Senate of Canada Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1A 0A6



Dear Senators,

On behalf of the Coalition for Gun Control, an alliance of more than 200 public health, violence prevention, public safety, community, women's, and victims' organizations, we are submitting the following brief regarding Bill C-21, An Act to amend certain Acts and to make certain consequential amendments (firearms).

We ask that you pass this legislation in its current form and provide an analysis of why it is an important part of an integrated strategy to prevent firearm crime death and injury. The legislation responds to many of the issues and recommendations discussed in the report of the Mass Casualty Commission (MCC) and builds on decades of research that suggests that effective regulation of firearms can reduce the risk that they will be misused.

Of importance is first understanding the problem being addressed. While some have attempted to reduce the issue to problems of urban gang violence fueled by smuggled firearms, the nature of gun death and injury is far more complex. Firearm violence includes suicide, homicide (including gang violence, domestic homicide, mass shootings, hate crimes), other crimes (assault, robbery) as well as unintentional injury. While all linked by the use of a firearm, the sources of the firearms and the causal factors differ.

Principles of Bill C-21

This legislation is grounded in the principles of risk management and injury prevention.

- 1. Improving controls over access to all firearms, including unrestricted rifles and shotguns, the firearms most often used in domestic violence, suicide and rural crime.
- 2. Improving controls over access to all firearms to reduce the diversion of legal guns to illegal markets through illegal sales or theft.
- 3. Banning firearms where the risk outweighs the utility.
- 4. Strengthening controls over manufacturers and imports.
- 5. Protection of hunting rights of Indigenous peoples.

The legislation also aligns with global norms in industrialized countries most of which severely limit legal access to handguns and military style semi-automatics.

Firearm Death and Injury

While social science research is often contradictory depending on the context, the data and methods used, there is strong evidence across jurisdictions to suggest that access to firearms is associated with higher rates of firearm crime, death and injury and that effective regulation reduces the risks firearms will be misused.

This is evident when we examine international data as well as when we compare areas with high rates

of gun ownership to those with lower rates of gun ownership (see Appendix 1). In Canada we also have evidence from in-depth studies and investigations of incidents involving firearms; the most recent is the Mass Casualty Commission (MCC).

Sources of firearms

Firearms that are misused in Canada may be misused by their owners, diverted from their legal owners to illegal purposes (e.g. theft) or smuggled across international borders. Increasingly we are also seeing some firearms that are illegally manufactured or modified (e.g. ghost guns). Currently in Canada, there are approximately 7 million unrestricted rifles and shotguns (used by hunters and farmers) legally owned by approximately 2.5 million licensed owners. There are more than 1 million restricted and prohibited firearms, including handguns and semi-automatic military style firearms as well as "grandfathered" prohibited firearms owned by 275,000 licensed owners. These firearms cannot be used for hunting or pest control and are primarily used by target shooters and gun collectors as well as those who require them for lawful occupation. Canadian law has, since 1930, attempted to "restrict" these firearms because the risk outweighs their utility and they cannot be used for hunting or pest control.

In spite of the public focus on smuggled guns, the most recent evidence shows firearms that were once legally owned account for half of all crime guns that are traced by police.

The U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (AFT) recently said, in a report covering 2017-2021, that a third of the Canadian weapons used in crime which it was asked to trace were legally exported. Data from the Canadian National Firearms Tracing Centre indicate that half the crime guns (50%) it traced in 2022 were what authorities call "domestically sourced" weapons. This means they were once legally purchased and subsequently diverted.

Approximately 2400 firearms are reported stolen each year, by definition falling into the hands of criminals. In 2021, approximately 1,100 firearms were confiscated at the border according to CBSA figures but the number of smuggled guns is unknown. ³

For example, while smuggled guns are commonly used in gang related violence, most often it is legally owned firearms, or firearms diverted from legal owners that are used in suicide, domestic violence, hate crimes, mass shootings, murders of police officers and unintentional injuries.

While the Portapique killer used illegal guns, and mass shootings are rare events, the vast majority of mass shootings in Canada have been committed by legal gun owners or with guns diverted from legal sources. Legally owned guns have been used in some of Canada's worst mass casualty events, including the Montreal massacre at the Ecole Polytechnique (1989), the Vernon mass shooting in British Columbia (1996), and the Quebec Islamic Centre shooting (2017). In other instances, for example the Mayerthorpe shooting of 4 RCMP police officers (2005) and the Danforth shooting in Toronto (2018), guns that were legally owned and diverted by their legal owners or stolen from them were used. (See Appendix 2, Appendix 3)

Firearm Related Violence

In Canada in 2020, there were 8,344 victims of police-reported violent crime where a firearm was present and relevant to the commission of the offence.⁴ In 2020, 277 people were murdered with a firearm in Canada, a 37% increase between 2013 and 2020; one in three homicides in Canada in 2016 was firearm related and Canada's age-standardized firearm related mortality ranks near the top of 36 OECD countries.⁵ Overall, rates of victims of firearm-related crime have been climbing upward since 2014 across most jurisdictions in Canada (these rates had been decreasing between 2009 and 2013).⁶

Contrary to popularly held beliefs about guns and gangs, per capita rates of firearm-related violent crime are higher in rural areas compared to urban centres in most provinces.⁷ In urban areas, 63% of firearm-related violent crime involved handguns, whereas in rural areas, the firearm used was most commonly a rifle or shotgun.⁸

Firearms and Domestic/Intimate Partner Violence

In Canada, a woman is murdered every 2.5 days and in 2021, the rate of femicide was trending even higher. In Canada, the presence of a firearm at home has been found to increase the lethality of intimate partner violence ("IPV") fivefold and firearms are the most common cause of death in spousal murder-suicides and murder-suicides involving children and youth. An international meta-analysis of IPV perpetrated by men found that access to firearms was linked to a more than tenfold increase in the likelihood of killing a partner, as opposed to committing nonfatal violence; this finding has been supported by other research.

