



INCIDENT REPORT

Identity Politicization After the Kirk, Tumbler Ridge, and Montreal Shootings

How the June 22 Côte-des-Neiges shooting circulated online, and what it shares in common with other recent shootings in Canada.

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Key takeaways

- **Shootings are increasingly understood online through identity framing, rather than the facts of the event itself.** Across the three shootings we assessed, engagement with online content related to shootings concentrates disproportionately on identity frames (gender, ideology): identity-framed content earns a far larger share of engagement than its share of posts, at the expense of informational content and facts about the shooting itself. For the recent shooting in Montreal, discourse surrounding the gender of the responding police officer received disproportionately high engagement, instead of details about the shooting and shooter.
- **Influencers and news outlets engage in identity framing in different ways.** Influencers play the key role in amplifying identity frames — they supply 98% of the engagement with identity-politicizing content across the three incidents, with American accounts alone supplying 88%. News outlets are divided in their editorial direction: while most outlets focus on informational updates, a small set of outlets concentrates roughly half of its coverage in interpretive identity frames, and that content earns them more engagement than their own informational posts. Total news engagement is nonetheless directed predominantly to accredited news outlets providing breaking-news coverage — but that audience is highly concentrated rather than broadly distributed: five viral TikTok posts account for 52% of all the engagement accredited outlets' informational coverage drew.
- **Platform design incentivizes identity-framing content and graphic footage.** Across the three shootings, identity-oriented and graphic content earned substantively higher engagement than informational content, emerging as a predictable output of current platform incentive structures. Unless platforms change how graphic content is moderated and monetized, subsequent tragedies are likely to follow these patterns.

Points saillants

- **Les fusillades sont de plus en plus perçues en ligne à travers des cadres identitaires, plutôt qu'en fonction des faits de l'événement lui-même.** Pour les trois fusillades étudiées, l'engagement en ligne s'est concentré de façon disproportionnée sur les cadres identitaires (genre, idéologie) : ces contenus recueillent une part de l'engagement bien supérieure à leur part des publications, au détriment des informations factuelles sur la fusillade elle-même. Dans le cas de la fusillade de Montréal, les discussions portant sur le genre de la policière intervenue sur les lieux ont généré un engagement disproportionnellement élevé, au détriment des détails sur la fusillade et sur le tireur.
- **Les influenceurs et les médias d'information diffèrent dans leur utilisation du cadrage identitaire.** Les influenceurs jouent un rôle central dans l'amplification des cadres identitaires : ils génèrent 98 % de l'engagement avec les contenus qui politisent l'identité pour les trois incidents, les comptes américains à eux seuls en générant 88 %. Les médias d'information sont divisés dans leur orientation éditoriale : alors que la plupart privilégient les mises à jour factuelles, un petit nombre consacrent près de la moitié de leur couverture à des cadres identitaires interprétatifs, qui obtiennent chez eux plus d'engagement que leurs propres contenus informatifs. Malgré cela, l'engagement total demeure majoritairement dirigé vers les médias d'information accrédités, qui assurent la couverture de l'actualité en continu — mais ce public est très concentré : cinq publications virales sur TikTok représentent à elles seules 52 % de tout l'engagement suscité par leurs contenus informatifs.
- **La conception des plateformes favorise les contenus axés sur l'identité et les images de nature violente.** Pour les trois fusillades, ces contenus ont généré un engagement nettement plus élevé que les contenus informatifs, un résultat prévisible des incitatifs structurels actuels des plateformes. À moins que les plateformes ne modifient la façon dont les images violentes sont modérées et monétisées, les tragédies subséquentes suivront vraisemblablement des tendances similaires.

Context

The online response to the June 2026 shooting in the Côte-des-Neiges neighbourhood of Montreal, which left three people dead, illustrates how information circulates during and after a crisis. As with many tragic events, footage, claims, and speculation began spreading across platforms within minutes. In this incident report, we examine how information moved through the online environment during the incident, in its immediate aftermath, and over the following days — and through that, how breaking news and public safety information reach and are interpreted by the Canadian public.

Three features made this case distinctive. First, the shooter authored a manifesto containing multiple ideological connections: involuntary celibate (incel) and misogynistic beliefs, Marxist and anti-capitalist rhetoric, and antisemitic content. While news outlets gained access to the manifesto, their response diverged: some chose not to publish it, while others did. This difference became the subject of debate over the role of the media in information sharing and shaping public narratives around the incident.

Second, the shooting took place in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood with several major Jewish institutions, and at the headquarters of Aylo, the company operating pornography platforms including Pornhub. These became anchors for competing online interpretations of the shooter's target and motive, some tying the attack to the Jewish community and others to Aylo, with ideological linkages drawn from the manifesto.

Third, graphic video footage of the shooting circulated across online platforms and reached large audiences before authorities had established the shooter's identity or motive, prompting the family of the victim and the Quebec Public Security Minister to urge the public not to share it.

Why this matters

Shootings and other public safety crises or emergencies can function as a stress test of the online information environment, particularly in the period before authorities confirm the facts. During this window, competing narratives can quickly take hold, with different communities converging on different accounts of the same event. These narratives can be shaped by a range of information sources — bystanders, online commentators and influencers, politicians, and news outlets — each providing different entry points for interpretation. In this case, the various themes of the shooter's manifesto, the neighbourhood where the attack took place, the victims, and the proximity of Aylo's headquarters each offered potential focal points for multiple, competing narratives, creating conditions under which audiences may come away with divergent and sometimes irreconcilable understandings of the same event.

The event also illustrates the dilemma facing institutions that mediate crisis information. Content like the manifesto and the footage of the shooting sits between two legitimate considerations: transparency and

harm reduction. Making this type of content available can serve public interest by supporting transparency and an informed public account of the event, which can help dispel misinformation or false narratives. Withholding it can prevent harm by limiting exposure to graphic material, avoiding amplification of the perpetrator's message, and reducing the risk of inciting further violence. These decisions can impact how crisis events and their implications are viewed within the public eye.

