole to identify as transgender or non-binary.

In general, Jews tend to live in large cities.⁹ In Canada, that is certainly true for members of gender and sexual minorities among them.¹⁰ Statistics Canada reports the number of individuals in a given geographical area only if that number reaches a minimum threshold. Accordingly, the number of non-cisgender Jews is reported for only five census metropolitan areas (CMAs): Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Ottawa–Gatineau (respectively, the first, second, third, and fourth largest CMAs by population), and Winnipeg (the eight largest CMA by population). Two-thirds of Canada's non-cisgender Jews live in metropolitan Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, and Ottawa–Gatineau, the figure rising to 70.6% if Winnipeg is included (Table 1, column 7).

An unexpected pattern emerges when considering non-cisgender Jews as a percentage of the Jewish population of each CMA. For the five CMAs under consideration, there is a strong *negative* correlation ($r = -0.688$) between the size of the CMA's Jewish population and the CMA's percentage of non-cisgender Jews (Table 1, columns 6 and 8).¹¹ The percentage of non-cisgender Jews is largest in Vancouver, Ottawa–Gatineau, and Winnipeg (1.1%, 1.0%, and 0.7%, respectively), and smallest in Toronto and Montreal (0.5% and 0.4%, respectively). Paradoxically, it thus seems that while non-cisgender Jews are disproportionately attracted to larger cities, they are also disproportionately attracted to smaller urban Jewish communities.

The reason for the latter association may be that Toronto and Montreal are the most traditional Jewish communities in Canada. Nearly all of Canada's ultra-Orthodox or *haredi* Jews and the overwhelming majority of Orthodox Jews reside in those two cities. The beliefs, attitudes, and practices of people who identify with these denominations are typically incompatible with non-cisgender identity and, for that matter, with gay, lesbian, bisexual, and asexual lifestyles. The great majority of Canada's Conservative Jews also live in Montreal and Toronto. While their beliefs, attitudes, and practices regarding gender and sexual minorities vary widely, a substantial percentage of them are aligned with the Orthodox on this subject. Together, people who identify with the denominations just listed comprise nearly one-half of Canadian Jewry.¹²

Consistent with these observations is that just 17.3% of all Canadian Jews, but fully 29.4% of non-cisgender Canadian Jews, reside *outside* the five large CMAs that are the focus of our attention. Moreover, a nearly perfect positive correlation ($r=0.981$) exists between the percentage of non-cisgender Jews in each CMA and the percentage of Jews in the CMA claiming they identify with no religion (Table I, columns 8 and 9). That is, the greater the percentage of Jews with no religion (an indicator of weak traditionalism), the larger the proportion of non-cisgender Jews. It seems plausible, then, that non-cisgender Jews are more inclined than cisgender Jews to override their Jewish identity, and in particular their religious identity as Jews, in deciding where to live.

To further clarify this pattern, one might turn to the sociological principle of homophily. It states that the probability of any two people forming a social tie increases with their degree of social similarity. Homophily is apparent in friendship, dating, and marriage patterns. It is evident when people seek information, advice, and support. It is the reason social networks tend to be relatively homogeneous with respect to religion, education, age, occupation, race, ethnicity, and so on.¹³

However, the situation becomes more complex when two or more social identities compete for salience. Take the case of people whose identities as Jewish and transgender or non-binary are sufficiently salient for them to classify themselves as both non-cisgender and Jewish when a census affords them the opportunity to do so. I hypothesize that two main factors will influence whether they form more and stronger ties with other Jews or other non-cisgender people. First, like other groups, non-cisgender Jews will be inclined to favor the more salient of their identities even if doing so involves overriding more common homophilic preferences such as those based on religion or ethnicity.¹⁴ Second, the affiliation they select will depend on how open or accepting the relevant groups are.

The factors influencing choice of group affiliation may not align, as Table 2 indicates. However, the highest probability of homophilic override for particular individuals will be associated with their more salient identity and the group that is more open to them. In the case at hand, if the non-cisgender identity of Jews is more salient than their Jewish identity, and if the non-cisgender community is more open to them than is the Jewish community, they will be most inclined to override their Jewish identity in favour of their non-cisgender identity when it comes to forming social ties (Table 2, cell 1). They may well find large cities attractive insofar as non-cisgender people are concentrated in them, in some cases creating Jewish social spaces permitting the integration of Jewish and non-cisgender identities. However, they will not find large traditional Jewish populations especially attractive, which seems to be the situation in Canada for the reasons noted earlier. That is the theory. Determining whether it holds requires individual-level research.