One in four female victims of firearm-related violent crime was victimized by a current or former spouse or other intimate partner according to Statistics Canada figures. Firearm-related intimate partner violence was most frequent in rural areas and individuals accused in firearm-related violent crimes were predominantly male (87% in 2020). Familicide, a gendered crime typically involving a male accused who kills multiple family members, is most commonly committed using a firearm, occurs more often in rural areas, and many male accused have a history of intimate partner violence. It has been recommended that asking about the presence of firearms at home can help physicians in Canada develop a safety plan for those women who are at risk. Commonly used risk assessment tools for shelters and gender-based violence community agencies involve the determination of the presence of a firearm as an indicator of severe and immediate risk of lethality.

Guns used to kill women are generally rifles and shotguns, most often legally owned. In 2008, an extensive University of New Brunswick study on rural family violence found that 66% of women with firearms in their home said knowing firearms were present made them more fearful for their safety and 70% said the presence of firearms affected their decision whether to tell others or escape abuse; these fears were elevated when the firearms were not licensed or stored properly. One conclusion reached was that "the presence of firearms in abusive homes can easily become instruments of intimidation and control". 18

Firearm Violence and the Role of Regulation

In countries all over the world, researchers have identified a correlation between the rates of civilian firearm ownership, legislation respecting gun ownership and gun control, and mass shootings; in other words, countries with more civilian-owned firearms have more mass shootings.¹⁹ This relationship

holds even when excluding the United States and when controlling for homicide rates.²⁰ Reduced firepower capacity – fewer firearms and limitation of ammunition capacity – are also both associated with fewer victims.²¹ As noted above, firearms in the home are also associated with an increased risk of femicide; women who own firearms and are in abusive relationships often find their own gun turned against them.²²

In addition, firearms are associated with increased rates of homicides of law enforcement officers.²³ In Canada, most police officers shot and killed over the last 20 years were killed in rural communities and smaller towns with rifles and shotguns that were legally owned or that were diverted from legal sources.

Canadians Support Gun Control

Attitudes to firearms are highly gendered and vary across regions. A majority of Canadians have consistently supported stricter gun control laws, but the gender differences are pronounced. Even in rural areas where a majority of men may oppose stronger gun laws, people living with gun owners (principally women) support it. This is in part because most gun owners are men, firearms ownership is tied to notions of masculinity and guns play a significant role in the socialization of boys.²⁴

According to an Ipsos survey conducted in May 2020, eight in ten Canadians were in support of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's ban on military-style assault weapons -—prohibiting their sale, transportation, importation and use in Canada — that was enacted following the Nova Scotia mass casualty. Support was stronger among women (87%) than men (76%). A majority of Canadians (71%) were of the opinion that the federal government's reforms did not go far enough and should have also included a ban on all handguns. More than half support a mandatory buyback program for prohibited firearms; only 35% of respondents supported a voluntary buyback program that was originally part of the legislation (this has since been indefinitely suspended). This particular poll was conducted in March 2021 in the midst of debate over the current Liberal government's reform of firearms legislation. Support for a ban on handguns has been substantial for the last 30 years, generally around 70% of Canadians, again with differences between men and women.

Provisions in the law

Improved Screening and Mechanisms to Remove Firearms from Dangerous People.

While smuggled firearms are a major problem with respect to some forms of violence, firearms that are legally owned or have been diverted from legal gun owners are also part of the problem and need to be strictly regulated with rigorous screening of firearm owners and measures to remove firearms from those who are a risk to themselves of others. As reviewed above, this is because available research shows that legally owned firearms or guns diverted from legal owners are the firearms most often used in domestic violence, suicide, the murder of police officers and mass shootings. Additionally, as mentioned above, rates of gun crime are also generally higher in rural communities, where there are more firearms. This means that while recognizing legitimate activities such as hunting as well as the rights of Indigenous peoples, an effective gun control regime requires regulation that is also designed to reduce these risks by prohibiting firearms where the risk outweighs legitimate utility. This principle of balancing interests in a way that is proportionate to overall public

good is a cornerstone of Canadian law and public policy.

The proposed legislation effectively addresses recommendations from experts, particularly those involved in domestic violence and suicide prevention, as well as inquests and inquiries conducted over the last thirty years. It also addresses most of the recommendations from the recent Mass Casualty Commission into the Portapique massacre. The law will need to be accompanied by measures to ensure public education, implementation, and enforcement to action is taken to prevent people who are a risk to themselves or others from gaining access to firearms.

Here is how Bill C-21 improves screening and risk management of firearm owners:

This enactment amends the *Criminal Code* to, among other things,

- (a) increase, from 10 to 14 years, the maximum penalty of imprisonment for indictable weapons offences in sections 95, 96, 99, 100 and 103;
- **(b)** establish a regime that would permit any person to apply for an emergency prohibition order or an emergency limitations on access order and allow the judge to protect the security of the person or of anyone known to them;
- (c) deem certain firearms to be prohibited devices for the purpose of specified provisions;
- (d) create new offences for possessing and making available certain types of computer data that pertain to firearms and prohibited devices and for altering a cartridge magazine to exceed its lawful capacity;
- **(e)** include, for interception of private communications purposes, sections 92 and 95 in the definition of "offence" in section 183;
- (f) authorize employees of certain federal entities who are responsible for security to be considered as public officers for the purpose of section 117.07; and
- (g) include certain firearm parts to offences regarding firearms.

