

## **Court outcomes associated with the gender-related homicide of women and girls in Canada, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**

by Danielle Sutton and Adam Cotter

Release date: October 27, 2023



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## Court outcomes associated with the gender-related homicide of women and girls in Canada, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021: Highlights

- For the purposes of this Juristat article, gender-related homicides of women and girls are homicides solved by the police that were committed based on a person's gender, defined as those perpetrated by a male accused who was an intimate partner or family member of the victim, or who inflicted sexual violence on the victim as part of the killing or who killed a victim who was identified by police as a sex worker.
- Between 2009/2010 and 2020/2021, 440 cases of gender-related homicide were completed in the criminal courts. In total, there were 1,171 charges laid in these cases, with an average of 2.7 linked charges per case. Overall, gender-related homicides have fewer charges per court case compared with the other groups examined in this article (i.e., non-gender-related homicides of women and girls and the homicide of men and boys).
- Of all charges processed within the 440 gender-related homicide cases, close to half were homicide-related; that is, 36% of charges were for first- or second-degree murder and 10% were for manslaughter.
- During the period of analysis, 58% of persons who were accused of a gender-related homicide of a woman or girl were found guilty of any charge in the case. This proportion is higher than what was found among persons accused of a non-gender-related homicide of a woman or girl as well as those accused in a homicide case with a male victim (50% each).
- Of all adults convicted of any charge in a case that had at least one homicide charge and where sentencing details were known, more than nine in ten (93%) persons accused of committing a gender-related homicide of a woman or girl were sentenced to custody, similar to those accused of committing a non-gender-related homicide (92%) and persons accused of a homicide against a male victim (92%).
- Of those who were sentenced to custody, adults convicted in a case of gender-related homicide had an average of 12.5 years left to serve after given credit for time in custody, three years longer than those convicted of a non-gender-related homicide of a woman or girl (average 9.2 years), and six years longer than when the victim was male (average 6.1 years).
- Cases of gender-related homicide took, on average, 603 calendar days to complete in court, measured by first appearance to final decision. These cases took 89 days longer, on average, to complete than non-gender-related homicides of women and girls and 103 days longer than cases involving the homicide of men and boys.
- In cases of attempted murder, aggravated assault and aggravated sexual assault, fewer differences in court outcomes were documented when the case was gender-related compared to when it was not. While cases of gender-related violence contained more charges on average than those with a non-gender-related female victim or male victim, similar proportions of persons accused in these crimes were found guilty of any charge in the case and sentenced to custody. However, persons convicted of a gender-related violent offence received shorter sentences, on average, than those convicted in non-gender-related cases.

## Court outcomes associated with the gender-related homicide of women and girls in Canada, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021

by Danielle Sutton and Adam Cotter

While men and boys experience higher rates of homicide in Canada (David & Jaffray, 2022; Sutton, 2023b), the circumstances in which women and girls are killed are quite different from homicides involving male victims. Homicides of women and girls are often gender-related, meaning, the violence directed towards them was perpetrated because of their sex or gender, which some have argued is due, in part, to factors related to harmful social norms, gender inequality and discrimination as well as unequal power relations (UNODC, 2022). As a result, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women (UN SRVAW) recommended that governments publish disaggregated data annually on femicide—or the killing of women and girls because they are women and girls—as well as information relating to the prosecution and punishment of perpetrators (ACUNS, 2017).

The term “femicide” was first used in 1976 as an alternate to the gender-neutral term “homicide” and is only more recently growing in use (Sarmiento et al., 2014). Its definition evolved over time, initially as “the murder of women by men motivated by hatred, contempt, pleasure, or a sense of ownership of women” (Caputi & Russell, 1990, p. 34) to its current form, broadly understood as the killing of women because they are women (World Health Organization, 2012). However, despite ongoing discussions, there is no agreed upon definition of femicide in a global or Canadian context (UNODC, 2018). As such, and aligned with terminology used internationally, the term gender-related homicide of women and girls is used throughout this *Juristat* article (see Text box 1 for definition).

The collection and dissemination of data on the prosecution and punishment of perpetrators of violent crime is crucial to identifying gaps or differential treatment in criminal justice responses to these killings and non-lethal forms of gender-related violence, which can be used to inform training programs for frontline personnel. While previous research examined court outcomes of intimate partner violence cases completed in Canadian courts (see Beaupré, 2015; Gannon & Brzozowski, 2004), this article is the first to examine court outcomes related to the most extreme form of gender-based violence.

Using a linked data file merging information contained in the Homicide Survey with the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey and the Integrated Criminal Court Survey (ICCS), this *Juristat* article first provides a brief overview of the characteristics of gender-related homicides in Canada (for a detailed report please see Sutton, 2023a). Section 2 examines how cases of gender-related homicide of women and girls advanced through the criminal courts system over a 12-(fiscal) year period, from 2009/2010 to 2020/2021. Special attention is given to how these cases were treated at various stages of the criminal justice process and how their outcomes compared to non-gender-related cases of women and girls and to the homicides of men and boys.<sup>1</sup> The final section presents data on how non-lethal incidents of gender-related violence—that is, attempted murders or aggravated assaults against a female by a male intimate partner or family member as well as aggravated sexual assaults against a female by a male regardless of relationship shared—proceeded through the courts system and whether their treatment differed from non-gender-related violent incidents.

For readability, the terms “gender-related homicides” and “non-gender-related homicides” are often used in this article, without reference to victims’ gender, but typically refer to women and girls unless otherwise specified.

This article was produced with funding support from Women and Gender Equality Canada.

### Text box 1 Terminology

In this *Juristat*, the primary focus is the examination of court outcomes of gender-related homicide of women and girls in Canada. Gender-related homicides of women and girls are defined as homicides perpetrated against a person because of their gender; that is, by a male accused who was either an intimate partner or family member,<sup>2</sup> or who inflicted sexual violence on the victim as part of the homicide,<sup>3</sup> or who killed a woman or girl who was identified as a sex worker. To be included in this report, the homicide must have been perpetrated by a male accused<sup>4</sup> and be solved (i.e., cleared) by police.<sup>5</sup>

In Section 2, court outcomes for gender-related homicides will be compared with two reference groups. The first being non-gender-related homicides of women and girls, defined as homicides involving a female victim with no evidence of the gender-related criteria mentioned above. These can include homicides of a woman or girl which were related to drugs, robbery or a homicide that was perpetrated by a female accused.<sup>6</sup> The second comparison group focuses on the homicide of men and boys. For readability, the terms “gender-related homicides” and “non-gender-related homicides” are often used in this article, without reference to victims’ gender, but typically refer to women and girls unless otherwise specified.

In Section 3, the focus shifts to an analysis of court outcomes of non-lethal, albeit severe, types of violence, including attempted murders, aggravated assaults and aggravated sexual assaults. For the first two offences to be labeled as gender-related, they must have been perpetrated against a woman or girl by a male accused who was either an intimate partner or a family member of the victim.<sup>7</sup> For aggravated sexual assaults to be classified as gender-related, they require a female victim and a male accused, regardless of the relationship shared. Court outcomes of gender-related violence are compared to outcomes of non-gender-related violent incidents against a woman or girl, defined as those that do not have any of the above criteria, but were perpetrated against a female victim by an identified accused, either male or female. The last comparison group encompasses attempted murders, aggravated assaults and aggravated sexual assaults against a man or boy by a known accused.

## Section 1: Gender-related homicides of women and girls in Canada, 2011 to 2021

Recently, the Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics released data examining the gender-related homicides of women and girls over an 11-year period, from 2011 to 2021 (see Sutton, 2023a). Overall, the large majority (77%) of solved homicides of a woman or girl perpetrated by a male accused were classified as gender-related. That is, this group of homicides involved a female victim perpetrated by a male accused who was an intimate partner or family member of the victim, or who sexually assaulted the victim, or who killed a victim identified by police as a sex worker. In total, there were 1,125 victims of gender-related homicide perpetrated by 1,077 unique male accused.

There are certain characteristics common among victims of gender-related homicide. Specifically, the largest proportion of victims were killed at a residential location (87%), were aged 35 or older (59%), and died by stab wounds (34%). These findings typically differ from characteristics found for male and female victims of non-gender-related homicide (Table 1).

Of the 1,077 males accused of perpetrating a gender-related homicide, just under half (48%) had a criminal history known to police, most of which involved violence (33%) (Sutton, 2023a). A higher proportion of persons accused of a gender-related homicide died by suicide compared to those accused of committing a non-gender-related homicide of male or female victims (21% versus 3%).

While the above data encompasses a shorter time period and includes all cases, the findings can help situate data presented below in the larger context of gender-related homicide.

### Text box 2 Linkage file

To better understand how charges associated with gender-related homicides of women and girls are processed and then dealt with in the criminal court system in Canada, a data file was created linking police-reported data from the Homicide Survey and the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey with data on completed court cases from the Integrated Criminal Courts Survey (ICCS).<sup>8</sup>

Homicides reported by police between 2009 and 2021, where there was at least one accused person identified and homicide charges (i.e., first-degree murder, second-degree murder, manslaughter or infanticide) were laid or recommended by police, were included in the analysis. While the focus of this analysis is on gender-related homicides of women and girls, all homicide incidents were included in the linkage to permit comparisons with non-gender-related homicides of women and girls and homicides of men and boys.

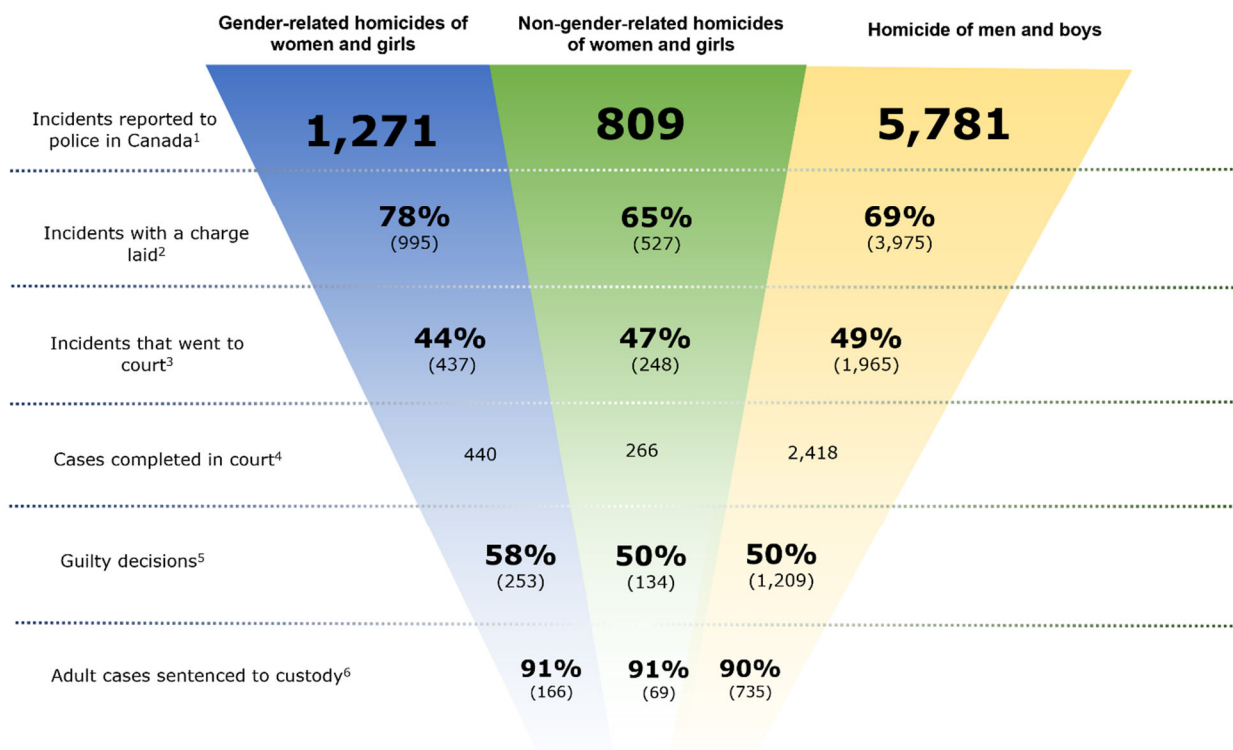
According to the Homicide Survey, there were 1,030 women and girls who were victims of a gender-related homicide between 2009 and 2021 where police laid or recommended charges against at least one male accused person.<sup>9</sup> Of these, 44% successfully linked to at least one charge that was completed in courts between 2009/2010 and 2020/2021. This linkage rate was comparable to non-gender-related homicides of women and girls (47%) and homicides of men and boys (49%) over the same period. It is possible that the court outcomes and case characteristics presented in this *Juristat* article may differ from those in which a linkage was not possible (please refer to the data sources and methodology section for information on data limitations).

## Section 2: Court outcomes linked to police-reported homicide cases, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021

Between 2009 and 2021, police reported 1,271 gender-related homicide incidents in which 1,328 women and girls were killed. Police cleared about eight in ten (78%) of these incidents by laying or recommending a charge. Of these incidents, 44% were linked to at least one court charge, resulting in 440 completed court cases for analysis.<sup>10</sup> In total, there were 1,171 charges laid in these cases, resulting in an average of 2.7 linked charges per case.<sup>11</sup>

In contrast, there were 835 female victims killed in 809 police-reported non-gender-related homicide incidents over the same time period. Approximately two-thirds (65%) of these incidents were cleared by charge, 47% of which linked to at least one court charge, resulting in 266 cases for analysis. There were 1,129 charges laid in these cases, with an average of 4.2 linked charges per case. Meanwhile, there were 5,954 male homicide victims who were killed in 5,781 incidents. More than two-thirds (69%) were cleared by charge, 49% of which were linked to at least one court charge, resulting in 2,418 cases for analysis. A total of 8,046 charges were laid for these cases, with an average of 3.3 linked charges per case (see Figure 1).

**Figure 1**  
**Progression of homicides through the criminal justice system, by gender-related status and victim gender, Canada, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**



1. Represents homicides reported by police between 2009 and 2021. One incident can have multiple victims. All incidents where at least one victim's death was gender-related are counted as gender-related homicides of women and girls. If there were no gender-related homicide victims, but other women and girls were killed in a homicide incident, the incident was categorized as non-gender-related. Finally, in cases without a female victim, the entire incident was categorized as the homicide of men and boys. Incidents where the gender of the victim was not known or reported by police are excluded.