Table 2 Probability of affiliating with a group, by salience of identification with the group and group openness		
Group openness	High	Low
Salience of identity		
High	cell 1	cell 2
Low	cell 3	cell 4

Visible Minority Jews

The geographical distribution of Canada's visible minority Jews is similar to that of Canada's non-cisgender Jews. Both categories of the Jewish population are found disproportionately in the cities with the largest Jewish populations, especially Toronto and Montreal (Table 3, column 5).

The correlation between the percentage of Canada's visible minority Jews in each CMA and the CMA's percentage of visible minority Jews, though moderate, is negative ($r = -0.316$) (Table 3, columns 5 and 7). Moreover, a strong positive correlation ($r = 0.703$) exists between the percentage of visible minority Jews in each CMA and the percentage of Jews in the CMA claiming they identify with no religion (Table 3, columns 7 and 8). These findings suggest that, like non-cisgender Jews, visible minority Jews may not be disproportionately attracted to large Jewish populations—and, I suspect, for the same reasons (see the earlier discussion of Table 2). In short, available aggregate data on residential patterns are consistent with the hypothesis that visible minority Jews are more inclined than non-visible minority Jews to override their Jewish identity, and in particular their religious identity, as Jews. Determining whether this is actually the case—and if it is, whether the suggested tendency var-

ies in strength among different visible minority groups—again requires analyses of individual-level data.

Table 3 Jews by visible minority status, Canada and selected census metropolitan areas, 2021

1. Area	2. Visible minority Jews	3. Non-visible minority Jews	4. Total	5. Area Jews as % of all Jews in Canada	6. Area visible-minority Jews as % of all visible minority Jews in Canada	7. Area visible minority Jews as % of all Jews in area	8. Area Jews with no religion as % of all Jews in area
Montreal	3,315	86,940	90,255	22.3	20.1	3.7	9
Ottawa-Gatineau	795	14,150	14,945	3.7	4.8	5.3	24
Toronto	6,910	179,990	186,900	46.3	41.9	3.7	11
Winnipeg	375	13,565	13,940	3.5	2.3	2.7	20
Vancouver	1,940	26,095	28,035	6.9	11.8	6.9	28
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>13,335</i>	<i>320,740</i>	<i>334,075</i>	<i>82.7</i>	<i>80.8</i>	<i>4.0</i>	
Other	3,165	66,775	69,940	17.3	19.2	4.5	
Total Canada	16,500	387,515	404,015	100.0	100.0	4.1	
Source: Brym (2024 [forthcoming]); Shahar (2023).							

More than 50% of Canada's visible minority Jews are first-generation Canadians, compared to 30% of all Canadian Jews. Just over 13% of visible minority Jews are third- or earlier-generation Canadians, compared to 39% of all Canadian Jews (Table 4).¹⁵ Based on these figures, I am tempted to suspect that a considerable number of Canada's visible minority Jews began to identify as Jews before arriving in Canada.

Table 4 Jews by religion and visible minority group														
Group	South Asian	Chinese	Black	Filipino	Arab	Latin American	Southeast Asian	West Asian	Korean	Japanese	Not included elsewhere	Multiple	Total	% of total
1st gen	520	395	995	180	460	1,250	120	565	90	80	1,155	255	6,060	50.5
2nd gen	555	485	1,120	230	235	245	140	200	115	80	480	450	4,340	36.2
3rd gen	195	275	505	100	70	10	40	45	20	70	115	165	1,600	13.3
Total	1,270	1,155	2,615	510	765	1,505	300	815	225	225	1,750	870	12,000	
% of total	10.6	9.6	21.8	4.3	6.4	12.5	2.5	6.8	1.9	1.9	14.6	7.3		100.0
Source: Statistics Canada (2022c).														

This may be the case especially among Canada’s visible minority Jews who were born in Latin America (12.5% of the total in Table 4) since a substantial majority of Latin American Jews trace their roots to Eastern Europe and a minority to Morocco, Syria, and Turkey.¹⁶ The proportion of converts to Judaism may be higher among visible minority Jews who identify as Black (21.8%), South Asian (10.6%), Chinese (9.6%), and so on. Research on this subject is lacking.