The Bill amends the *Firearms Act* to, among other things:

- (a) prevent individuals who are subject to a protection order or who have been convicted of certain offences relating to domestic violence from being eligible to hold a firearms licence;
- **(b)** transfer authority to the Commissioner of Firearms to approve, refuse, renew and revoke authorizations to carry referred to in paragraph 20(a) of the Act;
- (c) limit the transfer of handguns only to businesses and exempted individuals and the transfer of cartridge magazines and firearm parts;
- (d) impose requirements in respect of the importation of ammunition, cartridge magazines and firearm parts;
- (e) prevent certain individuals from being authorized to transport handguns from a port of entry;
- **(f)** require a chief firearms officer to suspend a licence if they have reasonable grounds to suspect that the licence holder is no longer eligible for it;
- **(g)** require the delivery of firearms to a peace officer, or their lawful disposal, if a refusal to issue, or revocation of, a licence has been referred to a provincial court under section 74 of the Act in respect of those firearms;
- **(h)** revoke an individual's licence if there is reasonable grounds to suspect that they engaged in an act of domestic violence or stalking or if they become subject to a protection order;

- (i) authorize the issuance, in certain circumstances, of a conditional licence for the purposes of sustenance;
- (j) authorize, in certain circumstances, the Commissioner of Firearms, the Registrar of Firearms or a chief firearms officer to disclose certain information to a law enforcement agency for the purpose of an investigation or prosecution related to the trafficking of firearms;
- (k) provide that the annual report to the Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness regarding the administration of the Act must include information on disclosures made to law enforcement agencies and be submitted no later than May 31 of each year; and
- (I) create an offence for a business to advertise a firearm in a manner that depicts, counsels or promotes violence against a person, with a few exceptions.

Rights and Exemptions for Indigenous Peoples

There is no right to bear arms in Canada. The Supreme Court of Canada has explicitly confirmed that there is no constitutional right to bear arms in Canada. Nevertheless, there is evidence that increasingly Canadians are obtaining handguns under other pretenses, often with tragic consequences, ²⁹ in spite of the very strict provisions in existing law describing the "Circumstances in Which an Individual Needs Restricted Firearms or Prohibited Handguns for the Purpose of Section 20 (Protection of Life)." Internationally, the United Nations has reiterated that the right to be safe, particularly for women and children, should be central to states' regulation of firearms. Barbara Frey, UN Special Rapporteur on Small Arms and Human Rights noted: "While male—dominated societies often justify small arms possession through the alleged need to protect vulnerable women, women actually face greater danger of violence when their families and communities are armed". ³¹

At the same time Indigenous peoples have rights to hunt which are well established and therefore their concerns about firearms legislation and how it may impede these rights is very important. While consultations have been ongoing, the law has introduced specific non-derogation provisions to unequivocally address Indigenous Rights.

- 72.1 (1) The provisions enacted by this Act are to be construed as upholding the rights of Indigenous peoples recognized and affirmed by section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, and not as abrogating or derogating from them.
- (2) In subsection (1), Indigenous peoples has the meaning assigned by the definition aboriginal peoples of Canada in subsection 35(2) of the Constitution Act, 1982

Other witnesses have discussed the risks of firearms death, domestic violence, suicide injury and hate crimes. Noting the previous testimony of now Senator Michele Audette, a Commissioner at the National Inquiry into Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls, noted: "The availability of firearms is an important factor that harms Aboriginals' health... It is no surprise that the increase in the number of homicides nationally is mainly explained by the increase in the number of firearm homicides. For me, the solution may be found in the communities themselves, with practical measures that help reduce access to firearms, so that they would not be used for anything other than hunting and would not be used to commit violence against humans, or to take one's own life or that of others." 32

Banning Firearms where the Risk Outweighs the Utility Clear and Fixed Definitions for Semi-Automatic, Military Style Firearms

The law contains a clear definition of military style semi-automatic firearms, consistent with laws in major industrialized countries. This provision, combined with the long-standing approach of prohibiting specific firearms through orders in council, will help ensure that firearm manufacturers are not able to circumvent the goals of the ban on semi-automatic military style firearms by making slight modifications to features or rebranding guns which are effectively semi-automatic military-style firearms.

The ban on military style assault weapons is critical – these firearms serve no legitimate purpose in the hands of civilians and represent a higher risk to public safety compared to other firearms. Research shows, worldwide, they are more likely to be used in mass shootings. Additionally, when they are used, the number of victims and the overall rate of mortality are higher because they do what they are designed to do: kill and disable as many people as possible in a short amount of time.

These provisions are intended to ensure that firearm manufacturers are not able to circumvent the goals of the ban on semi-automatic military style firearms by making slight modifications to features or rebranding guns which are effectively semi-automatic military-style firearms.

The ingenuity of manufacturers in circumventing bans is well documented in Tom Diaz's book: *Making a Killing*. The intent of these amendments is not to prohibit firearms "reasonably" used in hunting. —e In some instances, there have been gaps in the regulation — because firearms are used in hunting, does not make them hunting firearms.

Having conducted an extensive review of legislation around the world, research shows that Canada is not alone in facing challenges with definitions (http://guncontrol.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/201503wpMAW-1.pdf - update in press) It is clear, however, most industrialized countries do have legislation in place to prohibit military style semi-automatic firearms such as the AR-15. They do it in different ways.

- Prohibit by make and models: For example, in Canada, the prohibitions through the Orders In Council (OICs) was intended to allow, without changes to the legislation, the Government to quickly update the list of prohibited firearms. The limitation of this approach is that the lists were not updated quickly enough to keep up with the manufacturers introduction of new or modified makes and models.
- Another approach, is to define characteristics centerfire, accepts a large capacity magazine, other
 military features often with a "points" system. The challenge with this is the issue of
 interpretation and again manufacturers make small modifications. Others use a combination of
 lists and characteristics which is what the proposed amendments attempt to do.
- Permissions based: The other regulatory approach, similar to what is used with other dangerous commodities like pharmaceuticals is to publish a list of what is allowed and to assume if a firearm is not on the allowed list, it is prohibited. This reverses the onus of preventing circumvention to the firearms manufacturers instead of burdening public policy makers with continuous vigilance.

The approach Canada has historically taken —prohibiting fully automatic firearms or those capable of fully automatic firearms and then using OICs to define specific prohibited military style semi-automatic firearms— is reasonable and flexible. Key to its effectiveness is ensuring the lists are kept up to date, given the aggressive efforts of manufacturers to circumvent the law.