2. Represents in-scope police-reported homicide incidents where a charge was laid or recommended by police, out of all police-reported homicide incidents.

3. Represents incidents with a charge laid or charge recommended by police that linked to a court case completed in adult or youth court between 2009/2010 and 2020/2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. Notably, the absence of data from superior courts in Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan means that data for some serious cases (e.g., homicides) in these jurisdictions are underrepresented. See "Data sources and methodology" for more details about the linkage and methodology.

4. Represents linked cases completed in adult or youth court that had at least one completed charge. One court case can include multiple charges. The number of cases completed in court can be higher than the number of incidents that linked to court in part because incidents may have had more than one accused person, each of whom would have their own court case.

5. Represents all linked cases completed in adult or youth court that received a guilty decision for any charge in the case.

6. Represents all linked guilty court cases (adults only) sentenced to custody as the most serious sentence. Excludes youth sentences due to the fundamental differences between adult and youth sentencing principles. Also excludes guilty cases where sentencing details were unknown or unavailable.

**Note:** Gender-related homicide cases are solved homicides committed by at least one male accused who killed at least one female victim who was either an intimate partner or family member of the accused, who was sexually assaulted during the killing, or who was identified by police as a sex worker. Non-gender-related homicides of women and girls are all those that do not contain the above criteria but involve at least one female victim. Homicide cases of men and boys require that no female victims were killed in the same incident.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey and Integrated Criminal Courts Survey linked file.

Overall, gender-related homicides have fewer charges per court case compared with other types of homicide. Whether this is due to circumstances of the case or prosecutorial overcharging in other types of homicide—a practice whereby the Crown lays more charges for leverage in the plea bargaining process—cannot be determined.

For a case to be considered in scope, the police must have laid or recommended a homicide charge (i.e., first degree murder, second degree murder, manslaughter or infanticide) against an accused person, but a different charge could have been pursued at the court level. As such, the homicide cases included in this analysis did not necessarily proceed with a homicide charge in the criminal courts.

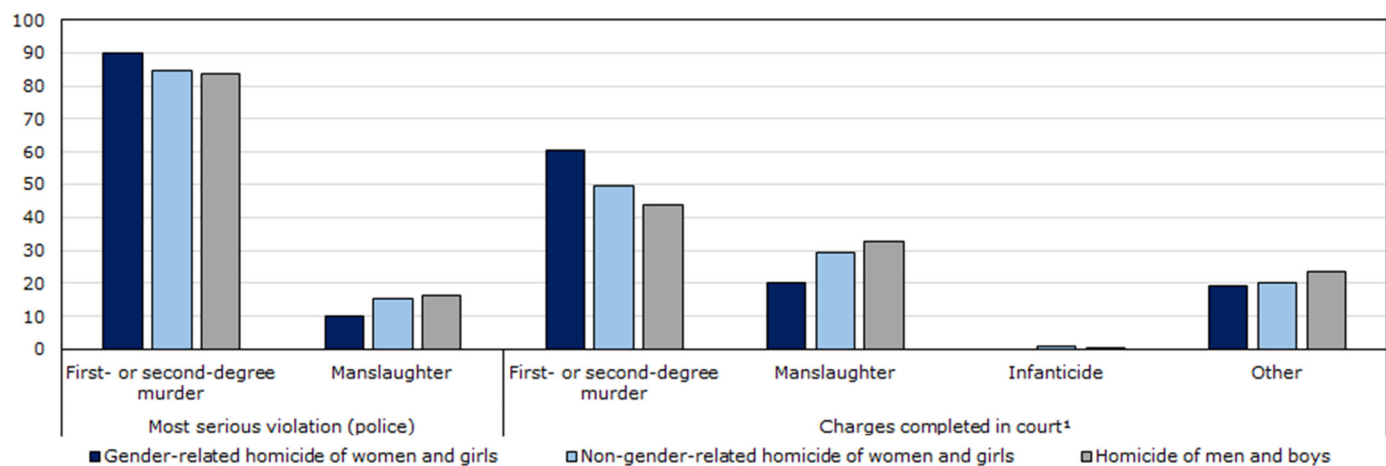
### Murder most serious violation, according to police, in nine out of ten gender-related homicide incidents

According to police data, murder was the most serious violation in 90% of incidents of gender-related homicide (Chart 1).<sup>12</sup> Just over half (51%) of these were second-degree murder and 39% were first-degree murder. In the remaining 10% of gender-related homicide incidents, manslaughter was the most serious violation. In contrast, lower proportions of incidents of non-gender-related homicide or incidents with a male victim had murder as the most serious violation (85% and 84%, respectively) and instead manslaughter was more common (15% and 16%, respectively). The difference is due largely to police laying or recommending proportionately fewer first-degree murder charges in the latter cases.

**Chart 1**

#### Cases linked to police-reported homicides completed in court by gender-related status and offence type, criminal courts, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021

percentage



1. Each case is represented by a single charge, otherwise known as the "most serious decision" (MSD). The MSD first takes into account the decision handed down by the court, with guilty decisions taking priority over non-guilty decisions. In the event that multiple charges have the same decision, the MSD becomes the most serious offence.

**Note:** Gender-related homicide cases are solved homicides committed by at least one male accused who killed at least one female victim who was an intimate partner or family member of the accused, who was sexually assaulted during the killing, or who was identified by police as a sex worker. Non-gender-related homicides of women and girls are all those that do not contain the above criteria but involve at least one female victim. Homicide cases of men and boys require that no female victims were killed in the same incident. Victims and accused persons for whom gender was reported as unknown by police are excluded from this chart. Represents all completed cases successfully linked to a homicide reported by police in Canada between 2009 and 2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See "Data sources and methodology" for more details about the linkage and methodology.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey and Integrated Criminal Courts Survey linked file.

At the court level, 1,171 charges were processed within the 440 gender-related homicide cases that were linked for analysis (Table 2). Of these, close to half (46%) were homicide-related; that is, 36% of charges were for first- or second-degree murder and 10% were for manslaughter. One in five (21%) were for other violent offences (e.g., attempted murder, aggravated assault, a sexual offence) and the remaining one-third (34%) were related to property crime, other *Criminal Code* offences and other violations more generally. The discrepancy between police and court data is due primarily to police only being required to record the most serious charge laid or recommended against an accused whereas multiple charges, in addition to the homicide charge, can be completed in court.

Alongside an analysis of all charges processed in the criminal courts, ICCS data allows for an examination of the "most serious decision" (MSD) rendered whereby each case is represented by a single offence. The MSD first takes into account the decision handed down by the court, with guilty decisions taking priority over non-guilty decisions.<sup>13</sup> In the event that multiple charges have the same decision, the MSD becomes the most serious offence.<sup>14</sup> As the MSD, murder charges were comparatively less common than in police data, likely due to the proportion of such charges not having a finding of guilt, but continue to be more common among persons accused of a gender-related homicide than those charged in cases of non-gender-related homicide and the homicide of men and boys. More specifically, six in ten (60%) gender-related homicide cases had a murder charge as the MSD,<sup>15</sup> followed by manslaughter (20%) and other charges (19%) (Table 3).

Research to date has found that courts in Canada and abroad (e.g., Latin America) have historically treated persons accused of an intimate partner or familial homicide differently, relative to people who commit other types of homicide, at various stages

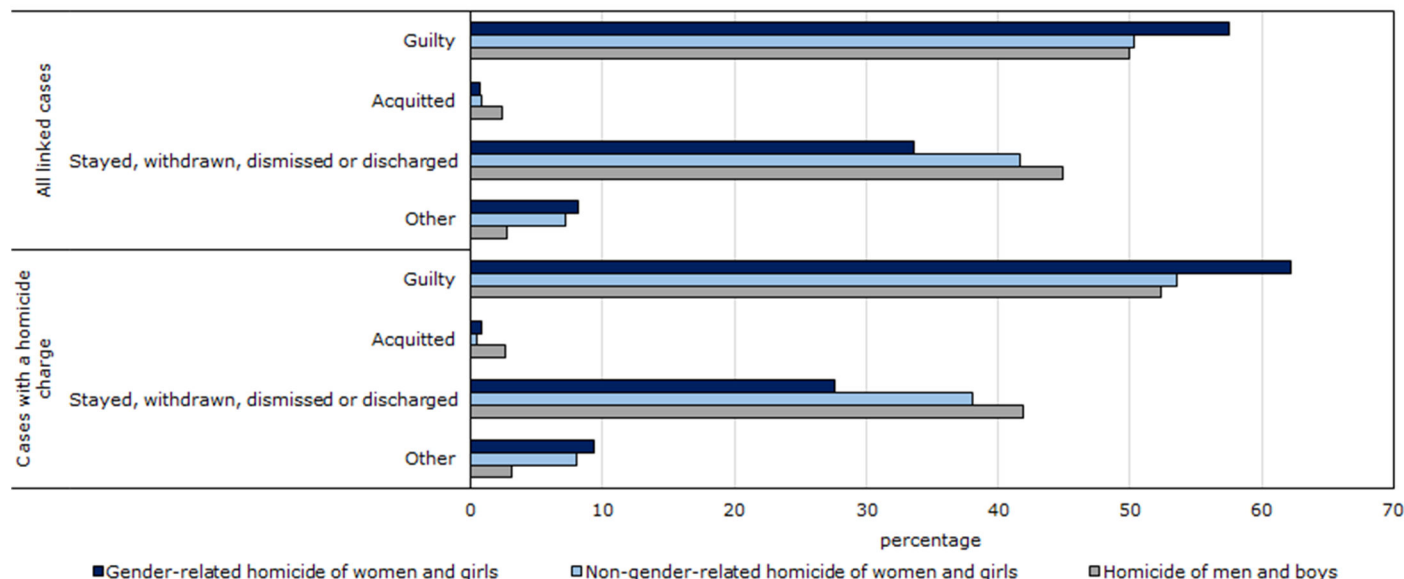
of the investigative and criminal justice process (Dawson, 2012; Dawson, 2016; Sarmiento et al., 2014; UNODC, 2018). According to these researchers, prior to and during the 1990s, the justice system was applying what has been colloquially referred to as an “intimacy discount” or a “domestic discount” to perpetrators of intimate or familial homicide (see Dawson, 2004a; Dawson, 2004b; Dawson, 2016; Rapaport, 1996). The intimacy or domestic discount is premised on the idea that persons accused of a homicide against someone with whom they share a close relationship may be perceived as lacking criminal intent due to, for example, acting on provocation or strong emotion in advance of the violent act and may be seen as less predatory than perpetrators who harm strangers (Black, 1976; Dawson, 2006; Rapaport, 1996; Richards et al., 2015). These factors can then lessen criminal justice actors’ perceptions of culpability, thereby influencing charging, conviction and sentencing practices (Dawson, 2004b). Due to a combination of factors, including public and professional education by feminist groups, attitudinal shifts and legislative changes to the *Criminal Code*, this disparate treatment in Canada appears to have lessened over time (Dawson, 2004b; Dawson, 2016).

Current findings provide support for a shift towards a more punitive, and less biased, criminal justice response for those accused of intimate partner and sexual violence. Specifically, of the homicide cases that successfully linked to court data, murder charges were comparatively more common for persons accused of a gender-related homicide in both police and court data than was the case for the non-gender-related homicide of women and girls and the homicide of men and boys.

**Higher proportion of accused found guilty of any charge in a gender-related homicide case, lower proportion had their charges stayed, withdrawn or dismissed**

During the period of analysis, 58% of persons who were accused of committing a gender-related homicide of a woman or girl were found guilty of any charge in the case (Chart 2).<sup>16</sup> This proportion is higher than what was found among persons accused of a non-gender-related homicide of a woman or girl as well as those accused in a homicide case with a male victim (50% each). While similar proportions of accused were acquitted of all charges,<sup>17</sup> lower proportions of persons accused of a gender-related homicide had their charges stayed, withdrawn or dismissed (34% versus 42% and 45%, respectively).<sup>18</sup>

**Chart 2**  
**Cases linked to police-reported homicides completed in court by gender-related status and court outcome, criminal courts, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**



**Note:** Gender-related homicide cases are solved homicides committed by at least one male accused who killed at least one female victim who was an intimate partner or family member of the accused, who was sexually assaulted during the killing, or who was identified by police as a sex worker. Non-gender-related homicides of women and girls are all those that do not contain the above criteria but involve at least one female victim. Homicide cases of men and boys require that no female victims were killed in the same incident. Victims and accused persons for whom gender was reported as unknown by police are excluded from this chart. Represents all completed cases successfully linked to a homicide reported by police in Canada between 2009 and 2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See “Data sources and methodology” for more details about the linkage and methodology.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey and Integrated Criminal Courts Survey linked file.

When focusing only on outcomes related to cases where a homicide charge was pursued in court, the above pattern remains: a higher proportion of persons accused of a gender-related homicide were found guilty (62%), compared with persons accused of a non-gender-related homicide of a woman or girl (54%), or of a male victim (52%).