Incident assessment and research questions

The online response to the Côte-des-Neiges shooting follows dynamics we have observed after similar events in recent years, including the Tumbler Ridge shooting and the assassination of Charlie Kirk. In the hours after the attack, and before factual information was confirmed, identity-driven speculation about the motive, ideology, and intent of the shooter was a central feature of online discussions. While some delay between an event and the release of an official account is expected because authorities need time to verify information, this information void can create opportunities for claims that affirm biased perspectives to spread and harden before they can be checked against the facts. The rapid online spread of the shooter's manifesto and the footage of the shooting further compounded this dynamic, as different platforms and outlets made different decisions about what content should be circulated online and how it could be interpreted.

We investigate the online reaction to this shooting due to these information dynamics, particularly how the mix of credible and speculative information circulating before facts are confirmed shapes what Canadians see and take away from a public safety crisis. We evaluate this incident given its interest and impact to the Canadian public, where the distribution of violent video footage can expose broad Canadian audiences to graphic content. Throughout, our object of study is how information circulated, not the incident itself: we do not adjudicate the shooter's motive, and describing a narrative's spread neither endorses nor refutes it. To assess these dynamics, we explore the three following research questions:

- Which narratives emerged around the shooting and its aftermath?
- How did the narratives surrounding this shooting develop and evolve compared with those of other recent shootings that have gained attention in the Canadian information ecosystem?
- How does the framing of news outlets shape narratives and online engagement related to the shooting?

Which narratives emerged around the shooting and its aftermath?

To characterize the broad public conversation, we collected posts containing incident-related keywords (in English and French, see Methodology for the full list) on X, Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, Facebook, and Bluesky, regardless of the poster's location. The keywords were location names (e.g., "Montreal") combined with terms used to describe the incident (e.g., "shooting"), entity names (e.g., "Hatfield"), or other common terms circu-

lating in the discourse (e.g., "Aylo"). To surface dominant narratives, we applied topic modelling to the posts (see Methodology). The discourse fell largely into seven topics: police/news updates, the woman police officer's involvement in the shooting, connections to the Jewish community, connections to Pornhub, connections to incel ideology, the victims, and the suspect's identity. In this section we analyse how different narratives emerged and the patterns of engagement with those narratives.

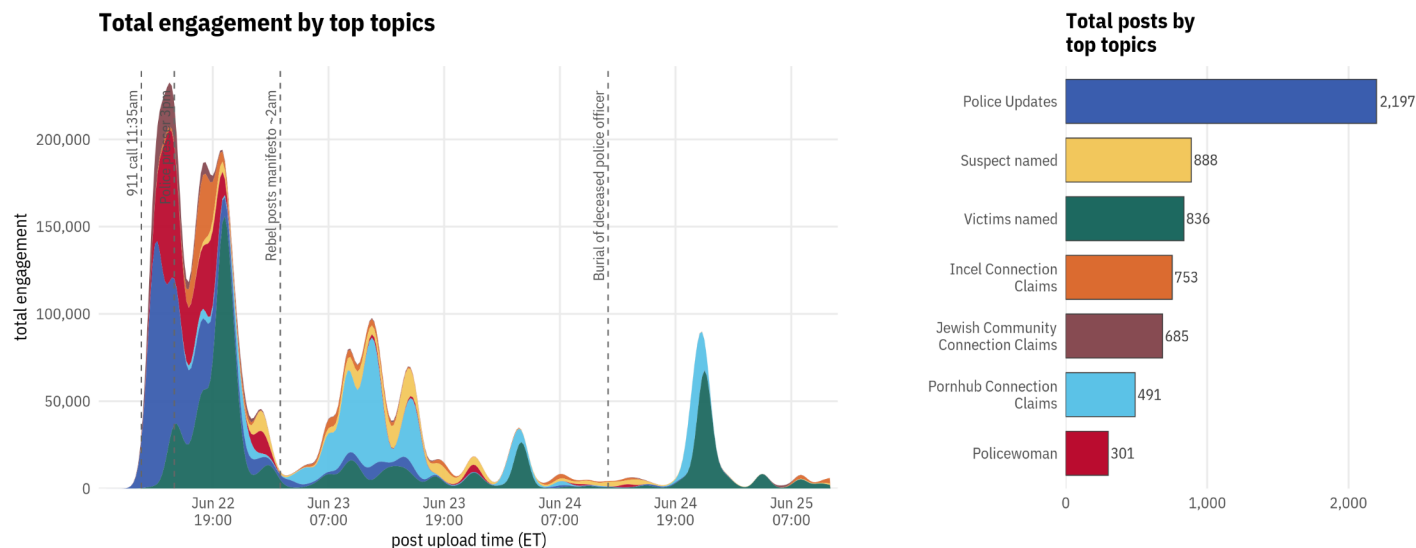
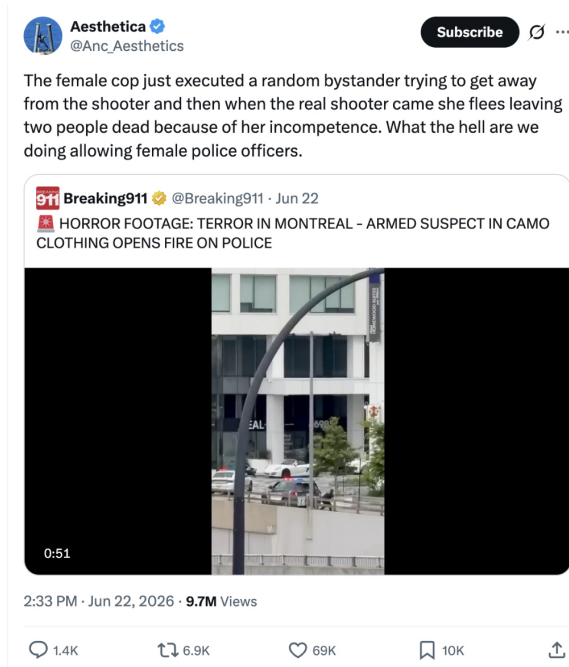


Figure 1: Engagement and post volume over time by topic, June 22 to June 25. Keyword collection across X, Instagram, TikTok YouTube, Facebook, and Bluesky. Each post is assigned to a topic by topic modelling; the chart shows the $N = 6,166$ posts in the top seven named topics, excluding posts the topic model left unclustered. The stacked area is Gaussian-smoothed ($\sigma = 0.6h$). Engagement is the sum of likes, comments, shares, and quotes (shares do not exist for Instagram/YouTube; quotes only exist for X/Bluesky). The right panel counts each topic's posts over the same window.