Here is how Bill C-21 updates and defines prohibited weapons, semi-automatic firearms with recognized military characteristics including centrefire discharge as well as design for a detachable magazine over six cartridges. also Importantly, it includes measures to prevent manufacturers from circumventing the ban on firearms not reasonably used for hunting:

- (1) The definition *prohibited firearm* in subsection 84(1) of the Act is amended by striking out "or" at the end of paragraph (c), by adding "or" at the end of paragraph (d) and by adding the following after paragraph (d):
 - (e) any unlawfully manufactured firearm regardless of the means or method of manufacture; (arme à feu prohibée)
- (2) The definition *prohibited firearm* in subsection 84(1) of the Act is amended by striking out "or" at the end of paragraph (c), by adding "or" at the end of paragraph (d) and by adding the following after paragraph (d):
 - (e) a firearm that is not a handgun and that
 - o (i) discharges centre-fire ammunition in a semi-automatic manner,
 - o (ii) was originally designed with a detachable cartridge magazine with a capacity of six cartridges or more, and
 - o (iii) is designed and manufactured on or after the day on which this paragraph comes into force; (arme à feu prohibée)
- (6) Subsection 84(1) of the Act is amended by adding the following in alphabetical order: **semi-automatic**, in respect of a firearm, means that the firearm that is equipped with a mechanism that, following the discharge of a cartridge, automatically operates to complete any part of the reloading cycle necessary to prepare for the discharge of the next cartridge; (semi-automatique)

To support these provisions it is important to ensure there is clear communication about what firearms are being affected. Perhaps making readily available the Firearms Reference Table (FRT) database of firearms in a searchable format would help.

Controlling the Sale, Import and Transfer of Handguns

The law also includes a ban on the import, sale, and transfer of handguns, measures which will help stem the proliferation of these guns. Handguns are supposed to be restricted weapons, available only to well vetted individuals for specific legitimate purposes. Sadly, there is a great deal of evidence that we need to take action. Legally owned handguns have been used in high profile mass shootings and guns diverted from legal owners fuel the illegal market with tragic consequences, as occurred in the Danforth shooting³³. While organizations such as the International Practical Shooters Confederation (IPSC) which acts out self-defense scenarios, is pushing to expand the exemptions, we urge you to resist these suggestions which will create massive loopholes. The risks are simply too great: in a single break-in Toronto, an IPSC shooter and gun collector had 53 guns stolen, including an Uzi, and the police took another 170 into safe keeping.³⁴

(c) limit the transfer of handguns only to businesses and exempted individuals and the transfer of cartridge magazines and firearm parts;

Given rising rates of violence and the misuse of handguns by their legal owners (eg. the Vaughan condo shootings) as well as the diversion of legal handguns to illegal markets (eg. the Danforth shooting) and the use of legal handguns in mass shootings (eg. Dawson College), most Canadians would agree with our Coalition – the risks of handguns outweigh their utility. With the number of legally owned handguns skyrocketing from about 360,000 in 2005 to more than 1 million today, we have seen heightened risk. The ban on the import, sale and transfer of handguns will stem the proliferation of handguns and should not be watered down with exemptions. Moreover, disturbing increases in handgun ownership suggest covert arming for self-protection as well as well documented arming by white supremacist and extremist groups should also be considerations.³⁵

Allowing narrow exemptions for legitimate Olympic sports must be distinguished from hobbies like "practical shooting", which are rooted in training civilians for defensive use of firearms which is not encouraged by Canadian law.

Gun culture and arming for self-protection

Groups appearing before this committee have asserted that they are advocating for firearms owner "rights" and some have been associated with efforts to promote "defensive" shooting and arming for self-protection. The Mass Casualty Commission noted the role of "gun culture" – the attitudes, norms and meanings attributed to firearms within a specific cultural setting – and its connections to gun violence as well as the gendered nature of gun ownership and gun violence.³⁶ Men are more likely than women to (a) own firearms; (b) commit suicide via firearms; (c) commit homicides with firearms and (d) men commit the overwhelming majority of mass shootings globally.³⁷ Arming for self-protection also has a gendered dimension and is associated with masculinity. A gender-based analysis showed that women are far less likely to own guns than men – women in Canada own less than 4% of registered firearms.³⁸ The analysis also found that women are twice as likely to be threatened, sexually assaulted, beaten, or choked with a gun despite common claims that guns are often owned to protect women.³⁹ The CCGC's position is that arming for self-protection is not a solution to violent crime.

But the evidence is clear: firearms do not make people safer. In fact, firearms in the home are associated with an increased risk of homicide, suicide and unintentional injury. Research in the United States and internationally demonstrates that the best predictor of death by firearms is the possession of firearms, a result that has been found to be trans-culturally consistent – this finding holds true across 25 advanced democracies and 50 states in the United States regardless of cultural background. The United States, one of the few industrialized countries in the world to allow citizens to arm for self-protection, often under cover of the 5th amendment of the Constitution, has the highest rate of gun violence in the industrialized world. It has also been the site of an armed attempt to overthrow a duly elected government, organized by individuals and groups fueled by a reading of the 5th Amendment as a right to bear arms, meeting the predictive definition of the Terrorism Radicalization Assessment Protocol. Assessment

Impacts

Some opponents of the legislation reference the costs or the economic impacts. It is difficult to put a price on the lives and safety of Canadians. But for those persuaded by economic arguments, consider this: More than a decade ago the costs of firearm death and injury was estimated to be \$6.6 billion a year⁴³ and more recently, the costs in BC along are estimated to be almost \$300m per year. We should not need another mass casualty event to prompt action.