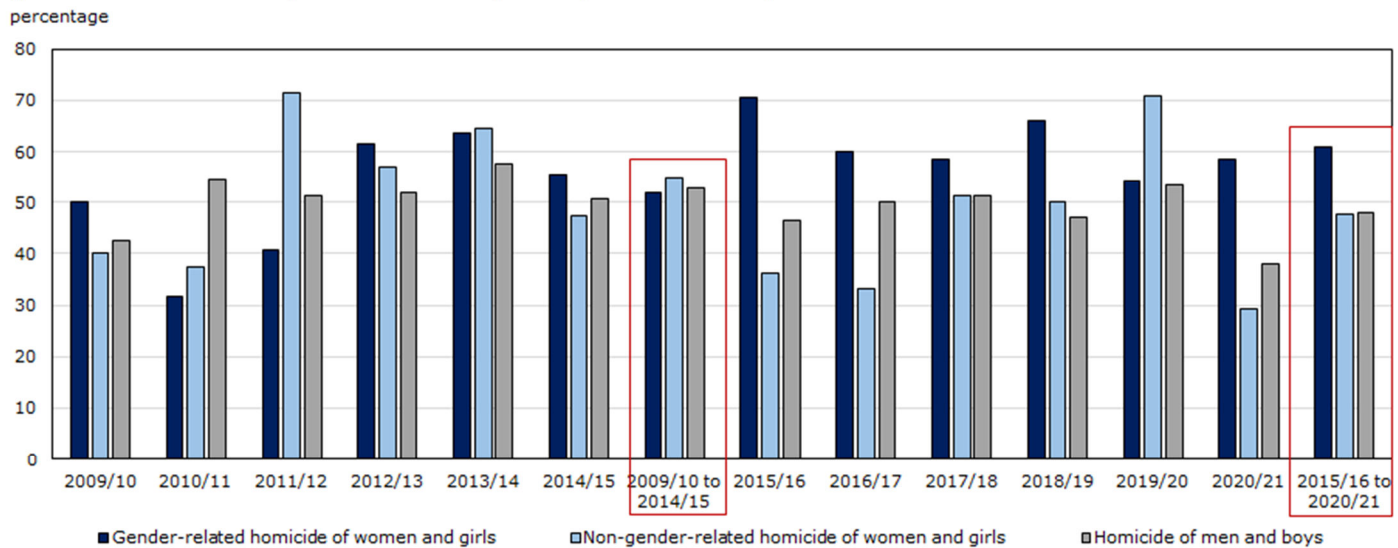


Prior research has found that persons accused of an intimate partner homicide are more likely to be convicted overall than those accused of non-intimate homicides, which can be explained, in part, by the former group being more likely to plead guilty in the case (Dawson, 2004a; Dawson, 2004b). Alternatively, cases of gender-related homicide may be more likely to have a history of violence documented between the victim and accused alongside an increased likelihood of witnesses being present during the homicide (Alisic et al., 2017). Therefore, it could be that the high proportion of convictions reflect the amount of evidence entered against the accused, increasing the likelihood of a guilty plea being made and accepted by the court. The ICCS data, however, do not capture information reliably on whether the conviction resulted from a trial or plea bargain.

**Since 2015/2016, a larger proportion of persons accused of a gender-related homicide guilty of at least one charge in the case**

When analyzing year-over-year trends, among persons accused of a gender-related homicide, the lowest proportion of guilty findings of any charge in the case were documented in 2010/2011 (32%) and the highest in 2015/2016 (71%) (Chart 3). However, from one year to the next, the number of homicide cases will fluctuate. To account for these expected fluctuations, it is more informative to examine pooled averages to determine whether data trends exist. For instance, between 2009/2010 and 2014/2015, approximately half (52%) of those accused of a gender-related homicide were found guilty of any charge in the case, similar to, albeit slightly lower than, persons accused of a non-gender-related homicide (55%) and those accused of a homicide of a man or boy (53%). However, in the most recent time period (2015/2016 to 2020/2021) a different pattern emerges whereby 61% of persons accused of a gender-related homicide were found guilty of any charge in the case, much higher than the proportion of accused who were found guilty of a non-gender-related homicide of a woman or girl or a homicide of a male victim (each 48%).

**Chart 3**  
**Percentage of guilty cases linked to police-reported homicides completed in court by year and gender-related status, criminal courts, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**



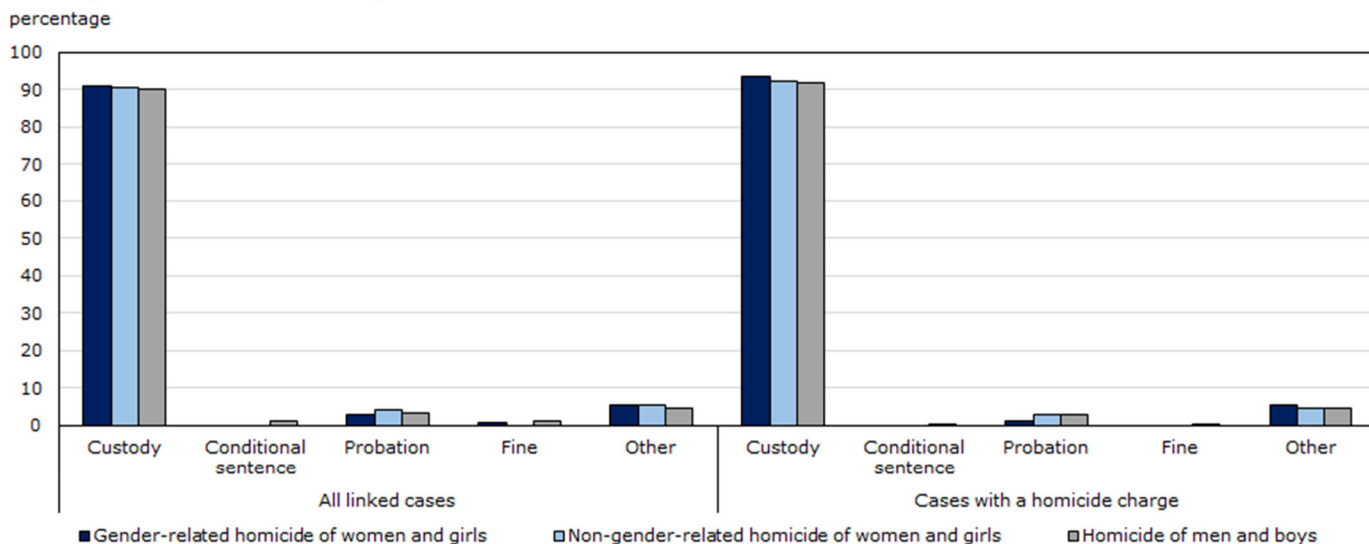
**Note:** Gender-related homicide cases are solved homicides committed by at least one male accused who killed at least one female victim who was an intimate partner or family member of the accused, who was sexually assaulted during the killing, or who was identified by police as a sex worker. Non-gender-related homicides of women and girls are all those that do not contain the above criteria but involve at least one female victim. Homicide cases of men and boys require that no female victims were killed in the same incident. Victims and accused persons for whom gender was reported as unknown by police are excluded from this chart. Represents all completed cases successfully linked to a homicide reported by police in Canada between 2009 and 2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See "Data sources and methodology" for more details about the linkage and methodology.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey and Integrated Criminal Courts Survey linked file.

**Most of those convicted in homicide cases were sentenced to custody, regardless of gender-related status**

Of all adults convicted of any charge in a case that had at least one homicide charge and where sentencing details were known,<sup>19</sup> the vast majority received a custodial sentence. More specifically, 93% of persons convicted of a gender-related homicide of a woman or girl were sentenced to custody, similar to the proportion of custodial sentences given to those convicted of a non-gender-related homicide and those convicted in a homicide case with a male victim (92% each) (Chart 4).

**Chart 4**  
**Cases linked to police-reported homicides completed in court by sentencing outcome and gender-related status, adult criminal courts, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**



**Note:** Gender-related homicide cases are solved homicides committed by at least one male accused who killed at least one female victim who was an intimate partner or family member of the accused, who was sexually assaulted during the killing, or who was identified by police as a sex worker. Non-gender-related homicides of women and girls are all those that do not contain the above criteria but involve at least one female victim. Homicide cases of men and boys require that no female victims were killed in the same incident. Victims and accused persons for whom gender was reported as unknown by police are excluded from this chart. Represents all completed cases with a guilty decision successfully linked to a homicide reported by police in Canada between 2009 and 2021. Cases with a guilty decision where the type of sentence was reported as unknown are excluded from the calculation of percentages. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See "Data sources and methodology" for more details about the linkage and methodology.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey and Integrated Criminal Courts Survey linked file.

While the above data do not reflect sentencing details for persons convicted of homicide but rather any charge in the case, the patterns persist when sentencing outcomes for homicide convictions are examined.

**Persons convicted in a case of gender-related homicide and sentenced to custody receive longest sentence on average**

Of those who were found guilty of a homicide charge where the most serious sentence was custody and the length of custody was known,<sup>20</sup> persons convicted in a case of gender-related homicide had an average sentence of 12.5 years remaining after credit was given for pre-trial custody. This was three years longer than those convicted of a non-gender-related homicide of a woman or girl (average 9.2 years), and double the average of custodial sentences handed down when the victim was male (6.1 years).<sup>21</sup>

The above sentencing disparities across homicide types by gender-related status could be related to differences in charges laid and the most serious decision rendered by the courts as penalties vary according to the type of homicide conviction. For example, persons accused of a gender-related homicide were more frequently charged with murder—either first- or second-degree—than the comparison groups. For adults, a first-degree murder conviction automatically results in a life sentence with parole eligibility after 25 years. Similarly, second-degree murder carries a life sentence but with parole eligibility set between 10 and 25 years. A manslaughter conviction, on the other hand, does not carry a minimum sentence unless committed with a firearm, in which a minimum four-year sentence is imposed. Here, sentence length reflects the time left to serve by an offender after being credited for time served pre-trial, calculated based on the total sentence imposed rather than parole eligibility.

When examining those convicted of murder in a gender-related homicide case, the average sentence length was 21.3 years, three and a half years longer than those convicted of murder in a case of non-gender-related homicide (average 17.8 years) and ten years longer than those convicted of murdering a man or boy (10.9 years).<sup>22</sup> Persons convicted of a gender-related manslaughter received longer sentences on average than the comparison groups (7.5 years versus 5.4 years for a non-gender-related manslaughter and 5.3 years for manslaughter of a man or boy).<sup>23</sup>

**Text box 3**  
**Section 718.2(a)(ii) of the *Criminal Code***

Prior to the 1990s, intimate partner violence against women was often seen as less serious than violence against strangers, characterized as a private matter to be dealt with in the family and not a judicial concern (Grant, 2017). Likewise, intimate partner homicide was also characterized as less severe than other types of culpable homicide due, in part, to the perceived “emotional” nature of such crimes and the perceived minimal public threat posed by offenders (Grant, 2010; Richards et al., 2015). By the late 1980s, however, some courts began to acknowledge the severity of intimate partner violence against women precisely because it occurred within the home, outside of public scrutiny and constituted an extreme breach of trust (Grant, 2017).

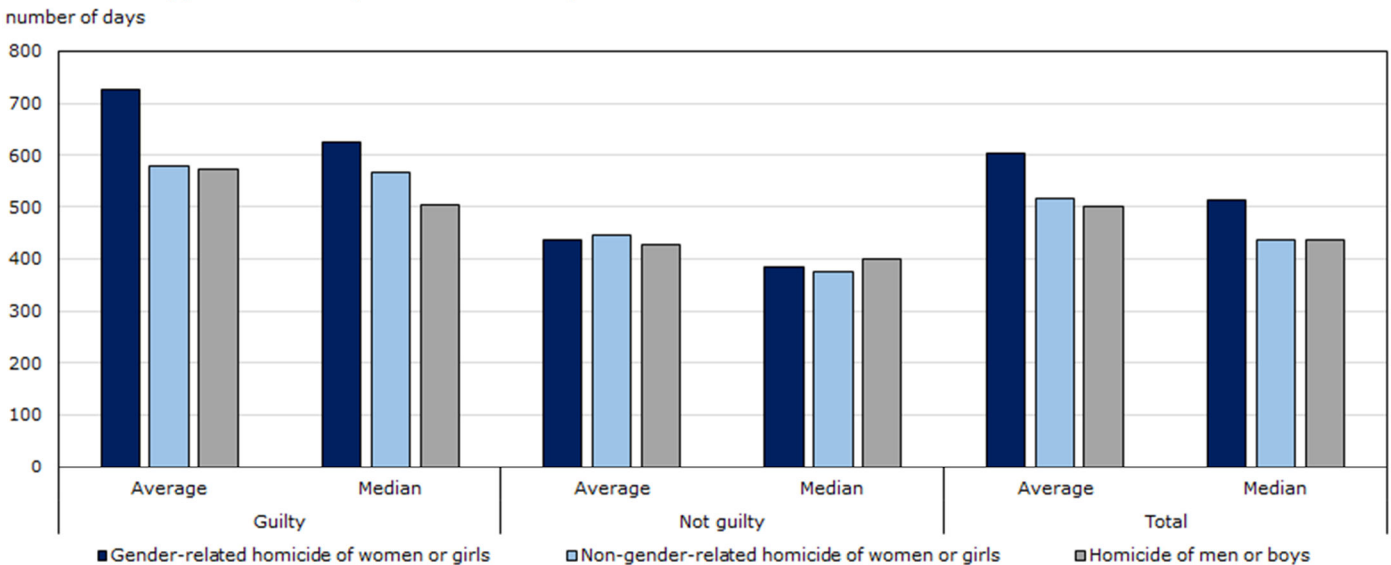
In 1996, *Criminal Code* section 718.2(a)(ii) was “enacted in response to a history of courts both trivializing male intimate partner violence against women and courts putting primary focus on the preservation of the family relationship rather than on the safety of the complainant” (Grant, 2017). This amendment requires courts to treat violence against an intimate partner or a family member as an aggravating factor during sentencing for all crimes.

Additionally, Bill C-75, which received Royal Assent in June 2019, requires that courts prioritize the principles of denunciation and deterrence when sentencing cases of intimate partner violence and consider the increased vulnerability female victims may face (Government of Canada, 2022). It clarified that under the *Criminal Code*, intimate partner applies to both current and former legal and common-law spouses as well as dating partners and other family members (Government of Canada, 2022). While the Integrated Criminal Court Survey does not collect data on aggravating factors, the finding that gender-related homicide offenders receive longer sentences on average than persons convicted of other homicides is consistent with s.718.2(a)(ii) and the changes enacted under Bill C-75.

**Gender-related homicide cases take longer to complete in court**

Cases of gender-related homicides took, on average, 603 calendar days to complete in court, measured by first appearance to final decision. These cases took 89 days longer, on average, to complete than non-gender-related homicides of women and girls and 103 days longer than cases involving the homicide of men and boys (Chart 5). These differences may be due to murder charges and convictions being more common in cases of gender-related homicide. Murder trials add a level of complexity in terms of evidence presented, burden of proof and time required for jury instructions and deliberations, which could collectively result in longer trial durations. Issues of complexity aside, completion time may be impacted by additional time needed for sentencing; a viable explanation with a higher proportion of guilty findings in gender-related homicide cases.

**Chart 5**  
**Cases linked to police-reported homicides by number of days needed to complete a case, gender-related status and type of decision, criminal courts, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**



**Note:** Gender-related homicide cases are solved homicides committed by at least one male accused who killed at least one female victim who was an intimate partner or family member of the accused, who was sexually assaulted during the killing, or who was identified by police as a sex worker. Non-gender-related homicides of women and girls are all those that do not contain the above criteria but involve at least one female victim. Homicide cases of men and boys require that no female victims were killed in the same incident. Victims and accused persons for whom gender was reported as unknown by police are excluded from this chart. Represents all completed cases successfully linked to a homicide reported by police in Canada between 2009 and 2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See “Data sources and methodology” for more details about the linkage and methodology.  
**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey and Integrated Criminal Courts Survey linked file.