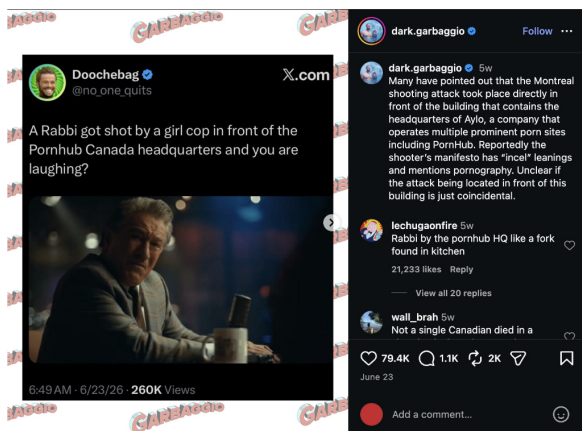
Narratives, as shown in Figure 1, surfaced at different intervals with posting activity and engagement (likes, shares, comments, and quotes) following different trajectories. Post volume peaked within hours of the shooting, driven overwhelmingly by police/news updates in the window between the initial 911 call (11:35am) and the police press conference (3:00pm), then declined significantly over the following three days. Engagement peaked in the same initial window, but distributed differently across narratives. Although police/news updates drew high engagement in absolute terms, this was disproportionately low given their larger share of posts. In contrast, victim-focused posts and posts related to the gender of the police officer received a higher concentration of engagement relative to their smaller number of posts. Narratives about the Pornhub connection produced a distinct second engagement wave on June 23 when the manifesto was posted, after the initial police/news-update surge had collapsed. A late resurgence of engagement around victim-focused posts appeared on June 24, the day of the deceased police officer's burial.

While the most frequently posted topic was the police/news updates (21% of all posts), engagement was concentrated on more contentious topics such as the police officer allegedly shooting a bystander and the incident's connection to Pornhub. Discussion around the police officer frequently scrutinized the officer's competence on the basis of her gender, with the single most-liked post on the topic accusing her of "executing" a bystander and questioning whether women should serve as police officers at all (Screenshot 1). The factual question beneath that discourse remains officially unresolved: a civilian bystander was killed during the exchange of fire, authorities have not publicly established who fired the shot that killed him, and Quebec's independent police watchdog, the Bureau des enquêtes indépendantes, is investigating the police intervention. The gendered scrutiny documented here began within hours of the shooting, well before any official account of what happened. The same discussion fed the incident's memeification, with other top-liked posts treating the coincidental convergence of gender, religion, and pornography as a punchline (Screenshot 2). These

two topics received the highest engagement per post: posts about the police officer's gender received ~4.3 times (1,298 engagements per post) and Pornhub posts received ~3.8 times (1,128 engagements per post) more engagement on average than police/news update posts (299 engagements per post) — while making up only 3% and 5% of the post volume, respectively.

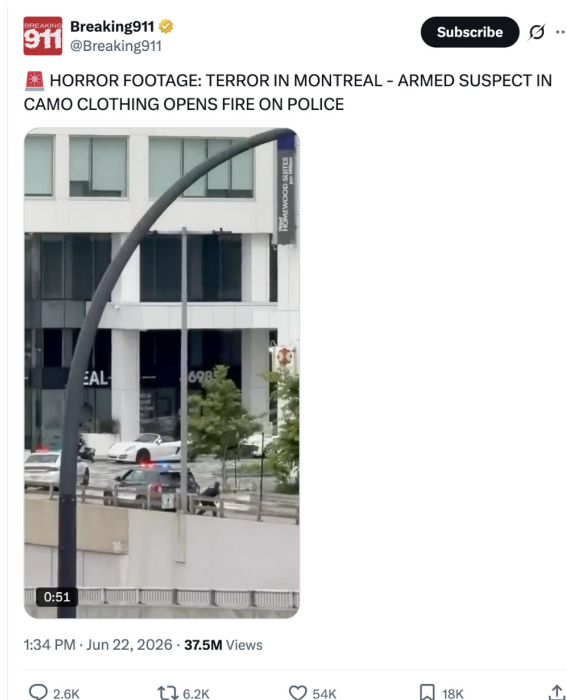


Screenshot 1: High-engagement post focusing on the gender of the responding police officer

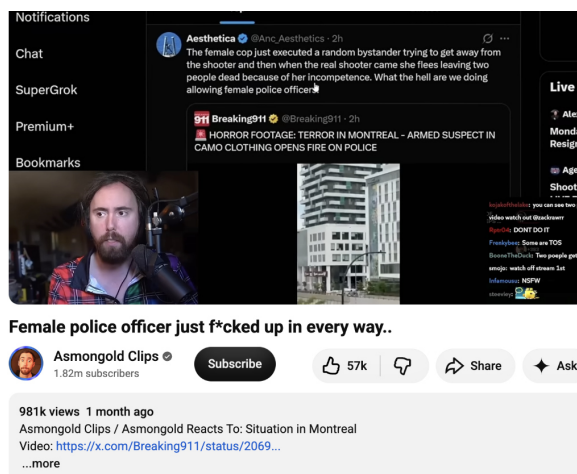


Screenshot 2: High-engagement meme repeating the unverified Aylo/Pornhub target claim

This illustrates how social media users can be drawn to more controversial or speculative interpretations of emerging breaking news stories. Victim-focused posts followed close behind and also drew comparably high engagement per post, exemplified by the SPVM's (Service de police de la Ville de Montréal) post in memory of the deceased police officer receiving the highest like count (148.4K likes) in our dataset.