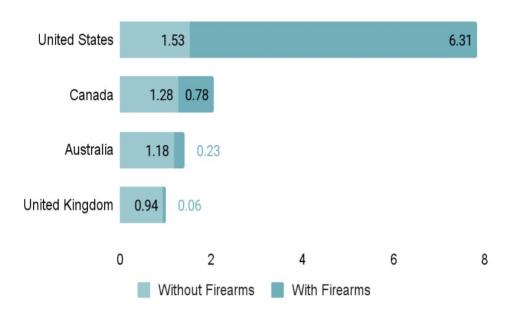
We understand there are many amendments being proposed to the law. Having not seen the full list of amendments but having watched the discussion unfold, I would simply ask that the committee maintain the focus on public safety in its deliberations. The foundations of the proposed legislation are strong. Most Canadians want stronger regulation of firearms. Most Canadians want a ban on the import, sale and transfer of handguns. Most Canadians want a ban on military style semi-automatic firearms and we should not need another mass casualty event to prompt action.

No single piece of legislation is a panacea; it must be accompanied by strong implementation. But Bill C-21, in its current draft, is a culmination of the best recommendations that will ensure better public safety outcomes for Canadians.

Wendy Cukier, MA, MBA, PhD, DU (HC), LLD (HC), M.S.C. President wcukier@compuserve.com www.guncontrol.ca

Appendix 1

Homicide Rates per 100,000 (2021)



Appendix 2 – Mass shootings in Canada (more than 4 people injured or killed)

| Event | Date | Deaths | Details | Type Status of Firearm |
|-------------------------|---------------------|---|--|---|
| Ecole Polytechnique | 1989 | 27 shot 14 killed including perpetrator | Women were targeted | Legally owned Ruger Mini 14 and large capacity magazine |
| Concordia University | 1992 | 4 killed, 1 injured | Workplace dispute | Legal handgun owner, 5-shot revolver, 6.35mm, 7.65mm (pistols) |
| Vernon, BC | 1996 | 9 killed | Estranged wife and her family killed at a wedding, perpetrator killed himself | .Gun Club meber with 4 semi- automatic handguns, .3 revolvers |
| OC Transpo | 1999 | 4 killed, 2 injured | Work place violence | Legal shotgun |
| Cruse family murders | June 14, 2002 | 5 including shooter | Ex-boyfriend travelled from U.S. with handgun and killed ex-girlfriend, her parents, her 6-year-old child, and himself. | Smuggled handgun |
| Penticton | October 30, 2004 | 3 including self | After drinking and snorting cocaine, Dustin Paul shot five friends and relatives while they were all partying at a campsite, killing three of them before slitting his own throat. | Unknown |
| Mayerthorpe tragedy | March 3, 2005 | 5 including self | James Roszko shot and killed 4 RCMP officers during a property seizure of his farm, he later turned the gun on himself. | Rifle given by friend registered to grandfather, |
| Shedden | April 8, | 8 | Gang related killing of own gang members. | Shotgun source |

| massacre | 2006 | | | unknown |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---|--|
| Richardson family | April 22, 2006 | 3 | 12-year-old girl and her 23-year-old boyfriend killed girl's parents and 8- year-old brother. | Source unknown |
| murders | 2000 | 3 | | |
| Dawson College shooting | September 13, 2006 | 2 including self | Anastasia DeSousa was killed, several others were injured and the killer committed suicide. | Licensed, gun club member, restricted handgun |
| Claresholm highway massacre | December 15, 2011 | 4 including self | 21-year-old man shot and killed his ex- girlfriend and two young men who were passengers in the same vehicle. The man also shot the female driver, before taking his own life. | Legal rifle |
| Danzig Street shooting, Toronto | July 16, 2012 | 2 | Mass shooting at a block party that left 2 dead and 23 injured. | Handgun, source unknown |
| UofA shooting, Edmonton | 2012 | 3 killed, 1 injured | Security guard killed his colleagues | Revolver, Licensed, legal guns |
| Renfrew County | September 2014 | 4 (including suicide) | murdered his former partners: he shot and killed Anastasia Kuzyk and Nathalie Warmerdam at their homes in Wilno and Foymount,14 | Shotgun, he claimed he found it |
| Moncton shootings | June 4, 2014 | 3 | 24-year-old from Moncton, shot five armed officers from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), killing three and severely injuring two. | Licensed, restricted weapons |
| Edmonton killings | December 29, 2014 | 8 | 53-year-old Phu Lam shot and killed 7 in one Edmonton residence, then went to a home in south Edmonton where he killed Cyndi Duong because he found he was raising child that was not biologically his own. Phu Lam was found the next day after committing suicide in Fort Saskatchewan. | Handgun stolen from BC |
| La Loche shootings | January 22, 2016 | 4 | An unidentified 17-year-old student allegedly shot and killed two of his cousins at their home, then went to La Loche Community School and continued firing, killing a teacher and an assistant and wounding several others. | Long gun (likely legal) |
| Big-Tracadie, Nova Scotia | January 3, 2017 | 4 including self | Lionel Desmond, 33, suffering from PTSD killed his wife, Shanna Desmond, 31, their 10-year-old daughter, Aaliyah, and Brenda Desmond, 52, who was Lionel's mother then committed suicide. ¹⁵ | Legal unrestricted firearm owner |
| Quebec City mosque shooting | January 29, 2017 | 6 skilled | Single gunman killed 6 people and wounded 18 others. | Legal gun club member restricted firearm |
| 2018 Danforth shooting | July 22, 2018 | | The 29-year-old gunman, Faisal Hussain, shot 14 people before either being shot by the police or a self-inflicted gunshot wound. An 18 year old woman and 10 year old girl were killed | Unlicensed, handgun stolen from Saskatchewan |
| Fredericton | August 10, 2018 | 4 killed | Civilians and police officers ambushed by hunter | Legal (modified magazine) |
| Penticton | April 15, 201 | 4 killed | | |
| Toronto | | 4 injured | | |
| Multiple including Portapique | | | killing 22 people and injuring three others before he was shot and killed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Enfield. | Smuggled (also had Ruger Mini 14 diverted from legal owner) |
| Toronto | July 10, 2020 | 1 killed, 4 injured | | |

| Mississauga | May 29, 2021 | 1 killed, 4 injured | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|---|---------------|------------------------|
| Toronto | August 8, 2021 | 2 killed and 2 | | |
| | | injured | | |
| Saanch | June 2, 2022 | 2killed, 6 injuried | | |
| Langley | June 28, 2022 | 3 killed, 2 injured | | |
| Mississauga and | July 25, 2022 | 3 killed, 3 injured | | |
| Milton | | | | |
| Vaughan | Dec 18, 2022 | 5 killed plus gunman, one injured | Condo dispute | Legal handgun owner |
| Ottawa | June 10, 2023 | 4 injured | | |
| Mississauga | July 1, 2023 | 4 injured | | |
| Ottawa | September 2, 2023 | 2 killed, injured | | |
| Sault Ste Marie | October 23, 2023 | 5 killed, 1 injured | | |