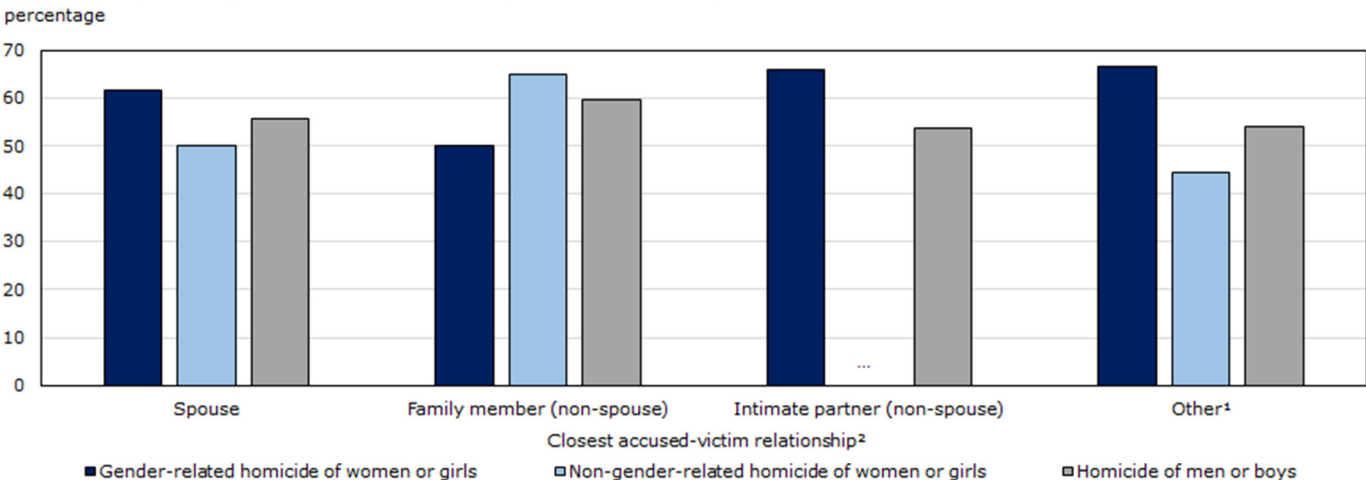
For guilty findings, substantially more time is needed to complete a case, regardless of gender-related status, again, likely due to the additional time needed for sentencing. For example, gender-related homicides took an average of 290 days longer to complete when the decision was guilty compared to a finding of not guilty. Similarly, cases of non-gender-related homicide of women and girls and cases with a male victim took longer to complete when the decision was guilty (135 and 148 days longer, respectively).

**Guilty findings less common in gender-related homicides of a non-spousal family member**

Like overall patterns noted among all gender-related homicides committed between 2011 and 2021, four in ten (41%) cases completed in criminal courts involved spousal relationships,<sup>24</sup> followed by non-spousal family relationships (30%), non-spousal intimate partners (18%),<sup>25</sup> acquaintances (8%) and strangers (3%).<sup>26</sup>

Among persons accused of a gender-related homicide, two-thirds were found guilty of any charge in the case when the victim was an intimate partner. More specifically, 66% of persons accused of a gender-related homicide of a non-spousal intimate partner were found guilty of any charge in the case, and about six in ten (61%) were found guilty when the victim was a spouse (Chart 6). Similarly, 67% of those charged in the gender-related homicide of a victim with whom they shared a more distant relationship (i.e., stranger or acquaintance) were found guilty, whereas half (50%) of persons accused of a gender-related homicide were found guilty when the victim was a non-spousal family member.<sup>27</sup> This last finding, however, is unique to gender-related homicides; for persons accused of a non-gender-related homicide or the homicide of a male victim, the largest proportion of those found guilty killed a non-spousal family member (65% and 60%, respectively).

**Chart 6**  
**Percentage of guilty cases linked to police-reported homicides completed in court by accused-victim relationship and gender-related status, criminal courts, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**



... not applicable  
 1. For gender-related homicides and non-gender-related homicides, this category includes acquaintance and stranger relationships. For the homicide of men and boys, this category includes acquaintances and strangers but also other relationships not otherwise mentioned.  
 2. For homicides with multiple accused persons, only the accused person with whom the victim had the closest relationship is included.  
**Note:** Gender-related homicide cases are solved homicides committed by at least one male accused who killed at least one female victim who was an intimate partner or family member of the accused, who was sexually assaulted during the killing, or who was identified by police as a sex worker. Non-gender-related homicides of women and girls are all those that do not contain the above criteria but involve at least one female victim. Homicide cases of men and boys require that no female victims were killed in the same incident. Victims and accused persons for whom gender was reported as unknown by police are excluded from this chart. Other relationship types not shown in chart. Represents all completed cases successfully linked to a homicide reported by police in Canada between 2009 and 2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See "Data sources and methodology" for more details about the linkage and methodology.  
**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey and Integrated Criminal Courts Survey linked file.

Current findings further support the lessening of the "intimacy discount" in recent years in that similar proportions of guilty findings were documented for persons accused of a gender-related homicide of an intimate partner and for persons accused of a gender-related homicide of a stranger or acquaintance. In terms of sentence length, those who killed non-spousal intimate partners had, on average, the longest time remaining on their sentence (14.2 years) after being credited with time served for pre-trial custody, followed by those who killed an acquaintance or stranger (13.0 years) or spouse (11.2 years). Those convicted of a gender-related homicide of a non-spousal family member had the least amount of time left on their sentence (8.8 years).

### **Similar proportion of guilty findings in gender-related homicide cases involving Indigenous and non-Indigenous victims**

In parallel with the proportion of all victims of gender-related homicide killed between 2011 and 2021 (see Sutton, 2023a), of the gender-related homicides completed in criminal courts, just over one in five (22%) victims were Indigenous (First Nations, Métis and Inuit) despite their comprising 5% of the female population in 2021 (Statistics Canada, 2022) (Table 4). When comparing court outcomes of gender-related homicides involving Indigenous victims compared with non-Indigenous victims, similar proportions of accused were found guilty of any charge in the case (57% and 59%, respectively). See Burczykca and Cotter (2023) for a full analysis of court outcomes of homicides involving Indigenous victims.

### **Fewer guilty findings in gender-related homicide cases involving multiple accused**

The majority of gender-related homicide cases dealt with in the criminal courts involved a single victim and single accused (91% each), similar proportions of which resulted in a guilty finding (57% and 60%, respectively) (Table 5). While the homicide of multiple victims in a single incident marginally increased the proportion of accused found guilty (from 57% to 61%), the participation of multiple accused did appear to have the opposite effect. Specifically, 37% of gender-related homicide cases involving two accused resulted in a finding of guilt for any charge in the case, a percentage that decreased to 29% with the participation of three or more accused. This runs contrary to prior research which found, while controlling for other factors, the presence of multiple accused increases the likelihood of being found guilty in a homicide case at trial, regardless of victim gender or relationship shared (Dawson, 2004b).

### **Gender-related homicides less often involve a related offence, according to police**

In the Homicide Survey, when there is a direct and immediate connection between a related offence and the homicide incident, police are required to record the most serious one. For gender-related homicides, about four in ten (42%) had a related offence (Table 5). Of these, 79% involved a violent offence, most notably offences related to assault and sexual assault. A larger proportion of non-gender-related homicide cases of women and girls and those involving a male victim had a related offence (54% and 56%, respectively). Of these cases, the majority also involved a related violent offence (60% and 78%, respectively), most commonly the offences of assault and robbery.

By definition, at least some gender-related homicides must involve a related offence (i.e., sexual assault). The fact that such homicides have fewer associated offences than the comparison groups imply that other types of gender-related homicides (e.g., those occurring between intimates and family members) are much less likely to involve an associated offence recorded by police.

### **More than half of those charged in relation to a gender-related homicide in court have a previous conviction**

Based on police-reported data, the vast majority (93%) of persons accused of a gender-related homicide were not involved in illegal activities at the time of the homicide,<sup>28</sup> however, a greater proportion of persons involved in such activities were found guilty of any charge in the homicide case compared to those who were not (63% versus 58%) (Table 6).

Similarly, more than half (53%) of all persons accused of a gender-related homicide had a previous criminal record, of which 70% included at least one violent offence, and a higher proportion of these accused were found guilty of any charge in the case compared to those without a record (64% versus 51% of accused without a prior conviction). Among persons accused of a non-gender-related homicide, more than half (54%) had a criminal record, but a smaller proportion (51%) of which were found guilty of any charge in the case. For persons accused of a homicide with a male victim, more than two-thirds (70%) had a criminal record, 49% of which were found guilty of any charge.

### **More than three-quarters of persons charged in a gender-related homicide case are aged 25 and older**

Among all persons accused of a gender-related homicide that was linked to at least one court charge, 77% were aged 25 and older (Table 6). In contrast, about six in ten (59%) persons accused of a non-gender-related homicide of a woman or girl and a slightly smaller proportion (56%) of those accused of a homicide of a man or boy were similarly aged.

### **Nearly two-thirds of persons found guilty in a gender-related homicide case consumed alcohol, drugs or an intoxicating substance prior to the incident**

Half (51%) of those charged in a gender-related homicide had consumed alcohol, drugs or an intoxicating substance prior to committing the homicide (Table 6). This was similar to the proportion of persons charged in a non-gender-related homicide (46%) and to those accused of a homicide of a male victim (52%) who were recorded as having consumed substances.

Differences emerge between the three groups when it came to the “unknown” category. Specifically, information on substance use was known for approximately eight in ten (79%) persons charged with a gender-related homicide, nearly three quarters (73%) of those charged with a non-gender-related homicide of a woman or girl and more than two-thirds (68%) of those charged with the homicide of a male victim.

Nearly two-thirds (64%) of persons accused of a gender-related homicide who had consumed an intoxicating substance were found guilty of any charge in the case. In comparison, smaller proportions of those who were accused of a non-gender-related homicide and persons accused of a homicide of a man or boy and who consumed an intoxicating substance were found guilty (57% and 56%, respectively).

#### **Text box 4** **Geography of Justice**

Ongoing work by researchers at the Centre for the Study of Social and Legal Responses to Violence explores how homicide cases are processed and disposed of in Canadian criminal courts, with special attention given to what role victim, accused and incident characteristics play over time and across geography. This research initiative, which was initially funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, has resulted in the creation of a national database focusing on court outcomes of homicide cases spanning more than four decades. The project originated in the study of what role intimacy and gender play in criminal justice responses to homicide in Ontario, but has since been rolled out nationally. The database allows for the exploration of research questions related to the characteristics of homicide as well as the legal response to these crimes when they occur, resulting in numerous publications on topics such as femicide, filicide, parricide and criminal justice outcomes by relationship type (see Dawson & Mobayed, 2023; Dawson & Carrigan, 2021; Dawson & Sutton, 2017; Dawson, 2016; Dawson & Hill, 2021; Johnson & Dawson, 2021).

Notably, data from this research initiative informs the #CallItFemicide research reports released annually by the Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability (see Dawson et al., 2023; Dawson et al., 2021; Dawson et al., 2019). These reports have consistently shown that persons accused of femicide are most often charged with second-degree murder, followed by first-degree murder and manslaughter. While information is not always immediately available on court decision outcomes, these reports also contain qualitative information on conviction and sentencing outcomes, reiterating the importance of publishing data annually on the prosecution and punishment of persons convicted of violence against women and girls.

### **Section 3: Court outcomes of gender-related attempted murder, aggravated assault and aggravated sexual assault**

In addition to examining court outcomes of gender-related homicide, it is also informative to look at other forms of severe violence that could have resulted in death to better understand who is most at risk and how persons accused of such crimes are treated by the courts. The following section relies on the same linked data file as in Section 2, but uses data from the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey merged with the Integrated Criminal Court Survey (ICCS) to examine court outcomes over a 12-(fiscal) year period (2009/2010 to 2020/2021).

Data on gender-related attempted murders, aggravated assaults and aggravated sexual assaults that were cleared by police will be presented. Gender-related attempted murders and aggravated assaults are defined as those perpetrated by a male accused who was either an intimate partner or family member of the victim. Gender-related aggravated sexual assaults include all such crimes perpetrated by a male accused against a female victim, regardless of the relationship shared.<sup>29</sup> Including an analysis of how gender-related attempted murders and aggravated assaults are treated in the courts provides data to inform programs and policies, identifying prevention opportunities before a case becomes lethal.

#### **More charges per case, on average, when incident is gender-related**

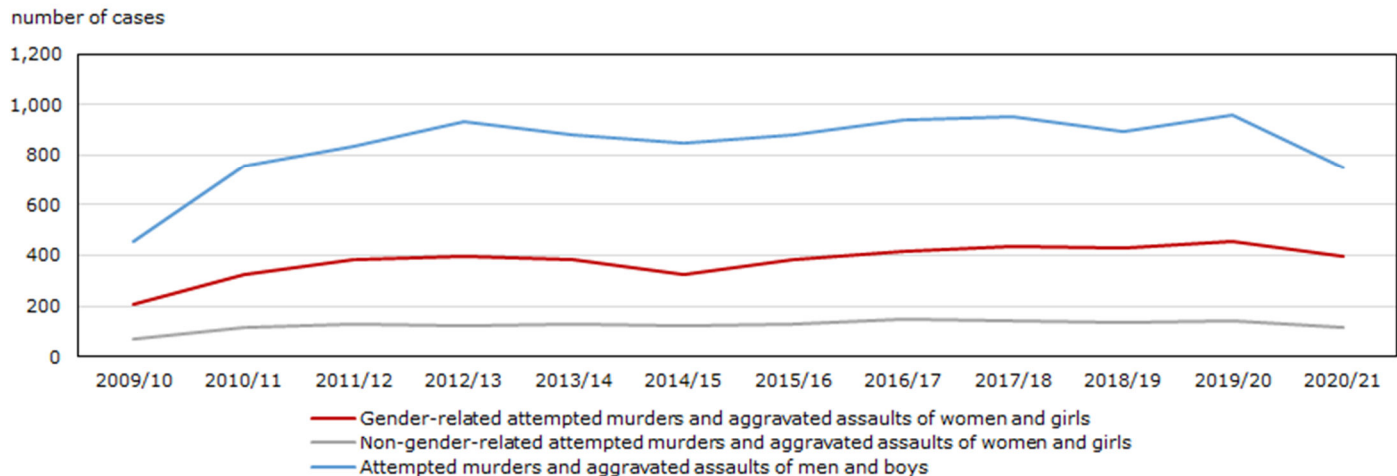
Between 2009 and 2021, there were 7,752 victims of a gender-related attempted murder, aggravated assault or aggravated sexual assault in which the incident was cleared by charge, 69% of which were linked to at least one court charge, resulting in 4,551 cases for analysis.<sup>30</sup> In these cases, 24,445 charges were laid, with an average of 5.4 linked charges per case.