I suspect that a considerable number of visible minority Jews are the offspring of intermarried or (for want of a better word) “interpartnered” individuals, with one parent Jewish and the other a non-Jewish member of a visible minority group. Although we know something about the sociological conditions leading to Jewish intermarriage and inter-partnering in Canada, we do not know whether or to what extent these or other conditions apply to visible minority Jews in particular.¹⁷ The subject is wide open to research.

Indigenous Jews

In the 2021 census, 2,580 Jews identified as Indigenous and Jewish by ethnicity or culture. Of these individuals, only 730 (just over 28% of the total) were first- or second-generation Canadians (Table 5).

Table 5 Jews by ethnic or cultural origin and Indigenous status

Group	First Nations						Inuit	Métis	Total	% of total
	Anishnaabe	Cree	Mi'kmaq	Unspecified	Other	Subtotal				
1st gen	10	0	0	110	65	185	0	25	210	8.1
2 nd gen	20	25	15	155	160	375	10	135	520	20.2
3 rd gen	135	140	95	485	565	1,420	25	405	1,850	71.7
Total	165	165	110	750	790	1,980	35	565	2,580	
% of total	6.4	6.4	4.3	29.1	30.6	76.7	1.4	21.9		100.0

Source: Statistics Canada (2023b).

Anecdotally, we know that numerous circumstances may lead people to identify as Jewish and Indigenous. For example, some members of the first and second generation or their parents met their mate in college, university or some other organizational setting. In other cases, they were, or one of their parents was, born into an Indigenous family and later adopted by a Jewish family. Many adoptions were part of the scandalous but misnamed Sixties Scoop, which enabled child welfare authorities (including Jewish Child and Family Services) to remove children from their Indigenous families for adoption by non-Indigenous families between the mid-1950s and early 1980s. Often, adoptive parents paid welfare agencies for their services.¹⁸

Some 39% of all Jews in Canada claim to be members of the third or earlier generation in this country.¹⁹ For Jews who identify as Indigenous and Jewish, the comparable figure is 72%. It seems possible that, for many of the latter, the perception that their ancestors have been in the country for three or more generations is based more on their Indigenous than their Jewish identity.

Adding weight to this possibility is the fact that the largest category of Jews in Table 5, just over 29% of the total, cannot specify their Indigenous origins, suggesting that precise knowledge of their Indigenous origins has been lost in the mist of time. It is also perhaps relevant in this connection that most Jews by ethnic or cultural origin who claim an identifiable Indigenous status seem to be the offspring of Indigenous peoples who originated in the southeastern quadrant of the country (roughly the

area east of Saskatchewan excluding the northern territories), the area first colonized by Europeans. Nineteenth-century Jewish fur traders and early twentieth-century Jewish merchants in the country's southeast quadrant are known to have married or had children with Indigenous women.²⁰ It is possible that, generations later, some of their offspring still identify with their Jewish roots. It is also quite likely that there are Jews in Canada who, believing—or even simply wishing to believe—that they have an Indigenous ancestor, chose to identify themselves as “Métis” on the census, despite having little or no connection to Métis homelands or communities. We know that the 2016 census included a record-breaking number of “settler self-indigenization” claims.²¹

The facts just outlined are little more than hints at the variety of circumstances that may lead some Canadians to identify as Jewish and Indigenous. Available data call out for interviews with individuals who identify as Jewish and Indigenous to discover the sociological and historical bases of their complex identities. The history—let alone the sociology—of Jewish-Indigenous identity remains to be written. As is probably the case for visible minority Jews, intermarriage and interpartnering will likely be a major part of the story.

Neglected Majority Jews?

The study of Canadian Jewry has about as many holes as a screen door. It should be evident from the preceding discussion that many lacunae pertain to racial, Indigenous, gender, and sexual minorities.

To the 12,000 visible minority Jews, 2,580 individuals who identify as Jewish and Indigenous, and 2,555 Jews who identify as non-cisgender, we may add the roughly 13,600 gay, lesbian, bisexual, and asexual Canadian Jews, about whom little research has been conducted to date.²² In total, then, as many as 30,700 people, 7.6% of the country's Jewish population, may be counted among these neglected minorities.²³ That is approximately equal to the combined Jewish populations of metropolitan Vancouver and London, Ontario, the third- and tenth-largest CMAs by Jewish population in Canada.