Appendix 3: Police Officers Killed With Firearms 1995 – 2023

https://www.memorialribbon.org/honour-roll/

| Date | Police officers killed by gunfire | Department | Type of Gun |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| April 28, 1995 | Chief J.G.E. Denis Nadeau | Police de Sainte-Marie-de- | Long gun |
| | | Beauce, Quebec | |
| November 27, 1995 | Odette Pinard | Montreal Police, Quebec | Undetermined |
| March 3, 2005 | Peter Christopher Schiemann | RCMP, Alberta | Long gun |
| March 3, 2005 | Lionide (Leo) Nicholas | RCMP, Alberta | Long gun (diverte0 |
| | Johnston | | |
| March 3, 2005 | Anthony Fitzgerald Orion Gordon | RCMP, Alberta | Long gun (diverted) |
| March 3, 2005 | Brock Warren Myrol | RCMP, Alberta | Long gun (diverted) |
| December 14,2005 | Valerie Gignac | Laval Police, Quebec | Long gun (diverted) |
| May 5, 2006 | John Charles Atkinson | Windsor Police, Ontario | Handgun |
| July 16, 2006 | Robin Cameron | RCMP Saskatchewan | Long gun |
| July 16, 2006 | Marc Bourdages | Saskatchewan | Long gun |
| March 2, 2007 | Daniel Tessier | Laval Police, Quebec | Handgun (legal) |
| October 7, 2007 | Christopher John Worden | RCMP, Northwest Territories | Handgun |
| November 5, 2007 | Douglas Scott | RCMP, Nunavut | Long gun |
| March 8, 2010 | Vu Pham | OPP Huron Country, Ontario | Long gun |
| March 2, 2013 | Steve Dery | Kativik Regional Police Force, | Undetermined |
| | | Quebec | |
| June 4, 2014 | Fabrice Gevaudan | RCMP, New Brunswick | Long gun, restricted? |
| June 4, 2014 | Douglas Larche | RCMP, New Brunswick | Long gun restricted? |
| June 4, 2014 | David Ross | RCMP, New Brunswick | Long gun, restricted |
| January 21, 2015 | David Matthew Wynn | RCMP, Alberta | Handgun |
| June 8, 2015 | Daniel Woodall | Edmonton Police Service | Long gun |
| February 13, 2016 | Thierry Leroux | Lac Simon Police Service | Unknown |
| November 6, 2016 | John Davidson | Abbotsford | Expired license, |
| August 10, 2018 | Lawrence Robert Costello | Fredericton Police Service, NB | Long gun |
| August 10, 2018 | Sara Burns | Fredericton Police Service, NB | Long gun |
| April 19, 2020 | Cst. Heidi Stevenson | RCMP Nova Scotia | Smuggled (also had |
| | | | Ruger Mini 14 diverted |
| | | | from legal owner) |
| November 19, 2020 | Cst. Marc Hovingh | OPP | Unrestricted 12 gauge |

| September 12, 2022 | Cst. Andrew Hong | Toronto Police Service | Handgun (source unknown) |
|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| October 12, 2022 | Cst. Devon Northrup | South Simcoe | Unrestricted SKS 7.62x39 mm semi- automatic rifle |
| October 12, 2022 | Cst. Morgan Russell | South Simcoe | Unrestricted SKS 7.62x39 mm semi- automatic rifle |
| December 27, 2022 | Cst. Grzegorz Pierzchala | OPP | Restricted or prohibited |
| March 16, 2023 | Cst. Travis Jordan | Edmonton Police Service | unknown |
| March 16, 2023 | Cst. Brett Ryan | Edmonton Police Service | unknown |
| May 11, 2023 | Sgt. Eric Mueller | OPP | rifle |
| September 22, 2023 | Cst. Rick O'Brien | RCMP Ridge Meadows | Unknown |

https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/homicideinenglandandwales/yearendingmarc

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2021). Victims, Selected offences by states and territories, 1993–2021.

https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/crime-and-justice/recorded-crime-victims/2021/2.%20Victims%20of%20crime%2C%20states%20and%20territories%20%28Tables%209%20to%2016%29.xlsx Cotter, A. (2021). Firearms and violent crime in Canada, 2021. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-005x/2022001/article/00002-eng.htm

David, J-D & Jaffray, B. (2022). Homicide in Canada, 2021. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2022001/article/00015-

Centres for Disease Control and Prevention. (2021). Assault or homicide. https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/fastats/homicide.htm Office for National Statistics. (2022). Homicide in England and Wales: year ending March 2022.

https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/homicideinenglandandwales/march2022#themost-common-methods-of-killing

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2022). Recorded Crime - Victims, 2022. https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/crime-andjustice/recorded-crime-victims/20[...]0states%20and%20territories%20%28Tables%209%20to%2016%29.xlsx Statistics Canada. (2023). Number of homicide victims, by method used to commit the homicide. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=3510006901

*** unable to find more detailed citation, found in the Bloomberg article so could cite the Bloomberg article instead ***

³ Scherer, Steve, "Canada and U.S. agree to trace guns intercepted at border", Reuters (April 28, 2023), available: https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/canada-us-agree-trace-guns-intercepted-border-document-2023-04-28/