In contrast, there were 2,668 female victims of a non-gender-related attempted murder, aggravated assault or aggravated sexual assault in which the incident was cleared by charge, 62% of which were linked to at least one court charge, resulting in 1,492 cases for analysis. In these cases, 5,364 charges were laid, averaging 3.6 linked charges per case. There were an additional 17,322 male victims of attempted murder, aggravated assault or aggravated sexual assault in which the incident was cleared by charge, 65% of which were linked to at least one court charge, resulting in 10,106 cases for analysis. In these cases, 36,090 charges were laid with an average of 3.6 linked charges per case.

## In general, year-over-year increases in gender-related attempted murder, aggravated assault and aggravated sexual assault cases completed in criminal courts

Except for decreases documented in 2013/2014, 2014/2015, 2020/2021 and, to a lesser extent, 2018/2019, there has been an overall increase in the number of gender-related violent offences completed in the criminal courts over time (Chart 7). Similar increases can be seen with the number of attempted murder, aggravated assault and aggravated sexual assault cases completed in the courts with a male victim whereas the trend line for non-gender-related offences involving a woman or girl has remained comparatively stable over time. These data also show that courts handle approximately three times as many cases of gender-related attempted murder, aggravated assault and aggravated sexual assault compared to non-gender-related incidents involving a woman or girl.

**Chart 7**  
Cases linked to police-reported attempted murder and aggravated assault incidents by year and gender-related status, criminal courts, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021



**Note:** Gender-related attempted murders and aggravated assaults of women and girls are solved incidents of attempted murder or aggravated physical assault committed by a male accused who was an intimate partner or family member of the victim, or aggravated sexual assault committed by a male accused, regardless of their relationship to the victim. Non-gender-related attempted murders and aggravated assaults are all those that do not contain the above qualifiers but involve a female victim. Analysis is restricted to these crimes involving a single victim and single accused. Victims and accused persons for whom gender was reported as unknown by police are excluded from this chart. Represents all completed cases successfully linked to a relevant offence reported by police in Canada between 2009 and 2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See "Data sources and methodology" for more details about the linkage and methodology.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey and Integrated Criminal Courts Survey linked file.

The comparatively low number of cases completed in 2009/2010 can be explained in part by how the linkage was performed. The linkage file contains data on police-reported incidents that occurred between 2009 and 2021 and their associated court outcomes. Incidents that occurred in 2008 or earlier, but were completed by the courts in 2009/2010 would not be reflected in the linkage or shown in the chart. Likewise, the drop in completed cases documented in 2020/2021 may be explained, in part, by the delays associated with COVID-19 and its corresponding lockdown measures, leaving many cases still active in the courts.

## Aggravated assault most common charge laid by police and most serious decision rendered by the courts

According to police data, between 2009 and 2021, police laid or recommended 5,951 aggravated assault charges in gender-related cases, comprising 80% of all charges laid among this group. Aligned with charging practices, the largest proportion of gender-related cases completed in the courts involved an aggravated assault charge (36%) as the most serious decision (MSD) rendered (Table 7).<sup>31</sup> Of persons charged by police with aggravated assault, 41% were found guilty as charged in court and another 35% had the lesser charges of common assault (level 1) or assault causing bodily harm (level 2) as the MSD.<sup>32</sup>

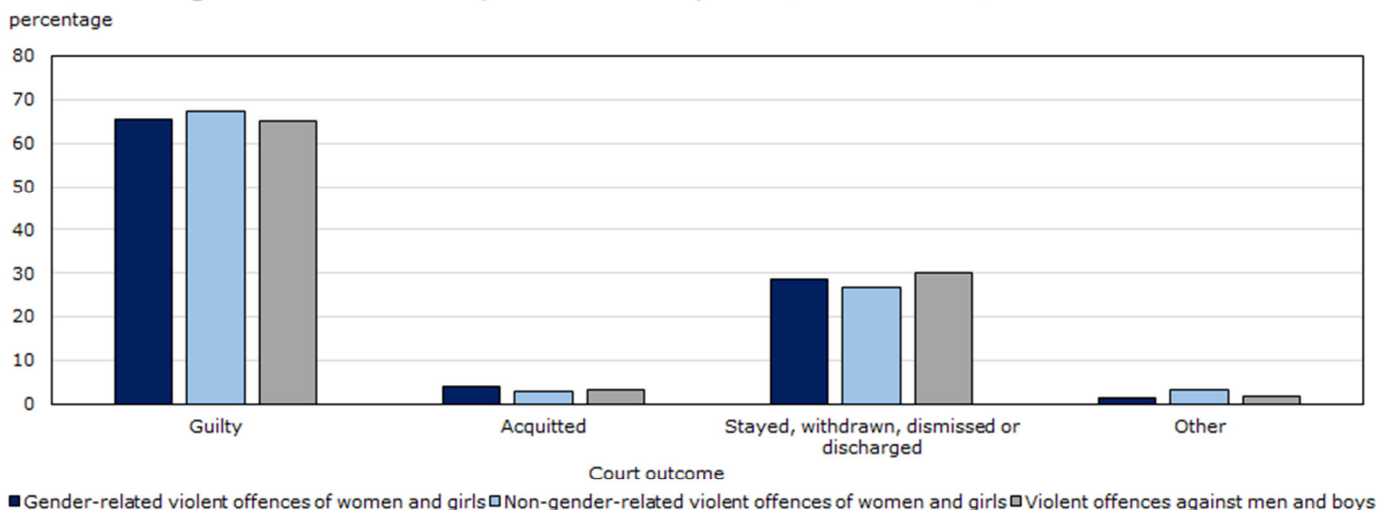
An additional 763 (10%) attempted murder charges and 751 (10%) aggravated sexual assault charges were laid or recommended by police against persons accused in severe gender-related violence cases. Among those charged with attempted murder, the most common MSD was also attempted murder (32%) where 38% were found guilty as charged and another 26% had aggravated assault as the MSD.<sup>33</sup> Finally, when police laid or recommended a charge of aggravated sexual assault, it too was the most common MSD (38%) in court, followed by level 1 or 2 sexual assault (23%).<sup>34</sup>

Above patterns may reflect the entering of guilty pleas given how prior research has noted that persons accused of intimate partner and domestic violence are more likely to enter a guilty plea (Dawson, 2004a; Dawson, 2004b) and can help explain the most serious decisions being related to or slightly lesser than the original charge laid by police.

**Two-thirds of all gender-related attempted murder, aggravated assault and aggravated sexual assault cases result in guilty decision**

Most (66%) persons accused in a case of gender-related attempted murder, aggravated assault or aggravated sexual assault were found guilty of any charge in the case (Chart 8). A smaller proportion of accused had their charges stayed, withdrawn, dismissed or discharged (29%) or were acquitted of all charges (4%). These proportions were similar to what was documented for persons accused of the same offences without a gender-related component.

**Chart 8**  
**Cases linked to police-reported attempted murder and aggravated assault incidents by court outcome and gender-related status, criminal courts, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**



**Note:** Gender-related violent offences of women and girls include attempted murders, aggravated physical assaults and aggravated sexual assaults that were cleared by police. The attempted murders and aggravated physical assaults must have been committed by a male intimate partner or family member of the victim, whereas all aggravated sexual assaults committed by a male accused against a female victim were included, regardless of relationship. Non-gender-related violent offences are attempted murders and aggravated assaults that do not contain the above qualifiers but involve a female victim. Violent offences against men and boys include attempted murders and aggravated assaults that were cleared by police. Analysis is restricted to these crimes involving a single victim and single accused. Victims and accused persons for whom gender was reported as unknown by police are excluded from this chart. Represents all completed cases successfully linked to a relevant offence reported by police in Canada between 2009 and 2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See "Data sources and methodology" for more details about the linkage and methodology.  
**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey and Integrated Criminal Court Survey linked file.

**Of adults found guilty of a gender-related violent offence, nearly seven in ten sentenced to custody**

Examining adult accused exclusively, of those who were found guilty of any charge in the gender-related case and the sentencing information was known,<sup>35</sup> almost seven in ten (67%) received a custodial sentence. One in five (20%) were sentenced to probation and smaller proportions received a conditional sentence (8%), a fine (2%) or another sentencing outcome (2%).

Again, similar breakdowns were observed for persons found guilty of a non-gender-related attempted murder, aggravated assault or aggravated sexual assault of a female or male victim. Where sentencing information was known,<sup>36</sup> 64% of adults found guilty of a non-gender-related violent offence against a female victim were sentenced to custody, 18% probation and 14% received a conditional sentence. When the victim was male, 66% of offenders received a custodial sentence, 18% a probation order and 12% a conditional sentence.<sup>37</sup>

**Shorter sentences, on average, when case is gender-related**

When examining cases of gender-related attempted murder, aggravated assault or aggravated sexual assault where the accused was found guilty of any charge in the case and sentenced to a known period of custody, sentences ranged from one to 9,125 days,<sup>38</sup> with an average sentence length of 420 days or 1.2 years left to serve after credit was awarded for pre-trial custody. These sentences were shorter by 177 days on average compared with custodial sentences given when the case was not gender-related but involved a female victim and 34 days shorter, on average, when the victim was male.



The above runs counter to what was found for sentencing in cases of gender-related homicide where those convicted had longer sentences left to serve than persons convicted in cases of non-gender-related homicide and in the homicide of men and boys. Sentencing is a complex process, influenced by aggravating and mitigating factors, victim impact statements, and factors related to family violence such as the victim's potential desire to reconcile or requests for leniency. However, these factors could not be examined due to limitations in data availability.

## Summary

Using a linked data file merging information contained in the Homicide Survey with the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey and the Integrated Criminal Court Survey (ICCS), this *Juristat* article provided an examination of how gender-related homicides of women and girls were handled by the courts and how these outcomes compared to non-gender-related homicide cases. A follow-up analysis was conducted to determine how incidents of gender-related attempted murder, aggravated assault and aggravated sexual assault proceed through the courts system and whether their treatment differs from non-gender-related incidents.

Between 2009/2010 and 2020/2021, 440 cases of gender-related homicide were completed by the criminal courts, averaging 2.7 linked charges per case. Compared with persons accused of a non-gender-related homicide, those accused of a gender-related homicide were more likely to have a murder charge as the most serious violation laid against them, be found guilty of any charge in the case, be sentenced to custody and have longer custodial sentences imposed.

In contrast with the above, fewer notable differences were documented between the three groups for court outcomes associated with the offences of attempted murder, aggravated assault and aggravated sexual assault. While gender-related cases contained more charges on average than those with a non-gender-related female victim or male victim, similar proportions of persons accused in these crimes were found guilty of any charge in the case and sentenced to custody. Persons convicted of a gender-related violent offence received shorter sentences, on average, than those convicted in non-gender-related cases.

The findings presented in this *Juristat* are limited to a subset of cases that could be linked across data sets and also by the information contained within each data file. Despite these limitations, the current article offers key information on how courts treat cases of gender-related homicide, attempted murder and aggravated assaults.

## Data sources and methodology

### Homicide Survey

The Homicide Survey collects police-reported data on the characteristics of all homicide incidents, victims and accused persons in Canada. The Homicide Survey began collecting information on all murders in 1961 and was expanded in 1974 to include all incidents of manslaughter and infanticide. Although details on these incidents are not available prior to 1974, counts are available from the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR) and are included in the historical aggregate totals.

When a homicide becomes known to police, the investigating police service completes the survey questionnaires, which are then sent to Statistics Canada. There are cases where homicides become known to police months or years after they occurred. These incidents are counted in the year they become known to police (based on the report date). Information on persons accused of homicide is only available for solved incidents (i.e., where at least one accused has been identified). Accused characteristics are updated as homicide cases are solved, and new information is submitted to the Homicide Survey. Information collected through the victim and incident questionnaires is also updated accordingly when a case is solved. For incidents involving more than one accused, only the relationship between the victim and the closest accused is recorded.

The year 2019 marked the first cycle of collection of the Homicide Survey data for which information on gender identity was reported for victims and persons accused of homicide. Gender refers to the gender a person publicly expresses in their daily life, including at work, while shopping or accessing other services, in their housing environment or in the broader community. Prior to 2019, Homicide Survey data was presented by the sex of the victims and accused persons. Sex and gender refer to two different concepts. Caution should be exercised when comparing counts for sex with those for gender. Given that small counts of victims and accused persons reported or were identified as being non-binary, the aggregate Homicide Survey data available to the public has been recoded to distribute these counts to either "men" or "women" in order to ensure the protection of confidentiality and privacy. Victims and accused persons who reported or were identified as being non-binary have been distributed to either men or women categories based on the regional distribution of victims' or accused persons' gender.

## Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey

The Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey is a microdata survey that captures detailed information on crimes reported to and substantiated by police, including the characteristics of victims, accused persons and incidents. Coverage from the UCR2 between 2009 and 2021 is estimated at 99% of the population of Canada and includes only those police services who have consistently responded to the survey in order to allow for comparisons over time.

The option for police to code victims as “gender diverse” in the UCR Survey was implemented in 2018. In the context of the UCR Survey, “gender diverse” refers to a person who publicly expresses as neither exclusively male nor exclusively female. Given that small counts of victims identified as being gender diverse may exist, the UCR data available to the public has been recoded with these victims distributed in the “male” or “female” categories based on the regional distribution of victims’ gender. This recoding ensures the protection of confidentiality and privacy of victims.

## Integrated Criminal Court Survey

The Integrated Criminal Court Survey (ICCS) collects statistical information on adult and youth court cases involving Criminal Code and other federal statute offences. Data contained in this article represent both the adult criminal court portion as well as the youth court portion of the survey.