Screenshot 3: The graphic-footage post that dominated views



Screenshot 4: YouTube reaction video carrying the footage and the officer scrutiny beyond X

A concerning development was the widespread circulation of uncensored graphic footage of the shooting across social media platforms, particularly on X. Roughly 1% of posts carried an explicit graphic warning (e.g., “graphic content,” “horror footage”) and together accumulated 45.8 million views, or 22% of all views in our keyword dataset. However, one post from Breaking911 accounts for most of those views (37.4 million, Screenshot 3). This was posted on the day of the shooting at 1:34 PM, shortly after the emergency alerts. Breaking911, which is based in Nashville and bills itself as “America’s #1 Alternative News Source,” routinely reposts footage of disasters and attacks from various sources.

This demonstrates how bystander reporting can gain disproportionate attention when it fills an information vacuum, a pattern also observed following other shootings where graphic footage was recorded, such as the 2025 assassination of Charlie Kirk and the 2019 Christchurch shooting. While audiences may engage with this content out of curiosity, engagement with this content can still encourage algorithms to push the video to the top of people’s social media feeds, passively exposing more individuals to violent content. The footage’s reach also extended beyond X: the most-viewed non-X post in our keyword collection is a YouTube reaction video to Breaking911’s clip, which carried both the footage and the gendered scrutiny of the responding officer to nearly a million viewers (Screenshot 4).

Narratives linking the incident to group identities ran throughout. The connections to incel ideology and to the Jewish community were among the most-posted topics, while the scrutiny of the police officer’s gender drew engagement outstripping its share of posts. The accounts drawing the most engagement were a mix of domestic and foreign, and skewed towards influencers over institutions. Among the ten most-engaged accounts, there were six influencers (US-based where an origin could be established), two institutional entities (SPVM and TVA Nouvelles), and two infotainment accounts (MTL Stories and Breaking911). To evaluate the extent to which identity-driven framing is a recurring feature of how violent incidents unfold in the Canadian information ecosystem, and the role influencers play in it, we compare the online response to the Montreal shooting against other recent shootings that gained attention on Canadian social media.

How did the narratives develop compared with other recent shootings in the Canadian information ecosystem?

We compared the online response to three shootings that have gained attention in the Canadian information ecosystem over the past year: the Charlie Kirk assassination on September 10, 2025, the Tumbler Ridge mass shooting on February 10, 2026, and the Montreal Côte-des-Neiges shooting. As many Canadians encounter events like these through social media first, research indicates that the first hours after a crisis significantly shape how an event is interpreted and understood: online rumouring at an early stage can evolve into claims circulating as fact before official announcements can dispel speculation (Starbird et al. 2014; Starbird et al. 2016).

We compare the 72 hours after each of the three incidents, looking at how online reactions are formed and engaged with across our seedlist of politically important Canadian news media, influencers, and politicians, along with high-profile American influencers (see Methodology for details about the seedlist construction). Building on our analysis of how controversial and speculative information can often receive high engagement, we ask how identity-oriented groups involved in or affected by each event (gender, religion, ideology) are politicized in the online conversation, how fast this emerges relative to official information, and whether these trends occur across the different shootings. To do this, we classified every post in the three 72-hour windows as an informational update, identity-oriented content (content that politicizes an identity involved in the event, whether by framing the event through a group identity or by holding a group responsible for it), or other content (condolences, tributes, commentary). Classification was done by two independent large language models, keeping only labels on which both agree (see Methodology).

Across all three incidents, we find that the identities of those involved — the shooter, the victims, the responding officers — were politicized within hours of the event, always ahead of official information, and always by influencers first. The first post politicizing an identity in our tracked sample appears less than an hour after the Kirk assassination, 2.5 hours after the Montreal shooting, and less than four hours after Tumbler Ridge, in each case before any news outlet does so. Politicians hold back longest on the domestic shootings, politicizing only at +21 hours (Montreal) and +47 hours (Tumbler Ridge). In all three cases, influencers drive this identity politicization — matching earlier findings that hostile framing after attacks appears in the broader public but largely fails to propagate on its own (Burnap et al. 2014). News outlets’ engagement remains 92%–98% on informational posts in all three incidents, and the politicians who engage overwhelmingly condemn violence rather than politicize. This sequence plays out first on X/Twitter, where politicized posts first emerge for all three incidents and which carries most of this content; on the other platforms, influencers still provide an identity-politicization angle before news outlets in nearly every case. The influencer dominance itself is platform-universal: on every platform, influencers account for 88%–99% of engagement with identity-politicizing content.

Pooled across the three 72-hour windows, posts that politicize an identity involved in the event account for 29% of what the seedlist posts but 46% of what audiences engage with. Influencers supply 98% of that engagement (American accounts 88%, Canadian 10%), and at least 90% in each incident taken alone. Figure 2 shows the distribution by actor and event. Identity-oriented content (orange) dominates the influencer rows: 79% of Canadian influencers’ engagement on Kirk, 83% of American influencers’ on Tumbler Ridge, and over half of both influencer groups’ on Montreal. In contrast, news-outlet engagement is informational in every incident and politician engagement is mostly condemnation, tribute, and other content.