¹ The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF). Available https://www.atf.gov/file/175296/download#page=5

² Obiko Peason, N., Kocieniewski, D., & Fan, E. "NRA Style Politics Transformed Canada's Gun Culture—and Shootings Rose 869%.", Bloomberg (August 24, 2023), available: https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2023-us-made-gun-exports-canada-shootings/

⁴ Allen, Mary, "Trends in Firearm-Related Violent Crime in Canada, 2009 to 2020", Statistics Canada (May 27, 2022), p. 3, COMM0059274

⁵ Allen, Mary, "Trends in Firearm-Related Violent Crime in Canada, 2009 to 2020", Statistics Canada (May 27, 2022), p. 3, COMM0059274. See also: Gometz, David et al., "Firearm-Related Injuries and Deaths in Ontario, Canada, 2002-2016: A Population-Based Study", CMAJ (2020), COMM0063204; Cukier, Wendy, "Canada Shouldn't Be Smug About Gun Violence – It's a Growing Problem Here, Too", The Conversation (June 15, 2022), available: https://theconversation.com/canadashouldnt-be-smug-about-gun-violence-its-a-growing-problem-here-too-184210

⁶ Allen, Mary, "Trends in Firearm-Related Violent Crime in Canada, 2009 to 2020", Statistics Canada (May 27, 2022), p. 3, COMM0059274. See also: Gometz, David et al., "Firearm-Related Injuries and Deaths in Ontario, Canada, 2002-2016: A Population-Based Study", CMAJ (2020), COMM0063204

⁷ Allen, Mary, "Trends in Firearm-Related Violent Crime in Canada, 2009 to 2020", Statistics Canada (May 27, 2022), p. 3, COMM0059274. See also: Gometz, David et al., "Firearm-Related Injuries and Deaths in Ontario, Canada, 2002-2016: A Population-Based Study", CMAJ (2020), COMM0063204

⁸ Allen, Mary, "Trends in Firearm-Related Violent Crime in Canada, 2009 to 2020", Statistics Canada (May 27, 2022), COMM0059274

⁹ Bradley, Nori, et. al., "The Physician's Role in the Prevention of Femicide in Canada", CMAJ, Vo. 193(48) (Dec. 6, 2021), COMM0065081

¹⁰ Bradley, Nori, et. al., "The Physician's Role in the Prevention of Femicide in Canada", CMAJ, Vo. 193(48) (Dec. 6, 2021),

COMM0065081. See also: Canadian Pediatric Society, "The Prevention of Firearm Injuries in Canadian Youth", Position Statement, 2018, **COMM0063201**

- ¹¹ Spencer, C.M. and Stith, S.M., "Risk Factors For Male Perpetration and Female Victimization of Intimate Partner Homicide: A Meta-Analysis", *Trauma Violence Abuse* (2020), 21; Miller, Matthew; Hemenway, David; Azrael Deborah, "State-Level Homicide Victimization Rates in the US in Relation to Survey Measures of Household Firearm Ownership, 2001-2003", *Social Science & Medicine* (2007), **COMM0063197**; Anglemyer, Andrew; Horvath, Tara; Rutherford, George, "The Accessibility of Firearms and Risk for Suicide and Victimization Among Household Members", *Annals of Internal Medicine* (2014), **COMM0063199**
- ¹² Allen, Mary, "Trends in Firearm-Related Violent Crime in Canada, 2009 to 2020", Statistics Canada (May 27, 2022), **COMM0059274**
- ¹³ Allen, Mary, "Trends in Firearm-Related Violent Crime in Canada, 2009 to 2020", Statistics Canada (May 27, 2022), **COMM0059274**
- ¹⁴ Boyd, Ciara, et. al., "Familicide in Canada: 2010 to 2019", Homicide Studies, 2022, COMM0065080
- ¹⁵ Bradley, Nori, et. al., "The Physician's Role in the Prevention of Femicide in Canada", *CMAJ*, Vo. 193(48) (Dec. 6, 2021), **COMM0065081**
- ¹⁶ Jordan, Beth, "The Redwood Safety and Risk Management Package", The Redwood Shelter, Toronto (2013), available by special request.
- ¹⁷ Doherty, Deborah and Hornosty, Jennie, "Exploring the Links: Firearms, Family Violence and Animal Abuse in Rural Communities", Final Research Report to the Canada Firearms Centre, Royal Canadian Mounted Police and Public Safety Canada (May 2008), pp. vii, 44 to 57, **COMM0065087**
- ¹⁸ Doherty, Deborah and Hornosty, Jennie, "Exploring the Links: Firearms, Family Violence and Animal Abuse in Rural Communities", Final Research Report to the Canada Firearms Centre, Royal Canadian Mounted Police and Public Safety Canada (May 2008), p. 56, **COMM0065087**
- ¹⁹ Bridges, Tristan and Tober, Tara Leigh, "Mass Shootings and Masculinity", Expert Report prepared for the Mass Casualty Commission (April 2022), pp. 15, 16, **COMM0055671**; Lemieux, Frederic, "Effect of Gun Culture and Firearm Laws on Gun Violence and Mass Shootings in the United States: A Multi-Level Quantitative Analysis, (2014) *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences*, p. 90, **COMM0065089**; Reeping, Paul et al., "State Gun Laws, Gun Ownership, and Mass Shootings in the US: Cross Sectional Time Series", *BMJ*, (2019), **COMM0063192**
- ²⁰ Bridges, Tristan and Tober, Tara Leigh, "Mass Shootings and Masculinity", Expert Report prepared for the Mass Casualty Commission (April 2022), p. 16, **COMM0055671**
- ²¹ Lemieux, Frederic, "Effect of Gun Culture and Firearm Laws on Gun Violence and Mass Shootings in the United States: A Multi-Level Quantitative Analysis", (2014) *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences*, Vol. 9 (1), p. 91, COMM0065089
 ²² Campbell, Jacquelyn et al, "Risk Factors for Femicide in Abusive Relationships: Results from a Multisite Case Control Study", *American Journal of Public Health* (2003), available: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1447915/; DeFilippis, Evan "Having a Gun in the House Doesn't Make a Woman Safer", *The Atlantic* (Feb. 2014), available: https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/02/having-a-gun-in-the-house-doesnt-make-a-woman-safer/284022/; The Educational Fund to Stop Gun Violence, "Domestic Violence and Firearms", (2019), COMM0059761
- ²³ Swedler, David et al, "Firearm Prevalence and Homicide of Law Enforcement Officers in the United States", *Research and Practice, American Journal of Public Health* (2015) Vo. 105 (10), **COMM0063196**;
- ²⁴ Cukier, W., & Sheptycki, J. (2012). Globalization of gun culture transnational reflections on pistolization and masculinity, flows and resistance. *International journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, *40*(1), 3-19; Bushman, B. J. (Ed.). (2016). Aggression and violence. Psychology Press.
- ²⁵ Ipsos, "Eight in Ten (82%) Canadians Support Federal Government's Ban on Military-Style Assault Weapons" (May 28, 2020), available: https://www.ipsos.com/en-ca/news-polls/Eight-in-Ten-Canadians-Support-Federal-Governments-Ban-on-Military-Style-Assault-Weapons
- ²⁶ Ipsos, "Eight in Ten (82%) Canadians Support Federal Government's Ban on Military-Style Assault Weapons" (May 28, 2020), available: https://www.ipsos.com/en-ca/news-polls/Eight-in-Ten-Canadians-Support-Federal-Governments-Ban-on-Military-Style-Assault-Weapons
- ²⁷ Bryden, Joan, "Canadians Favour Stricter Gun Control, Mandatory BuyBack of Banned Firearms: Poll", CTV News and The Canadian Press (March 30, 2021), available: https://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/canadians-favour-stricter-gun-control-mandatory-buyback-of-banned-firearms-poll-1.5368354
- ²⁸ Brown, Blake, "The History of Gun Control in Canada", Expert Report prepared for the Mass Casualty Commission (April 2022), pp. 33 to 37, **COMM0053823**