All youth courts in Canada have reported data to the youth component of the survey since the 1991/1992 fiscal year. As of 2005/2006, all provincial and territorial (adult criminal) courts in 10 provinces and 3 territories report to the survey. However, information from superior courts in Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan as well as municipal courts in Quebec are not available for extraction from their electronic reporting systems and are therefore not reported to the survey. Superior court information for Prince Edward Island was also unavailable until 2018/2019.

The primary unit of analysis is a case. A case is defined as one or more charges against an accused person or company that were processed by the courts at the same time and received a final decision. A case combines all charges against the same person having one or more key overlapping dates (date of offence, date of initiation, date of first appearance, date of decision, or date of sentencing) into a single case.

A case that has more than one charge is represented by the charge with the “most serious offence” (MSO). The most serious offence is selected using the following rules. First, court decisions are considered and the charge with the “most serious decision” (MSD) is selected. Court decisions for each charge in a case are ranked from most to least serious as follows: 1) guilty, 2) guilty of a lesser offence, 3) acquitted, 4) stay of proceeding, 5) withdrawn, dismissed and discharged, 6) not criminally responsible, 7) other, and 8) transfer of court jurisdiction.

Second, in cases where two or more charges result in the same MSD (e.g., guilty), *Criminal Code* sentences are considered. The charge with the most serious offence type is selected according to an offence seriousness scale, based on actual sentences handed down by courts in Canada. Each offence type is ranked by looking at (a) the proportion of guilty charges where custody was imposed and (b) the average (mean) length of custody for the specific type of offence. These values are multiplied together to arrive at the final seriousness ranking for each type of offence. If, after looking at the offence seriousness scale, two or more charges remain tied then information about the sentence type and duration of the sentence are considered (e.g., custody and length of custody, then probation and length of probation, etc.).

## Linkage file: Overview and limitations

Sections 2 and 3 in this *Juristat* article are based on a data file which linked police-reported data from the Homicide Survey and the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey with administrative data from the Integrated Criminal Courts Survey (ICCS).

The linkage was conducted in multiple steps using key information about the persons involved and the incidents. First, information about the persons, such as province, gender (or sex in the case of ICCS data), age or birthdate, and soundex (an algorithm that encodes names) were considered. Next, any matches were further linked based on the incident date, the date it was reported to police, the date charges were laid.

While the linkage allows for a greater examination of outcomes depending on characteristics of the victim, accused, and incident as captured by the Homicide Survey, there are limitations that should be considered when interpreting the findings, namely data coverage and elapsed time between an incident and the completion of a court case.

In terms of data coverage, not all jurisdictions in Canada currently report data to the ICCS: information from superior courts in Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan as well as municipal courts in Quebec are not reported, while superior court information

for Prince Edward Island was also unavailable until 2018/2019. The absence of data from superior courts in these jurisdictions is particularly notable for this analysis, as more serious cases (e.g., homicides) are usually processed in superior court.

In terms of time, some homicide incidents that did not successfully link to a completed charge may still be before the courts, particularly in recent years where the linkage rates were noticeably lower. Further, the most recent years included in the linkage were impacted by delays, closures, and modifications to criminal court processes associated with the COVID-19 pandemic and related measures. As the ICCS data reflects only completed charges, those which are still active in the court system are not reflected in this linkage.

It is also possible that incidents do not successfully link due to missing or incomplete information in one or more of the files. Due to the systemic factors impacting the linkage rate, the characteristics of cases included in the analysis could differ from cases which could not be linked successfully. Despite these limitations, however, the linked file affords the opportunity to examine factors associated with court case characteristics and outcomes in greater detail than would be possible if using the ICCS data on its own. See Text box 2 for more information about the scope and limitations of the linkage.

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## Notes

1. Throughout this report, the terms women/females and men/males are used interchangeably for the purposes of readability. Their use is not indicative of gender identity versus biological sex.
2. Family members include all male accused related to the victim by blood or marriage both within and outside the immediate family (e.g., brothers, sons, uncles, fathers, grandparents). The definition of gender-related homicide would also include "honour" killing which is the homicide of a woman or girl by family members, generally male, because of perceptions that the victim had brought dishonor to the family (UNODC, 2018).
3. Sexual violence includes any sexual assault violation (i.e., aggravated sexual assault, sexual assault with a weapon or causing bodily harm, sexual assault level 1 and other sexual assault offences) that the accused committed against a victim before, during, or after the homicide that led to the victim's death. Police record this information when there was a direct and immediate connection between the sexual assault and the homicide itself.
4. Limiting the analysis to focus only on men and boys as accused persons means that the definition used in this report most closely resembles international understandings of femicide (i.e., killings rooted in patriarchal systems of oppression, gender inequality and power imbalances). While some research takes a broad view of gender-related killings of women and girls without limiting the gender of the accused, others have presented high-level information on all homicides of women and girls and then a more detailed subset focusing on those with a male accused (see Dawson et al., 2019; Dawson et al., 2021; Dawson & Carrigan, 2021). Similar power imbalances may occur within same-sex relationships but these homicides are outside the scope of the report.

5. Cleared homicides involve those where an accused has been identified as being associated with the incident and charges have been laid or recommended, or the incident was cleared otherwise (e.g., through the death or suicide of the accused, committal of the accused to a mental health facility, reasons beyond control of the department). While police may have strong suspicions against a particular person, data on the accused are only available for incidents that have been cleared.
6. While these examples could still be gender-related homicides, and are in many countries, depending on the context and motivation, the reliable identification of such cases is currently not possible with Statistic Canada's Homicide Survey.
7. The Uniform Crime Reporting Survey does not collect data on whether the victim was a sex worker and, as such, is not included as a criterion for gender-related violence.
8. Completed cases refers to those in which all charges filed in court against an individual have received a final decision. However, Appeal courts, federal courts (e.g., Tax Court of Canada) and the Supreme Court of Canada are not covered by the Integrated Criminal Courts Survey.
9. Despite encompassing a longer time period, the 1,030 figure is less than the number of gender-related homicides reported by police between 2011 and 2021 because this subset focuses only on homicides where charges were laid, excluding accused who died by suicide or who were cleared otherwise.
10. In working with court data, the unit of analysis is either by case or charges laid depending on the type of analysis performed. The cases across the three comparison groups are mutually exclusive to avoid double counting victims. If at least one victim in an incident met the gender-related criteria, the entire incident including any associated victims, cases and charges were considered gender-related. If there were no gender-related homicide victims, but other women and girls were killed in a homicide incident, the case was categorized as non-gender-related. Finally, in cases without a female victim, the entire incident was categorized as the homicide of men and boys. This process means that some gender-related homicide cases may involve male victims and female co-accused.
11. Represents all charges laid against persons accused in an incident police determined to be a homicide, including any charges for related or less serious offences, where incidents successfully linked to at least one charge completed in adult criminal or youth courts in Canada between 2009/2010 and 2020/2021.
12. Police lay charges in all provinces with the exception of British Columbia and Quebec, where the decision to lay charges is made by the Crown. In New Brunswick, the decision to lay charges is made by police after receiving advice from the Crown. See: A Handbook for Police and Crown Prosecutors on Criminal Harassment. [www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/cj-jp/fv-vf/har/part4.html#approval](http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/cj-jp/fv-vf/har/part4.html#approval).
13. For example, if a person was found not guilty of second-degree murder but guilty of a breach of probation, the breach of probation would be recorded as the most serious decision.
14. The "most serious decision" (MSD) is determined by the type of court decision, ranked as follows: 1) guilty as charged, 2) guilty of a lesser offence, 3) acquitted, 4) stay of proceedings, 5) withdrawn, dismissed or discharged, 6) not criminally responsible, 7) other, and 8) transfer of court jurisdiction. In the event where two or more charges result in the same MSD (e.g., guilty), *Criminal Code* sanctions are considered where the charge with the most serious offence type is selected.
15. Court data does not allow for an analytical breakdown of first- and second-degree murder charges due to data quality issues.
16. Guilty findings include guilty of the charged offence, of an included offence, of an attempt of the charged offence, or of an attempt of an included offence. This category also includes guilty pleas, and cases where an absolute or conditional discharge has been imposed.
17. Acquittal means that the accused has been found not guilty of the charges presented before the court.
18. This category includes stays, withdrawals, dismissals and discharges at preliminary inquiry as well as court referrals to alternative or extrajudicial measures and restorative justice programs. These decisions all refer to the court stopping criminal proceedings against the accused.
19. Of convicted persons who were sentenced to custody where a homicide charge was laid in the case, sentencing details were known for 76% of accused convicted of a gender-related homicide, 68% of those convicted of a non-gender-related homicide and 77% convicted of a homicide of a man or boy.
20. Length of custody data are not available from Manitoba. Data exclude cases in which the length of the custody sentence was recorded as zero days, unknown or indeterminate. Of all linked cases, 23% involved a sentence of zero days in custody. This may reflect credit given for time served by the accused before and during the trial and while awaiting sentencing, thereby rendering the sentence complete. However, some jurisdictions code unknown sentence lengths as zero days and these are indistinguishable from true zeros. For this reason, all sentences of zero days are excluded from calculations. Custodial sentence lengths are intended to reflect the amount of time remaining to be served on a custodial sentence after credit has been awarded for time spent in pre-sentence custody. However, in some jurisdictions, the length of custody information represents the total length of custody imposed by court. Sentences longer than 25 years were considered outliers and recoded to 9,126 days (25 years plus a day).
21. Prior research has shown sentencing disparities between male and female offenders, where females tend to receive shorter sentences, on average, compared to their male counterparts (Beaver & Wright, 2019; Curry et al., 2004; Franklin & Fearn, 2008). The differences in sentence length between persons convicted of gender-related and non-gender-related homicides can be explained, in part, by the inclusion of female offenders. When focusing on convicted males only, the average sentence length for convictions of a gender-related homicide remains unchanged (12.5 years) and the homicide of a man or boy increases slightly (by three months, to 6.4 years). However, for non-gender-related homicides of women and girls by male accused only, the average sentence length increases by four years (i.e., 13.2 years).

22. When examining sentences for men only, those convicted of murder in a non-gender-related homicide were sentenced to an average of 19.9 years and those convicted of murder of a man or boy were sentenced to 11.4 years.
23. When examining manslaughter sentences for men only, those convicted in a case of non-gender-related homicide were sentenced to an average of 7.3 years in prison whereas the average sentence length changed marginally in cases involving a man or boy (5.5 years).
24. Spousal relationships include current and former legal spouses and common-law partners.
25. Non-spousal relationships include current and former dating partners and other intimate partners such as extra-marital intimate partners and one-night stands.
26. When examining relationship shared between victims and accused, the analysis is limited to the closest relationship between the victim and any person accused in the incident.
27. Of these cases, the majority of victims were aged 45 or older, and this group also had the lowest proportion of guilty findings (43%). Guilty findings were more common when the victim was aged 11 or younger (62% of accused were found guilty) or when victims were aged 12 to 44 (57% guilty).
28. Refers to accused people who were identified by police as being involved in illegal activities, that is, activities related to the illegal drug trade, commodification of sexual activities, organized crime or street gangs, human trafficking, fraud, other financial crime, or other illegal activity.
29. The decision to include all relationship types shared between a female victim and male accused for the offence of aggravated sexual assault was made due to the gendered nature of sexual violence; a crime which overwhelmingly affects women and girls.
30. To be included in the analysis, the incident must involve a single victim and single accused. This is to ensure that the specific relationship between the victim and the accused is accurate, as this is a critical part of the definition of a gender-related incident.
31. As stated in the previous section, with court data, each case is represented by a single charge, otherwise known as the “most serious decision” (MSD). The MSD first takes into account the decision handed down by the court, with guilty decisions taking priority over non-guilty decisions. In the event that multiple charges have the same decision, the MSD becomes the most serious offence. The MSD is determined by the type of court decision, ranked as follows: 1) guilty as charged, 2) guilty of a lesser offence, 3) acquitted, 4) stay of proceedings, 5) withdrawn, dismissed or discharged, 6) not criminally responsible, 7) other, and 8) transfer of court jurisdiction. In the event where two or more charges result in the same MSD (e.g., guilty), *Criminal Code* sanctions are considered where the charge with the most serious offence type is selected.
32. Data not shown.
33. Data not shown.
34. Data not shown.
35. The sentencing details for 7% of offenders found guilty were not available.
36. The sentencing details for 8% of offenders found guilty were not available.
37. The sentencing details for 8% of offenders found guilty were not available.
38. Only one gender-related attempted murder case resulted in a sentence of 9,125 days and appeared to be an outlier; the next longest sentence was 5,475 days. Calculations exclude sentences of zero days because some jurisdictions code unknown sentence lengths as zero days and these are indistinguishable from true zeros.

## Detailed data tables

**Table 1**  
**Victims of homicide by gender-related status and victim and incident characteristic, Canada, 2011 to 2021**

	Gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>1</sup>		Non-gender-related homicides	
	number	percent	number	percent
<b>Victim gender</b>				
Women and girls	1,125	100.0	720	12.4
Men and boys	...	...	5,104	87.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,125</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,824</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Accused-victim relationship</b>				
Spouse <sup>2</sup>	545	48.6	121	3.1
Non-spousal intimate partner <sup>3</sup>	193	17.2	73	1.8
Child <sup>4</sup>	154	13.7	185	4.7
Other family <sup>5</sup>	159	14.2	480	12.1
Friend <sup>6</sup>	25	2.2	1,355	34.2
Acquaintance <sup>7</sup>	30	2.7	943	23.8
Stranger	16	1.4	810	20.4
Unknown	3	...	188	...
<b>Solved homicide total<sup>8</sup></b>	<b>1,125</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4,155</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Incident location</b>				
Residential location <sup>9</sup>	978	87.2	3,249	56.4
Open area <sup>10</sup>	102	9.1	1,824	31.7
Other <sup>11</sup>	41	3.7	689	12.0
Unknown	4	...	62	...
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,125</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,824</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Primary method to cause death</b>				
Shooting	246	22.7	2,121	37.6
Stabbing	370	34.1	1,849	32.8
Beating or blows	223	20.6	1,068	18.9
Strangulation, suffocation, drowning	183	16.9	222	3.9
Other <sup>12</sup>	63	5.8	379	6.7
Unknown	40	...	185	...
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,125</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,824</b>	<b>100.0</b>

See notes at the end of the table.