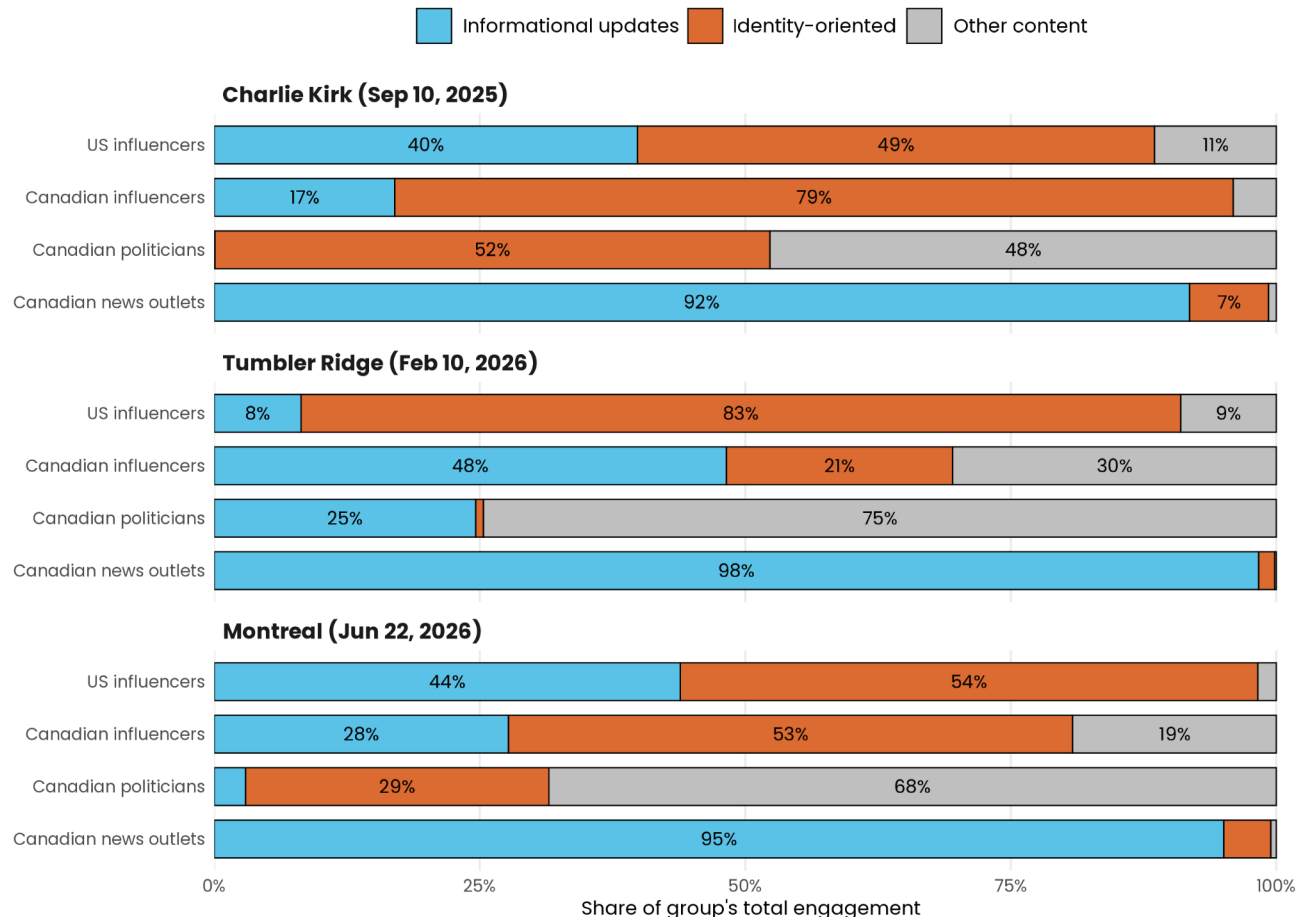


Figure 2: Share of each actor group's total engagement by content category (informational updates, identity-oriented content, other), for each incident, onset to +72 hours. Identity-oriented content politicizes an identity involved in the event: group blame or identity framing. MEO CIE seedlist, keyword-filtered posts; N = 6,633 posts from these four groups (of 6,706 classified; civil-society/government accounts and seven Kirk-related false positives in the Montreal window excluded). Engagement is computed on the 5,375 original posts, excluding the 1,258 retweet/repost rows that carry the original post's counts rather than their own (see Methodology). LLM classification by Qwen3.6-27B and Gemma-4-31B, strict cross-family consensus (politicization kappa = 0.83; see Methodology). Influencers split by seedlist country; politician cells are thin (n = 42/126/38 posts), as are US influencers outside Kirk (46 and 22 posts).

Figure 3 shows the over performance directly by comparing each group's identity-oriented share of posts with its share of engagement. For influencers, the engagement bar is longer than the posting bar in five of the six influencer cells: for the Montreal shooting, American influencers placed 23% of their posts into identity content but drew 54% of their engagement from it, and Canadian influencers 36% and 53% respectively; the exception is Canadian influencers on Tumbler Ridge, where the two run level (24% and 21%). For news outlets, the relationship reverses — identity content underperforms everywhere (e.g., on Kirk, 16% of their posts but 7% of their engagement). The pattern sharpens toward the harder edge of this content: posts that go beyond framing to hold a group responsible for the event are 11% of all posts but 22% of all engagement, again almost entirely from influencers.

Montreal's identity conversation arrived in two waves: posts blaming the responding officer circulated with the video on day one, and manifesto-derived frames (far-left indoctrination, incel misogyny) peaked two days after the police press conference. Speculation about the shooter's motive subsided once officials spoke, as the literature predicts (Starbird et al. 2014; Starbird et al. 2016), but the manifesto supplied new interpretive raw material, contributing to a new wave of identity politicization.