- ²⁹ Tammy Robert. "No, rural Prairie dwellers, you can't shoot to protect your property. Gerald Stanley never claimed such a right, but his trial resurrected a dangerous fallacy among residents that could cause future grief", Macleans. Feb 8, 2018, available: https://www.macleans.ca/news/no-rural-prairie-dwellers-you-cant-shoot-to-protect-your-property/. See also: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/jun/01/canada-anthony-bilodeau-guilty-murder-indigenous-hunters-metis
- ³⁰ Authorizations to Carry Restricted Firearms and Certain Handguns Regulations: as follows: "For the purpose of section 20 of the Act, the circumstances in which an individual needs restricted firearms or prohibited handguns to protect the life of that individual or of other individuals are where:
- (a) the life of that individual, or other individuals, is in imminent danger from one or more other individuals;
- (b) police protection is not sufficient in the circumstances; and
- (c) the possession of a restricted firearm or prohibited handgun can reasonably be justified for protecting the individual or other individuals from death or grievous bodily harm.
- SOR/98-207, available: https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/regulations/sor-98-207/fulltext.html
- ³¹ UN (2004 June 21). *Progress report of Barbara Frey*. UN Special Rapporteur on the prevention of human rights violations committed with small arms and light weapons, UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/2004/37, para 50.
- 32 The Standing Senate Committee on Defence and National Security, February 18, 2019
- ³⁴ https://toronto.ctvnews.ca/six-men-face-546-charges-after-february-robbery-1.493257
- https://www.straight.com/news/crown-says-pat-king-once-bought-a-restricted-firearm-two-days-after-court-had-ordered-him-to; https://globalnews.ca/news/8593064/ns-man-ottawa-convoy-protest-firearms-charge/; https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/coutts-protest-blockade-arrests-rcmp-monday-1.6351112;https://nationalpost.com/news/judge-expected-to-sentence-military-reservist-who-rammed-rideau-hall-gate-with-truck
- ³⁸ Gilmore, Rachel, "Few Canadian Women Own Guns, But Are Twice As Likely to be Attacked with One: Analysis", CTV News (April 10, 2019), available: https://www.ctvnews.ca/politics/few-canadian-women-own-guns-but-are-twice-as-likely-to-be-attacked-with-one-analysis-1.4374216
- ³⁹ Gilmore, Rachel, "Few Canadian Women Own Guns, But Are Twice As Likely to be Attacked with One: Analysis", CTV News (April 10, 2019), available: https://www.ctvnews.ca/politics/few-canadian-women-own-guns-but-are-twice-as-likely-to-be-attacked-with-one-analysis-1.4374216
- ⁴⁰ Lemieux, Frederic, "Effect of Gun Culture and Firearm Laws on Gun Violence and Mass Shootings in the United States: A Multi-Level Quantitative Analysis", (2014) *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences*, Vol. 9 (1), p. 90, **COMM0065089** ⁴¹ Cukier, W., Eagen, S. A., & Decat, G. Gun violence. *Aggression and Violence*, 2016, pp. 179-193.
- ⁴² Challacombe, Darin J., and Carol L. Patrick. "The January 6th Insurrection at the U.S. Capitol: What the TRAP-18 Can Tell Us about the Participants." *Journal of Threat Assessment and Management*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2023, pp. 220–28, https://doi.org/10.1037/tam0000194.
- ⁴³ Miller TR, Cohen MA. Costs of gunshot and cut/stab wounds in the United States, with some Canadian comparisons. Accident Anal Prevent. (1997) 3:329–41 and more recently Fahra Rajabali, * Kate Turcotte, 1 Alex Zheng, Nick Pauls, Tony Nguyen, Evelyn Kalman, Vedrana Covic, and Ian Pike, The cost of firearm violent crime in British Columbia, Canada, Front Public Health. 2022; 10: 938091.