**Table 1**  
**Victims of homicide by gender-related status and victim and incident characteristic, Canada, 2011 to 2021**

	Gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>1</sup>		Non-gender-related homicides	
	number	percent	number	percent
<b>Apparent motives</b>				
No apparent motive	100	9.6	540	10.9
Argument or quarrel	308	29.6	1,691	34.1
Financial gain or settling of accounts or debts	32	3.1	1,106	22.3
Jealousy or envy	148	14.2	163	3.3
Frustration, anger, despair	331	31.8	593	12.0
Revenge	26	2.5	326	6.6
Other motives <sup>13</sup>	96	9.2	534	10.8
Unknown	84	...	871	...
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,125</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,824</b>	<b>100.0</b>

... not applicable

1. Includes the homicide of women and girls where an intimate partner or a family member was the accused. Also includes the homicide of women and girls who experienced sexual violence as part of the homicide or were identified as sex workers. To be considered gender-related, the homicide must have been cleared by police and perpetrated by a male accused. Non-gender-related homicides are all those that do not contain the above qualifiers.

2. Includes current and former legally married spouses and common-law partners.

3. Includes current and former dating partners (i.e., boyfriends and girlfriends) and other intimate partners (e.g., extra-marital intimate partner, one-night stands).

4. Includes children and step-children.

5. Includes parents, step-parents, siblings and extended family members.

6. Includes close, casual and family friends as well as roommates.

7. Includes other household members, temporary house guests, current and former intimate partners of family members, neighbours, business relationships, authority and reverse authority figures, criminal relationships, co-substance users, co-institutional facility members and other acquaintances.

8. Includes homicides with a known accused.

9. Includes single homes, dwelling units (e.g., apartment units, condo units), commercial dwelling units (e.g. hotel rooms), nursing homes, retirement homes and community group homes.

10. Includes parking lots, streets, roads, highways and other open areas (e.g., playgrounds, parks, fields), transit buses and bus shelters, subways and subway stations, and other forms of public transportation and connected facilities.

11. Includes commercial properties and other corporate places (e.g., banks, bars, restaurants, car dealerships, convenience stores, gas stations, pharmacies), schools (including universities and colleges) during supervised and unsupervised activities, non-commercial locations (e.g., government buildings, community centres, halfway houses, homeless shelters or missions), private property structures (e.g., sheds, detached garages, fishing boats) and other locations (e.g., religious institutions, hospitals, correctional institutions, construction sites, privately owned vehicles, taxis, limousines).

12. Includes drug overdoses, poisoning or lethal injections, smoke inhalation or burns, exposure or hypothermia, abusive head traumas (previously referred to as shaken baby syndrome), motor vehicle impacts or collisions, neglect or failure to support life and other methods.

13. Includes hate crime, terrorism or security threat, illegal drug trade activities, concealment of a child, intent to conceal information or actions, assisting a suicide, euthanasia, sexual motivations, custody disputes, fear of apprehension, personal protection, honour based and types of motives not otherwise classified.

**Note:** There may be a small number of homicides included in a given year's total that occurred in previous years. Homicides are counted according to the year in which they are reported to Statistics Canada. Excludes victims and accused where gender was coded as unknown. The year 2019 marked the first cycle of collection of the Homicide Survey data for which information on gender identity was reported for victims and persons accused of homicide. Gender refers to the gender a person publicly expresses in their daily life, including at work, while shopping or accessing other services, in their housing environment or in the broader community. Prior to 2019, Homicide Survey data was presented by the sex of the victims and accused persons. Sex and gender refer to two different concepts. Caution should be exercised when comparing counts for sex with those for gender. Given that small counts of victims and accused persons reported or were identified as being non-binary, the aggregate Homicide Survey data available to the public has been recoded to distribute these counts to either "men" or "women" in order to ensure the protection of confidentiality and privacy. Victims and accused persons who reported or were identified as being non-binary have been distributed to either men or women categories based on the regional distribution of victims' or accused persons' gender. Percent calculations exclude unknown relationships, locations, methods and motives. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey.



**Table 2**  
**Charges laid in cases linked to police-reported homicides by type of charge completed and gender-related status, criminal courts, Canada, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**

Offence for which charge was completed in court	Gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>1</sup>			Non-gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>2</sup>			Homicide of men and boys <sup>3</sup>		
	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty
Homicide	533	45.5	48.6	367	32.5	36.5	3,000	37.3	32.9
First or second degree murder	419	35.8	40.3	251	22.2	25.5	1,973	24.5	15.5
Manslaughter	114	9.7	78.9	114	10.1	59.6	1,026	12.8	66.4
Infanticide	0	0.0	...	2	0.2	100.0	1	0.0	100.0
Attempted murder or other violation causing death	47	4.0	23.4	82	7.3	17.1	358	4.4	15.9
Aggravated assault	36	3.1	11.1	36	3.2	25.0	328	4.1	12.5
Sexual offence <sup>4</sup>	9	0.8	22.2	9	0.8	11.1	10	0.1	10.0
Other violent crime <sup>5</sup>	151	12.9	26.5	170	15.1	21.2	1,338	16.6	15.1
Property crime	43	3.7	32.6	74	6.6	25.7	354	4.4	23.2
<b>Total, Other Criminal Code offences</b>	<b>323</b>	<b>27.6</b>	<b>17.0</b>	<b>321</b>	<b>28.4</b>	<b>15.6</b>	<b>2,205</b>	<b>27.4</b>	<b>18.0</b>
Breach of probation	47	4.0	21.3	43	3.8	7.0	346	4.3	19.9
Failure to comply with order	67	5.7	23.9	70	6.2	27.1	566	7.0	18.0
Possession of weapons	89	7.6	6.7	88	7.8	4.5	635	7.9	11.3
Other Criminal Code offence	120	10.2	19.2	120	10.6	20.0	658	8.2	23.6
Other violation	29	2.5	41.4	70	6.2	15.7	453	5.6	26.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,171</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>33.9</b>	<b>1,129</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>24.3</b>	<b>8,046</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>23.5</b>

... not applicable

0 true zero or a value rounded to zero

1. Gender-related homicide cases are solved homicides committed by at least one male accused who killed at least one female victim who was an intimate partner or family member of the accused, who was sexually assaulted during the killing, or who was identified by police as a sex worker.

2. Non-gender-related homicides of women and girls require that no gender-related criteria are present in the case, but involve at least one female victim.

3. Homicide cases of men and boys require that no female victims were killed in the same incident.

4. Includes sexual assault level 1, sexual assault level 2 (with a weapon or causing bodily harm) and sexual assault level 3 (aggravated sexual assault). Also includes other sexual violations (e.g., sexual interference, invitation to sexual touching, sexual exploitation, corruption of morals).

5. Includes all other violent violations not otherwise listed.

**Note:** Victims and accused persons for whom gender was reported as unknown by police are excluded from this table. Represents all charges laid against persons accused in an incident police determined to be a homicide, including any charges for related or less serious offences, where incidents successfully linked to at least one charge completed in adult criminal or youth courts in Canada between 2009/2010 and 2020/2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See "Data sources and methodology" for more details about the linkage and methodology.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey and Integrated Criminal Courts Survey linked file.

**Table 3**  
**Charge laid in cases linked to police-reported homicides by most serious court decision, gender-related status, criminal courts, Canada, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**

Offence - most serious decision <sup>1</sup>	Gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>2</sup>			Non-gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>3</sup>			Homicide of men and boys <sup>4</sup>		
	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty
Homicide	355	80.7	61.1	209	78.6	50.7	1,844	76.3	48.8
First or second degree murder	265	60.2	51.7	125	47.0	36.0	1,051	43.5	24.7
Manslaughter	90	20.5	88.9	82	30.8	72.0	792	32.8	80.7
Infanticide	0	0.0	...	2	0.8	100.0	1	0.0	100.0
Attempted murder or other violation causing death	16	3.6	43.8	5	1.9	40.0	56	2.3	48.2
Aggravated assault	10	2.3	10.0	8	3.0	50.0	89	3.7	23.6
Sexual offence <sup>5</sup>	1	0.2	100.0	0	0.0	...	0	0.0	...
Other violent crime <sup>6</sup>	19	4.3	52.6	14	5.3	42.9	145	6.0	53.1
Property crime	5	1.1	60.0	7	2.6	57.1	45	1.9	64.4
<b>Total, Other Criminal Code offences</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>6.6</b>	<b>34.5</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>52.6</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>65.0</b>
Breach of probation	6	1.4	50.0	3	1.1	0.0	46	1.9	60.9
Failure to comply with order	7	1.6	57.1	5	1.9	60.0	41	1.7	58.5
Possession of weapons	1	0.2	0.0	3	1.1	33.3	23	1.0	47.8
Other Criminal Code offence	15	3.4	20.0	8	3.0	75.0	70	2.9	77.1
Other violation	5	1.1	80.0	4	1.5	50.0	59	2.4	64.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>440</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>57.5</b>	<b>266</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50.4</b>	<b>2,418</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50.0</b>

... not applicable

0 true zero or a value rounded to zero

1. Each case is represented by a single charge, otherwise known as the "most serious decision" (MSD). The MSD is determined by type of court decision, ranked as follows: (1) guilty, (2) guilty of a lesser offence, (3) acquitted, (4) stay of proceedings, (5) withdrawn, dismissed or discharged, (6) not criminally responsible, (7) other and (8) transfer out of court jurisdiction. *Criminal Code* sanctions are considered when two or more charges result in the same MSD (e.g., guilty), where the more serious offence is reported. The listed offences are the most serious conviction if there was a finding of guilt for one or more charges, but also represent the most serious offence if there was no conviction for any of the charges in the case.

2. Gender-related homicide cases are solved homicides committed by at least one male accused who killed at least one female victim who was an intimate partner or family member of the accused, who was sexually assaulted during the killing, or who was identified by police as a sex worker.

3. Non-gender-related homicides of women and girls require that no gender-related criteria are present in the case, but involve at least one female victim.

4. Homicide cases of men and boys require that no female victims were killed in the same incident.

5. Includes sexual assault level 1, sexual assault level 2 (with a weapon or causing bodily harm) and sexual assault level 3 (aggravated sexual assault). Also includes other sexual violations (e.g., sexual interference, invitation to sexual touching, sexual exploitation, corruption of morals).

6. Includes all other violent violations not otherwise listed.

**Note:** Victims and accused persons for whom gender was reported as unknown by police are excluded from this table. Represents all completed cases successfully linked to a homicide reported by police in Canada between 2009 and 2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See "Data sources and methodology" for more details about the linkage and methodology.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey and Integrated Criminal Courts Survey linked file.

**Table 4**  
**Characteristics of homicide victims associated with completed court cases by gender-related status, criminal courts, Canada, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**

Victim characteristic	Gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>1</sup>			Non-gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>2</sup>			Homicide of men and boys <sup>3</sup>		
	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty
<b>Age group</b>									
0 to 11 years	29	5.9	62.1	24	7.4	45.8	45	1.8	48.9
12 to 17 years	27	5.5	70.4	20	6.2	65.0	123	5.0	46.3
18 to 24 years	65	13.2	56.9	59	18.2	57.6	583	23.5	50.1
25 to 34 years	104	21.1	63.5	62	19.1	38.7	608	24.5	48.0
35 to 44 years	85	17.2	63.5	58	17.8	55.2	402	16.2	46.0
45 to 54 years	68	13.8	50.0	26	8.0	50.0	386	15.6	53.4
55 to 64 years	57	11.6	49.1	20	6.2	65.0	209	8.4	58.9
65 years and older	58	11.8	51.7	56	17.2	35.7	125	5.0	53.6
Unknown	0	...	...	0	...	...	0	...	...
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>2,481</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50.1</b>
<b>Gender</b>									
Men and boys	29	5.9	62.1	47	14.5	42.6	2,481	100.0	50.1
Women and girls	464	94.1	57.8	278	85.5	50.4	0	0.0	...
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>2,481</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50.1</b>
<b>Marital status</b>									
Married	115	23.7	40.9	38	12.3	47.4	222	9.6	47.7
Living common law	111	22.8	70.3	42	13.6	71.4	358	15.4	55.9
Never married (not living common law)	139	28.6	59.0	158	51.3	45.6	1,373	59.1	49.6
Separated (not living common law)	73	15.0	68.5	30	9.7	50.0	206	8.9	56.8
Divorced (not living common law)	23	4.7	52.2	11	3.6	36.4	126	5.4	43.7
Widowed (not living common law)	25	5.1	60.0	29	9.4	44.8	37	1.6	59.5
Unknown	7	...	28.6	17	...	47.1	159	...	39.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>2,481</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50.1</b>
<b>Indigenous identity<sup>4</sup></b>									
Not an Indigenous person	374	77.8	58.8	218	68.3	47.2	F	F	F
Indigenous victim	107	22.2	57.0	101	31.7	52.5	F	F	F
Unknown	12	...	41.7	6	...	66.7	F	F	F
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>2,481</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50.1</b>
<b>Missing at time of death<sup>5</sup></b>									
Yes	35	15.3	51.4	29	16.6	58.6	60	5.2	48.3
No	194	84.7	56.7	146	83.4	44.5	1,101	94.8	45.5
Unknown	0	...	...	0	...	...	2	...	50.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>229</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>55.9</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>46.9</b>	<b>1,163</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>45.7</b>
<b>Previous convictions</b>									
Yes	89	18.1	56.2	106	32.8	47.2	1,462	59.5	48.8
No	403	81.9	58.3	217	67.2	50.2	997	40.5	51.7
Unknown	1	...	100.0	2	...	50.0	22	...	68.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>2,481</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50.1</b>

See notes at the end of the table.

**Table 4**  
**Characteristics of homicide victims associated with completed court cases by gender-related status, criminal courts, Canada, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**

Victim characteristic	Gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>1</sup>			Non-gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>2</sup>			Homicide of men and boys <sup>3</sup>		
	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty
<b>Primary method used to cause death</b>									
Shooting	76	15.8	67.1	67	20.9	61.2	648	26.3	41.0
Stabbing	175	36.4	57.1	99	30.8	53.5	940	38.2	53.7
Beating or blows	113	23.5	53.1	76	23.7	43.4	643	26.1	50.1
Strangulation, suffocation, drowning	90	18.7	62.2	27	8.4	40.7	88	3.6	59.1
Other method <sup>6</sup>	27	5.6	33.3	52	16.2	38.5	143	5.8	65.7
Unknown	12	...	83.3	4	...	50.0	19	...	26.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>2,481</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50.1</b>

... not applicable

0 true zero or a value rounded to zero

F too unreliable to be published

1. Gender-related homicide cases are solved homicides committed by at least one male accused who killed at least one female victim who was an intimate partner or family member of the accused, who was sexually assaulted during the killing, or who was identified by police as a sex worker.