On a larger canvas, I conclude that it is time for students of Canadian Jewry to focus more attention on groups outside the mainstream of Ashkenazi, straight, White, cisgender Jews who were born in this country and are affiliated with the three main religious denominations. After all, it may be that a majority of Canada's Jews consist of neglected minorities, including Sephardim, Mizrahim, *haredim*, immigrants (among whom people born in Israel, Russia, and Ukraine predominate), the institutionally unaffiliated, and the minorities that have attracted my attention in this paper.²⁴ Even more broadly, mainstream Jews need to understand that the continuity of a cohesive

Canadian Jewish community depends in large measure on the energy and resources they invest in integrating Jewish minorities into membership and leadership roles in religious, communal, and political affairs.

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1

My impression is that heightened interest in gay, lesbian, and bisexual people predates 2004, the first year of Google Trends data.

2

Robert Brym, Keith Neuman, and Rhonda Lenton, *2018 Survey of Jews in Canada* (Toronto: Environics Institute, 2019), www.environicsinstitute.org/docs/default-source/project-documents/2018-survey-of-jews-in-canada/2018-survey-of-jews-in-canada---final-report.pdf; David S. Koffman, "Suffering and Sovereignty: Recent Canadian Jewish Interest in Indigenous Peoples and Issues," *Canadian Jewish Studies/Études juives canadiennes* 25 (2017): 28-59.

3

Throughout, percentages and totals may not add up precisely because of Statistics Canada's rounding procedure.

4

Of these individuals in the 2021 census, 70.5% identified as non-binary, 7.3% as genderfluid, 5.1% as agender, 4.1% as queer, 2.9% as gender neutral, 2.2% as Two-Spirit, 1.3% as neither man nor woman, and 1.1% as gender non-conforming. The remaining 5.5% identified as intergender, pangender, polygender, questioning, demi, other gender, trigender, or third gender (Statistics Canada 2022a).

5

Statistics Canada 2021b. Visible Minority of Person, <https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p3Var.pl?Function=DECI&Id=62026>.

6

Leo Goodman, "Ecological Regressions and Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Review* 18, no. 6 (1953): 663-64; W.S. Robinson. "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Review* 15, no. 3 (1950): 150-57.

7

I am grateful to Charles Shahar for sharing his custom tabulations from the 2021 Canadian census on which a considerable part of this paper is based; and to Sergio DellaPergola, Rhonda Lenton, Randal F. Schnoor, Morton Weinfeld, and two anonymous CJS/EJC reviewers for useful critical comments on a draft.

8

Statistics Canada's count of non-cisgender people is based on the population over the age of 14. Since younger age cohorts are more likely than older age cohorts to identify as non-cisgender—Canadians between the age of 15 and 19 are 5.2 times more likely than those 65 years old and older to identify as non-cisgender—the percentage of non-cisgender Canadians (and Jews among them) may be expected to increase over time. Statistics Canada 2022a. Canada is the First Country to Provide Census Data on Transgender and Non-Binary People, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/220427/dq220427b-eng.htm>.

9

Sergio DellaPergola, "World Jewish Population, 2022," in *American Jewish Year Book*

2022, ed. Arnold Dashefsky and Ira M. Sheskin (Cham, Switzerland: Springer), 279–391; Yakov Leshchinsky, “The Development of the Jewish People over the Last 100 Years,” trans. Robert Brym, *East European Jewish Affairs* 50, no. 1–2 (2022): 157–242.

10

Statistics Canada 2021a. Family and Household Characteristics of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual People in Canada, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-28-0001/2018001/article/00021-eng.htm>.

11

Tests of statistical significance are not relevant here because we are dealing with population rather than sample data.

12

Brym, Neuman, and Lenton, 2018 Survey.

13

Miller McPherson, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook, “Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 27 (2001): 415–44.

14

Adam L. Horowitz and Charles J. Gomez, “Identity Override: How Sexual Orientation Reduces the Rigidity of Racial Boundaries,” *Sociological Science* 5 (2018): 669–93.

15

Robert Brym, “Canada’s Jewish Population, 2023: Focus on Antisemitism and Attitudes toward Israel’s New Government,” in *American Jewish Year Book 2023*, eds. Arnold Dashefsky and Ira M. Sheskin (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2024).