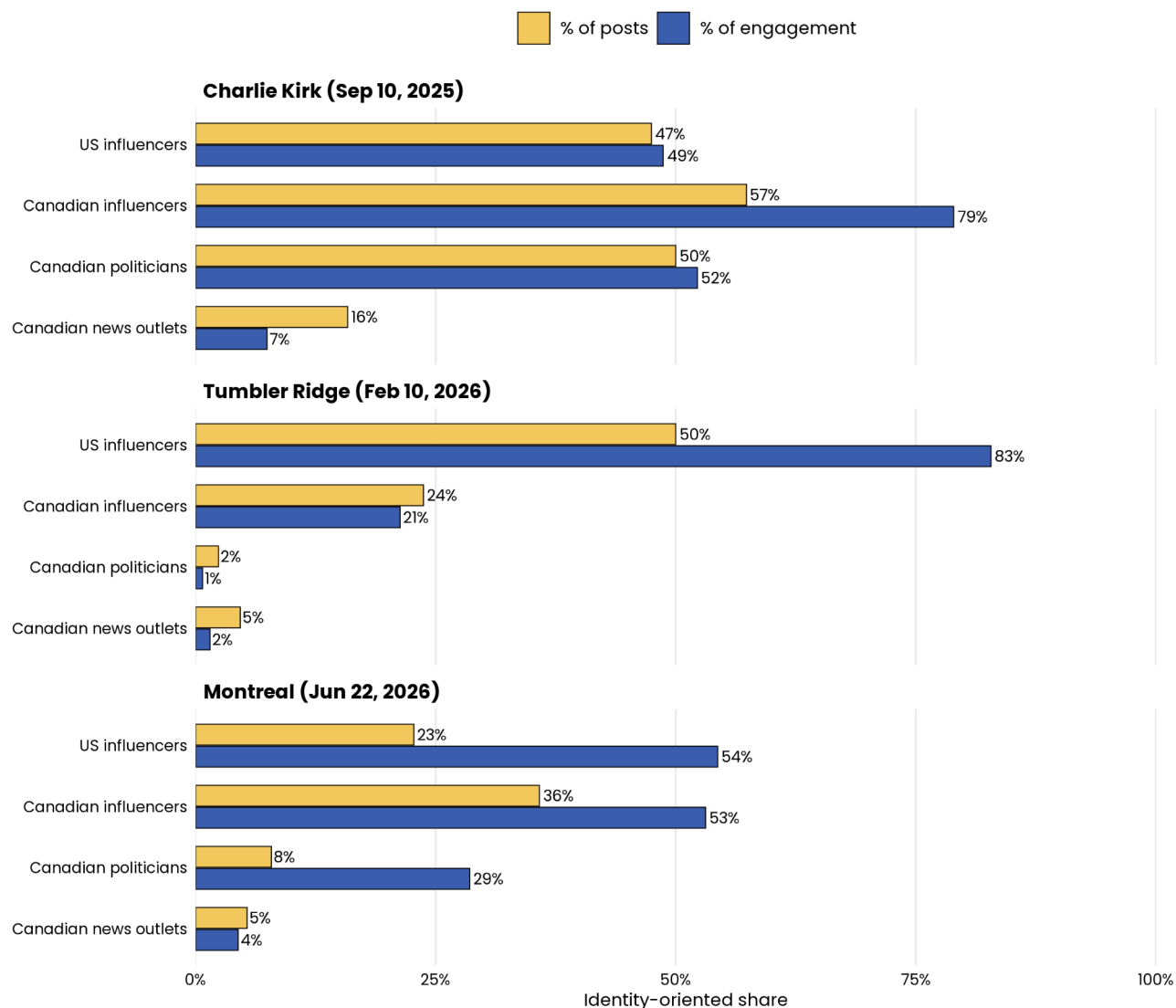


Figure 3: Identity-oriented share of each group's posts (yellow) versus of its engagement (navy), by incident. When the engagement bar is longer than the posting bar, the group's identity-oriented content earns a larger share of its engagement than of its posting — it overperforms. Posting shares are computed over all posts, including reposts (amplifying someone else's post is a posting choice); engagement shares over original posts only. Same data, classification, and caveats as Figure 2.

One observation marks all three events: in each, gender became a locus of blame. Claims about the shooter's affiliation with trans identity were elevated in the Kirk and Tumbler Ridge conversations, while incel framing and gendered scrutiny of the responding police officer were important parts of the conversation for Montreal. Gender or trans identity accounts for a substantial share of engagement in all three windows: 6% (Kirk), 16% (Tumbler Ridge), and 29% (Montreal). While these shares do not provide a comparable trend — each event is driven by its own gendered angle, supplemented by distinct coverage — they do indicate a pattern of stability: in every one of these events, gender identity is politicized as a contentious talking point, and this online content is routinely rewarded with high engagement. This aligns with existing research on online misogyny

which documents this narrative pattern of “weaponized subordination,” where women or gender dynamics are invoked as incompetent, inadequate, or dehumanized in order to justify harmful gendered narratives (Halpin 2022; Halpin et al. 2023).

Across the three incidents, news outlets largely focused on providing informational content about the shooting, rather than advancing identity blame. However, different types of news outlets still choose different topics to focus on, which impacts what Canadians see. In the next section, we analyze the patterns of different news outlets during the Montreal shooting incident.

How does the framing of news outlets shape narratives and online engagement related to the shooting?

Using our seedlist keyword-based collection, we examined how the 79 news outlets with posting activity on the Montreal shooting (June 22 – July 4, 2026) distributed their coverage across informational and identity-related content. We describe “informational” content as anything that does not touch any of the three “identity” frames we discuss: the Jewish community and claims related to antisemitism; incel ideology or misogyny; and communism or Marxism. For this question, we identified the frames through bilingual keyword matching over the posts returned by topic modelling on the data (see Methodology).

One caveat bounds this analysis: it captures only the text of the social media post itself, and not the full content of any linked article or transcripts from YouTube or TikTok. An outlet that shows little or no trace of an identity frame may actually include the given discourse within the content of the article itself (for example, in one of the Global News articles about the shooter’s manifesto, communism is mentioned in the text of the article). The absence observed here reflects framing choices on social media platforms, not necessarily broader reporting patterns.

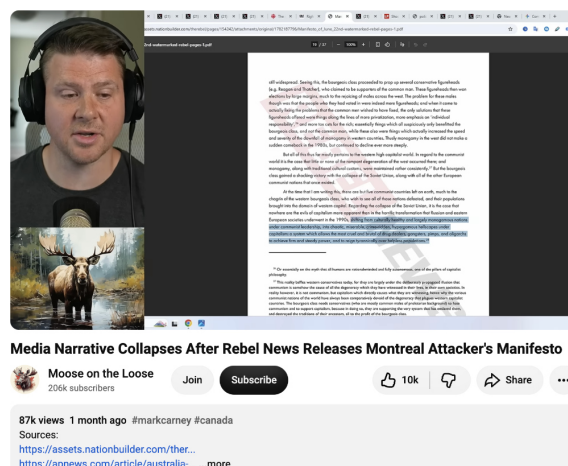
Local versus national news. Coverage overwhelmingly focused on informational updates regarding the shooting and police response, accounting for 89% of local outlets’ and 79% of national outlets’ content. National outlets are about 1.8 times as likely as local outlets to discuss one of the identity aspects. While national outlets skew their activity towards YouTube and TikTok, and local outlets are mostly on X and Bluesky, national outlets are 3.0 times more likely to discuss identity-based content on text-based platforms (X, Bluesky) while this gap largely disappears on video-forward platforms (YouTube, TikTok; ratio 0.8). This suggests that there is an editorial difference on text-based posts, beyond platform preference.