2. Non-gender-related homicides of women and girls require that no gender-related criteria are present in the case, but involve at least one female victim.

3. Homicide cases of men and boys require that no female victims were killed in the same incident.

4. Indigenous identity is reported by the police and is determined through information found with the victim, such as status cards, or through information supplied by the victims' families, community members, or other sources (i.e., such as band records, or forensic evidence such as genetic testing). Reliable information on the Indigenous identity of men and boys who are victims of homicide is only available beginning in 2014 and, as such, is not reported in the table.

5. Collection of this information on the Homicide Survey began in 2015 and data presented reflect information on homicide victims killed since that time.

6. Includes drug overdoses, poisoning or lethal injections, smoke inhalation or burns, exposure or hypothermia, abusive head traumas (previously referred to as shaken baby syndrome), motor vehicle impacts or collisions, neglect or failure to support life and other methods.

**Note:** Victims and accused persons for whom gender was reported as unknown by police are excluded from this table. Represents all completed cases successfully linked to a homicide reported by police in Canada between 2009 and 2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See "Data sources and methodology" for more details about the linkage and methodology. Percent calculations exclude unknown marital status, Indigenous identity, whether the victim was reported missing at the time of death, previous conviction and method of killing.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey and Integrated Criminal Courts Survey linked file.

**Table 5**  
**Characteristics of homicide incidents associated with completed court cases by gender-related status, criminal courts, Canada, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**

Incident characteristic	Gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>1</sup>			Non-gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>2</sup>			Homicide of men and boys <sup>3</sup>		
	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty
<b>Number of victims</b>									
Single victim	402	90.7	57.2	250	89.0	49.2	2,379	98.0	49.7
Multiple victims	41	9.3	61.0	31	11.0	51.6	49	2.0	59.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>57.6</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.5</b>	<b>2,428</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.9</b>
<b>Number of accused</b>									
Single accused	402	90.7	60.0	198	70.5	48.0	1,243	51.2	58.5
Two accused	27	6.1	37.0	50	17.8	60.0	498	20.5	46.2
Three or more accused	14	3.2	28.6	33	11.7	42.4	687	28.3	37.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>57.6</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.5</b>	<b>2,428</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.9</b>
<b>Location type</b>									
Residential location <sup>4</sup>	380	86.0	58.2	192	68.3	50.5	1,349	55.7	51.5
Non-residential location <sup>5</sup>	61	13.8	54.1	89	31.7	47.2	1,068	44.1	48.2
Other <sup>6</sup>	1	0.2	0.0	0	0.0	...	5	0.2	20.0
Unknown	1	...	100.0	0	...	...	6	...	16.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>57.6</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.5</b>	<b>2,428</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.9</b>
<b>Most serious related offence</b>									
None	244	57.5	56.6	125	45.6	44.0	1,037	44.3	47.6
Crime against the person <sup>7</sup>	143	33.7	57.3	89	32.5	57.3	1,017	43.4	52.2
Crime against property <sup>8</sup>	15	3.5	53.3	25	9.1	52.0	76	3.2	56.6
Other <sup>9</sup>	22	5.2	77.3	35	12.8	48.6	212	9.1	52.4
Unknown	19	...	52.6	7	...	42.9	86	...	38.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>57.6</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.5</b>	<b>2,428</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.9</b>

See notes at the end of the table.

**Table 5**  
**Characteristics of homicide incidents associated with completed court cases by gender-related status, criminal courts, Canada, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**

Incident characteristic	Gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>1</sup>			Non-gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>2</sup>			Homicide of men and boys <sup>3</sup>		
	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty
<b>Primary apparent motive</b>									
No apparent motive	28	6.8	53.6	39	14.9	46.2	159	6.8	50.9
Argument or quarrel	142	34.3	63.4	73	28.0	67.1	946	40.7	54.0
Financial gain or settling of accounts or debts	15	3.6	46.7	20	7.7	65.0	293	12.6	51.9
Jealousy or envy	71	17.1	63.4	6	2.3	66.7	60	2.6	63.3
Frustration, anger, despair	109	26.3	53.2	61	23.4	44.3	237	10.2	54.4
Revenge	9	2.2	77.8	10	3.8	60.0	159	6.8	40.9
Other motive <sup>10</sup>	40	9.7	55.0	52	19.9	28.8	468	20.2	43.4
Unknown	29	...	37.9	20	...	35.0	106	...	31.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>57.6</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.5</b>	<b>2,428</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.9</b>

... not applicable

0 true zero or a value rounded to zero

1. Gender-related homicide cases are solved homicides committed by at least one male accused who killed at least one female victim who was an intimate partner or family member of the accused, who was sexually assaulted during the killing, or who was identified by police as a sex worker.

2. Non-gender-related homicides of women and girls require that no gender-related criteria are present in the case, but involve at least one female victim.

3. Homicide cases of men and boys require that no female victims were killed in the same incident.

4. Includes single homes, dwelling units (e.g., apartment units, condo units), commercial dwelling units (e.g. hotel rooms), nursing homes, retirement homes and community group homes.

5. Includes parking lots, streets, roads, highways and other open areas (e.g., playgrounds, parks, fields), transit buses and bus shelters, subways and subway stations, and other forms of public transportation and connected facilities.

6. Includes commercial properties and other corporate places (e.g., banks, bars, restaurants, car dealerships, convenience stores, gas stations, pharmacies), schools (including universities and colleges) during supervised and unsupervised activities, non-commercial locations (e.g., government buildings, community centres, halfway houses, homeless shelters or missions), private property structures (e.g., sheds, detached garages, fishing boats) and other locations (e.g., religious institutions, hospitals, correctional institutions, construction sites, privately owned vehicles, taxis, limousines).

7. Crime against the person includes all violent *Criminal Code* offences, e.g., assault, sexual assault, uttering threats, criminal harassment, and robbery.

8. Crime against property includes non-violent *Criminal Code* offences, e.g., breaking and entering, theft, mischief, fraud, and arson.

9. Other includes all other *Criminal Code* offences (e.g., administration of justice offences), *Criminal Code* traffic violations, and violations of other statutes (e.g., the *Youth Criminal Justice Act*).

10. Includes hate crime, terrorism or security threat, illegal drug trade activities, concealment of a child, intent to conceal information or actions, assisting a suicide, euthanasia, sexual motivations, custody disputes, fear of apprehension, personal protection, honour based and types of motives not otherwise classified.

**Note:** Victims and accused persons for whom gender was reported as unknown by police are excluded from this table. Represents all completed cases successfully linked to a homicide reported by police in Canada between 2009 and 2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See "Data sources and methodology" for more details about the linkage and methodology. Percent calculations exclude unknown locations, related offences and motives. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey and Integrated Criminal Courts Survey linked file.

**Table 6**  
**Characteristics of persons accused of homicide associated with completed court cases by gender-related status, criminal courts, Canada, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**

Accused characteristic	Gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>1</sup>			Non-gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>2</sup>			Homicide of men and boys <sup>3</sup>		
	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty
<b>Gender</b>									
Men and boys	493	100.0	58.0	200	61.5	46.0	2,232	90.7	50.4
Women and girls	...	...	...	125	38.5	54.4	229	9.3	48.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>2,461</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50.3</b>
<b>Age group</b>									
12 to 17 years	29	5.9	72.4	34	10.5	85.3	243	9.9	65.0
18 to 24 years	84	17.0	51.2	98	30.2	42.9	839	34.1	48.6
25 to 34 years	139	28.2	56.1	81	24.9	48.1	823	33.4	47.3
35 to 44 years	110	22.3	58.2	67	20.6	38.8	290	11.8	50.0
45 to 54 years	77	15.6	68.8	25	7.7	44.0	171	6.9	51.5
55 to 64 years	27	5.5	51.9	9	2.8	55.6	60	2.4	56.7
65 years and older	27	5.5	48.1	11	3.4	72.7	35	1.4	45.7
Unknown	0	...	...	0	...	...	0	...	...
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>2,461</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50.3</b>
<b>Involvement in illegal activities</b>									
Yes	35	7.1	62.9	53	16.5	37.7	788	32.3	46.3
No	455	92.9	58.0	269	83.5	51.7	1,649	67.7	52.4
Unknown	3	...	0.0	3	...	33.3	24	...	37.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>2,461</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50.3</b>
<b>Previous conviction<sup>4</sup></b>									
Yes	260	53.0	63.8	176	54.5	50.6	1,697	69.7	49.4
Violent offences <sup>5</sup>	182	70.0	60.4	123	69.9	52.8	1,198	70.6	49.2
Property offences <sup>6</sup>	25	9.6	68.0	29	16.5	37.9	235	13.8	46.8
Other offences <sup>7</sup>	59	22.7	69.5	40	22.7	32.5	445	26.2	45.2
No	231	47.0	51.1	147	45.5	47.6	737	30.3	53.2
Unknown	2	...	100.0	2	...	50.0	27	...	29.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>2,461</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50.3</b>

**Table 6**  
**Characteristics of persons accused of homicide associated with completed court cases by gender-related status, criminal courts, Canada, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**

Accused characteristic	Gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>1</sup>			Non-gender-related homicide of women and girls <sup>2</sup>			Homicide of men and boys <sup>3</sup>		
	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty
<b>Consumed alcohol, drugs, or intoxicating substance</b>									
Yes	250	50.7	64.0	150	46.2	57.3	1,276	51.8	55.8
No	140	28.4	51.4	86	26.5	40.7	401	16.3	47.6
Unknown	103	20.9	52.4	89	27.4	43.8	784	31.9	42.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>2,461</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50.3</b>

... not applicable

0 true zero or a value rounded to zero

1. Gender-related homicide cases are solved homicides committed by at least one male accused who killed at least one female victim who was an intimate partner or family member of the accused, who was sexually assaulted during the killing, or who was identified by police as a sex worker.

2. Non-gender-related homicides of women and girls require that no gender-related criteria are present in the case, but involve at least one female victim.

3. Homicide cases of men and boys require that no female victims were killed in the same incident.

4. The criminal history categories are not mutually exclusive. An accused person can have a criminal history pertaining to violent, property and other offences.

5. Includes violent offences such as homicide, sexual assault and other sexual violations, assault, kidnapping, trafficking of persons, hostage taking, robbery, commodification of sexual activities, harassment, uttering threats and other violence offences not otherwise listed.

6. Includes non-violent offences such as arson, break and enter, theft, fraud, mischief and other crimes against property not otherwise listed.

7. Includes other *Criminal Code* offences (e.g., gaming/betting, offensive weapons), other *Criminal Code* offences not otherwise specified. Also includes offences under the *Controlled Drugs and Substances Act* (CDSA) or *Cannabis Act* as well as other federal or provincial statute offences.

**Note:** Victims and accused persons for whom gender was reported as unknown by police are excluded from this table. Represents all completed cases successfully linked to a homicide reported by police in Canada between 2009 and 2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See "Data sources and methodology" for more details about the linkage and methodology. Percent calculations exclude unknown age, involvement in illegal activities and prior convictions.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey and Integrated Criminal Courts Survey linked file.



**Table 7**  
**Cases linked to police-reported attempted murder and aggravated assault incidents by most serious court decision and gender-related status, criminal courts, 2009/2010 to 2020/2021**

Offence - most serious decision <sup>1</sup>	Gender-related violence against women and girls <sup>2</sup>			Non-gender-related violence against women and girls <sup>3</sup>			Violence against men and boys <sup>4</sup>		
	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty	number	percent	percent guilty
Homicide	9	0.2	33.3	10	0.7	50.0	34	0.3	44.1
Attempted murder or other violation causing death	173	3.8	37.0	82	5.5	37.8	445	4.4	27.2
Aggravated sexual assault	158	3.5	38.6	15	1.0	80.0	28	0.3	17.9
Level 1 or level 2 sexual assault	122	2.7	56.6	4	0.3	25.0	10	0.1	60.0
Aggravated assault	1,657	36.4	45.4	674	45.2	53.9	5,038	49.9	50.2
Level 1 or level 2 physical assault	1,393	30.6	85.0	489	32.8	86.9	3,023	29.9	90.9
Other violent crime	372	8.2	73.9	69	4.6	71.0	411	4.1	69.1
Property crime	158	3.5	84.2	45	3.0	75.6	221	2.2	78.7
Other <i>Criminal Code</i> offence	425	9.3	87.3	87	5.8	79.3	750	7.4	76.3
Other violation	84	1.8	85.7	17	1.1	82.4	146	1.4	80.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,551</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>65.6</b>	<b>1,492</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>67.2</b>	<b>10,106</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>65.0</b>

1. Each case is represented by a single charge, or the "most serious decision" (MSD). The MSD is determined by severity of court decision, ranked as follows: (1) guilty, (2) guilty of a lesser offence, (3) acquitted, (4) stay of proceedings, (5) withdrawn, dismissed or discharged, (6) not criminally responsible, (7) other and (8) transfer out of court jurisdiction. *Criminal Code* sanctions are considered when two or more charges result in the same MSD (e.g., guilty), where the more serious offence is reported. The listed offences are the most serious conviction if there was a finding of guilt for one or more charges, but also represent the most serious offence if there was no conviction for any of the charges in the case.

2. Gender-related violence against women and girls are solved incidents of attempted murder or aggravated assault committed by a male accused who was an intimate partner or family member of the victim, or aggravated sexual assault committed by a male accused, regardless of their relationship to the victim.

3. Non-gender-related violence against women and girls are solved incidents of attempted murder, aggravated assault and aggravated sexual assault perpetrated by a female or by someone other than an intimate partner or family member.

4. Violence against men and boys are solved incidents of attempted murder, aggravated assault or aggravated sexual assault.

**Note:** Analysis is restricted to these crimes involving a single victim and single accused. Excludes victims and accused where gender was coded as unknown. Represents all completed cases successfully linked to a relevant offence reported by police in Canada between 2009 and 2021. Incidents may not have linked to courts data for multiple reasons, including survey coverage and time required to complete a case. See "Data sources and methodology" for more details about the linkage and methodology.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, Trend Database and Integrated Criminal Court Survey linked file.