16

Haim Avni, *Argentina and the Jews*, trans. Gila Brand (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1991); Robert Brym and Ezequiel Erdei, “Jewish Migrations To and From Argentina and Canada: Tides, Waves, and Streams,” in *Promised Lands North and South: Jewish Canada and Jewish Argentina Compared*, eds. David S. Koffman and David Sheinin (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2024), 23–42.

17

Robert Brym and Rhonda Lenton, “Jewish Religious Inter-marriage in Canada,” *Canadian Jewish Studies/Études juives canadiennes* 30, no. 2 (2020): 67–82.

18

Louise BigEagle, “New Series Tells Story of Sixties Scoop Survivor Learning About Her Past,” CBC News, May 25, 2023, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/saskatchewan/little-bird-sixties-scoop-new-series-1.6853171>; John Longhurst, “Former Winnipegger of Métis Ancestry, Raised Jewish Sharing Her Experience,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 31, 2022, <https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/arts-and-life/life/faith/2022/10/31/former-winnipegger-born-metis-raised-jewish-sharing-her-experience>; “Intersections of Identity: The Jewish Indigenous Experience,” Museum of Jewish Heritage and the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, 2022, <https://mjhnyc.org/blog/intersections-of-identity-the-jewish-Indigenous-experience/>; Nakuset, “Sixties Scoop Adoptee Recounts Growing Up in Jewish Montreal Family,” CBC News, March 15, 2016, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/real-talk-on-race-point-of-view-nakuset-1.3483377>; Jane Scudeler, “‘The Song I am Singing’: Gregory Scofield’s Interweaving of Métis, Gay, and Jewish Selfhoods,” *Studies in Canadian Literature/Études en Littérature Canadienne* 31, no. 1 (2008): 129–45.

19

Robert Brym, “Canada’s Jewish Population, 2023: Focus on Antisemitism and Attitudes Toward Israel’s New Government.”

20

Early Jewish “fur traders who spent lengthy periods at posts in the interior took Indian ‘wives’ *au coutume du pays*; traders recognized the economic utility of these alliances, as well as the need for emotional and sexual comfort. There is little reason to believe, therefore, that Jewish contemporary intermarriage rates in Quebec were much less than the 28 percent for American Jewry in the Federal period.” Gerald Tulchinsky, *Taking Root: The Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community* (Toronto: Lester Publishing, 1992), 17–18. Note also that in 2021 the largest group of Jews who claimed a known Indigenous identity identified as Métis, while only three First Nations—Mi’kmaq, Anishnaabe, and Cree—had more than 100 members claiming to be Jewish by ethnic or cultural origin. All these groups originated in the country’s southeastern quadrant, the area first colonized by Europeans. David S. Koffman, Avi Finegold, Ilana Zackon, and David Sklar, “The Secret History of Jews and Indigenous Communities,” De-

ember 16, 2021, in *Bonjour Chai*, produced by Michael Fraiman, podcast, MP3 audio, 59:18, <https://thecjn.ca/podcasts/the-secret-history-of-jews-and-indigenous-communities/>.

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David S. Koffman and Paul L. Gareau, "Jews and Métis in Canada: Ethnic Mobility and the Politics of Counting," in Robert Brym and Randal F. Schnoor, eds., *The Ever-Dying People? Canada's Jews in Comparative Perspective* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2023), 214-229.

22

On gay Jews, see Randal F. Schnoor and Morton Weinfeld, "Seeking a Mate: Inter-Group Partnerships Among Jewish Gay Men," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 37, no. 1 (2005): 21-39; and Randal F. Schnoor, "Being Gay and Jewish: Negotiating Intersecting Identities," *Sociology of Religion* 67, no. 1 (2006), 43-60. Statistics Canada estimates that 4% of Canadians identify as members of gender and sexual minorities. Here I assume that this percentage applies to Canada's Jews. Statistics Canada 2022b. LGBTQ2+ People, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/12-581-x/2022001/sec6-eng.htm>.

23

This figure ignores people who overlap categories.

24

For estimates of the size of these groups, see Brym, "Canada's Jewish Population, 2023"; Brym, Neuman, and Lenton, *2018 Survey*; and Daniel L. Staetsky, *Haredi Jews Around the World: Population Trends and Estimates* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 2022), <https://www.jpr.org.uk/reports/haredi-jews-around-world-population-trends-and-estimates>.