Topic diversity. Most outlets covered a mix of informational and particular identity frames. French-language content predominantly focused on the informational updates regarding police activity and public safety response. French outlets rarely engaged with content related to the Jewish community or claims about communism, but posted about the incel ideology or misogyny at a comparable rate to English-language outlets. Notably, outlets such as CBC News or Global News show no posts discussing the communism framing, with posts of this frame emerging predominantly from outlets such as Rebel News.

Topic concentration. Outlets differ, however, in how much identity-related content they carry and which frames they emphasize. For accredited outlets such as CBC News, 71% of their content focused on general updates, 12% touched the Jewish community, and 18% the incel connection. In comparison, Rebel News focused 47% of their content on general updates, 41% on the Jewish community, 41% on incels, and 18% on communism. Among outlets with more than 10 in-scope posts, only Rebel

News (47%) and Cult MTL (55%) devote less than 70% of their posts to general updates; every other high-volume outlet devotes at least 70%.

Different outlets focused on different identity frames. Content on antisemitism or connections to the Jewish community accounts for 60% of Canadian Jewish News’ content on the shooting, 57% for Rebel News Canada, 41% for Rebel News, and 29% of The Post Millennial. Similarly, incel ideology and misogyny appears in 45% of Cult MTL’s content (its most-engaged post is shown in Screenshot 7), 43% of Rebel News Canada’s, and 41% of Rebel News’. Lastly, content on Marxism or communism accounts for 40% of Juno News’ content, 22% of Diverge Media’s, and 18% of Rebel News’. Overall, Rebel News has the largest volume of identity-related content in proportion to its overall posting activity, consistent with having published the shooter’s manifesto, which contained the particular details of these identity frames. These frames are not inventions: each traces to the manifesto’s actual contents, and covering them is a legitimate editorial choice. What differentiates outlets in Figure 4 is not whether they touched these themes but how much of their coverage concentrated there rather than on the unfolding factual record. Nonetheless, the manifesto-publication split itself also became contested content downstream: audience-side commentators turned the outlets’ diverging editorial decisions into a media-trust argument of their own (Screenshot 5).



Screenshot 5: Commentary recasting the manifesto-publication split as a media-trust argument

These editorial differences are illustrated further in Figure 4, which contrasts the five outlets that posted the most about the event with the five whose coverage concentrated most heavily in the identity frames (at least 44% of their posts). The two groups do not overlap, and the second does not form a unified editorial camp: it runs from a community outlet covering only the antisemitism identity frame (Canadian Jewish News) to a Montreal alt-weekly covering mostly the incel framing, and some Marxism/communism perspectives (Cult MTL).

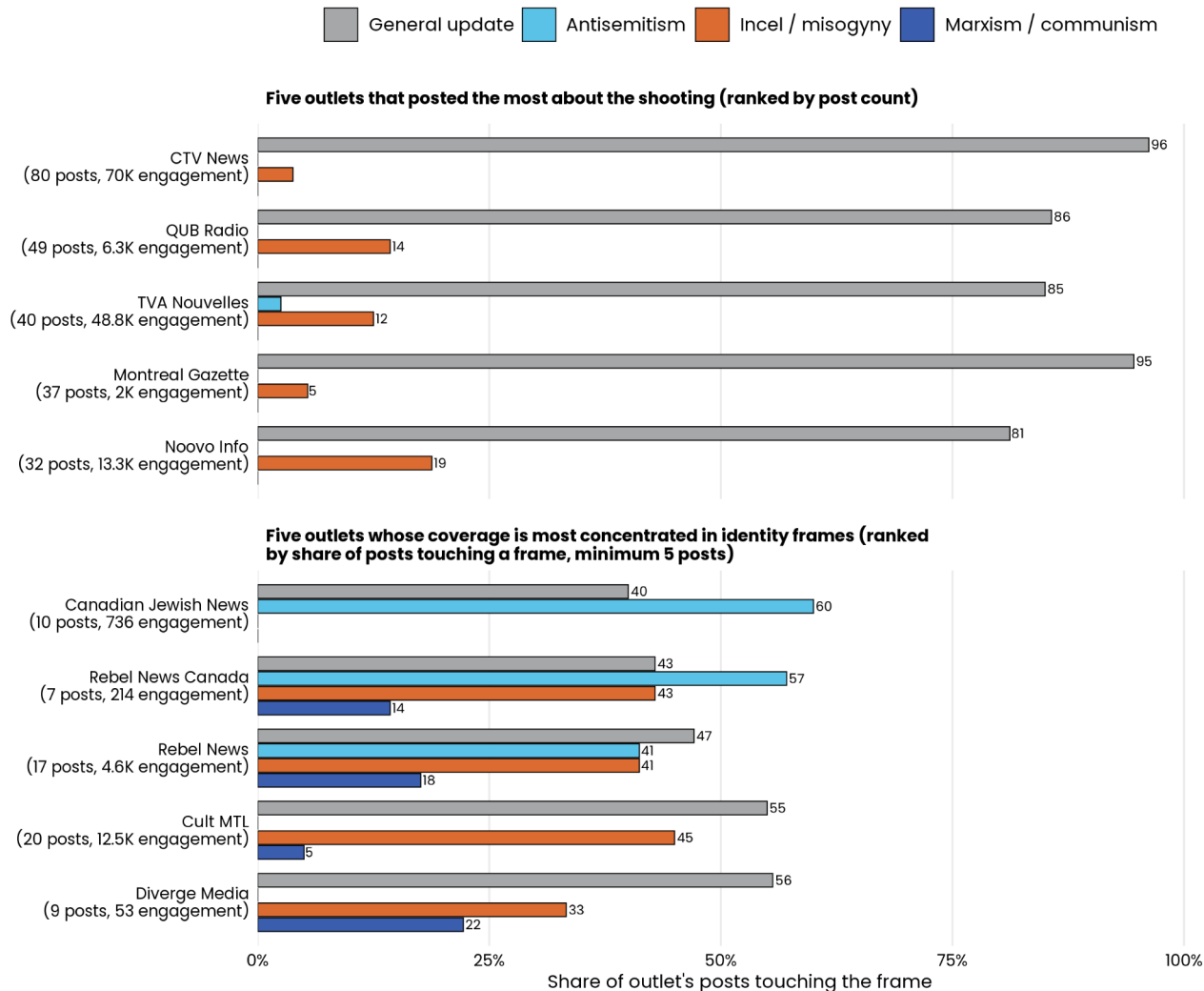


Figure 4: Share of each outlet's Montreal-shooting posts touching each interpretive frame — general update, antisemitism, incel/misogyny, and Marxism/communism — for the five outlets that posted the most about the shooting (top) and the five whose coverage is most concentrated in the identity frames (bottom). The two groups do not overlap. The highest-volume outlets stay overwhelmingly on general updates (81–96% of their posts), touching a frame only occasionally and almost always the incel angle. The identity-focused five put 44–60% of their posts into at least one frame, and which frame differs by outlet: the Canadian Jewish News is entirely on the antisemitism reading, Cult MTL entirely on incel/misogyny, and only the two Rebel News accounts carry all three. Each label gives the outlet's in-scope post count and the engagement those posts drew. MEO CIE seedlist, news-outlet accounts, keyword-matched over the six confirmed Montreal-shooting topics, June 22–July 4, 2026; frames are not mutually exclusive, so an outlet's bars can sum past 100%. See Methodology for the frame keywords, how the two groups are selected, and the small post counts behind the lower panel.

Engagement. Engagement dynamics differed with how heavily an outlet concentrated on the identity frames. For the five identity-focused outlets in Figure 4, frame-touching posts outperformed informational ones, drawing an average engagement of 498 per post versus 164 on informational updates. The gap is widest on the incel and misogyny frame, whose posts earned 4.1x the engagement of these outlets' general informational content,

ahead of posts on the Jewish community or antisemitism at 1.8x. It is not an artifact of a few outliers: the typical post ranks the same way, with a median engagement of 166 on frame-touching posts versus 37 on informational ones.

Accredited outlets — the 64 outlets (of 79) that belong to a press council or broadcast-standards body, receive Online News Act funding, or hold CRA journalism designation (see Methodology) — appear on average to show the opposite pattern, with lower engagement on claim-related content (271 average engagement) than on informational content (377). That informational average, however, is pulled up by a handful of exceptionally high-performing breaking-news posts on TikTok from TVA, CBC, and CTV: five posts out of 518 informational ones account for 52% of all the engagement accredited outlets' informational coverage drew, the largest of them earning 32,790 on its own. The typical post ranks the other way, with a median engagement of 98 on claim-related posts versus 18 on informational ones. For these outlets' identity-related content, posts on antisemitism and the Jewish community draw comparatively less

engagement, while posts on incels or misogyny draw slightly more. Engagement dynamics are therefore more consistent than the averages suggest: for the typical post, identity-related framing outperforms informational content for accredited outlets as well, while the largest news audiences of the incident belonged to accredited outlets' breaking-news coverage.

While these identity-focused outlets generate higher engagement per post on identity-related content, they account for 8% of total engagement amongst all news outlets. Accredited outlets capture 90% of it, led by breaking-news content and informational updates from TVA Nouvelles, CBC News, and CTV News, where engagement is highest on TikTok. When it comes to how Canadians seek information, this illustrates how informational content from accredited outlets may still outweigh identity-related content during periods of public safety crises. The single most-viewed news post in our data illustrates this: Radio-Canada Info's TikTok of the mayor's press conference (Screenshot 6) — French-language breaking coverage folding the incident into the government-response frame rather than any identity frame.



Screenshot 6: The most-viewed news post, French-language breaking coverage in the government-response frame



Screenshot 7: Cult MTL's most-engaged post, framing the incident through the incel connection

Conclusion

The Côte-des-Neiges shooting provides a window into how the Canadian information environment behaves under pressure, before facts are confirmed: who fills the information vacuum, with what kind of content, and what platforms reward. The most consistent finding across every level of our analysis is a divergence between posting volumes and engagement: what circulated most was not what was engaged with most. In the public conversation, police and news updates dominated post volume, but the conversation's centre of gravity lay elsewhere: posting concentrated on the Jewish character of the neighbourhood and the incel connection, while engagement concentrated on the responding police officer's gender and the Pornhub connection — all tying the incident to broader discourse on group identities. Across our seedlist, identity-oriented content made up 29% of posts but 46% of engagement. And among news outlets, identity-related framing typically outperformed informational posts for identity-focused and accredited outlets alike — most sharply for the small set of outlets that concentrate their coverage in interpretive frames — even as informational breaking-news reporting drew the largest absolute audiences. Those audiences, however, rest on very few posts: 52% of all the engagement accredited outlets' informational coverage drew came from just five viral TikTok videos, so the reassuring aggregate depends on a handful of posts breaking through rather than on informational content reliably reaching Canadians.

Who supplies which kind of content is equally consistent. News outlets — local and national, French and English — overwhelmingly posted informational updates, and the highest-engagement news posts were breaking-news content from accredited outlets like TVA Nouvelles, CBC, and CTV. Influencers, by contrast, supplied nearly all of the engagement with identity politicization (98% of it pooled across the three incidents we compared, with American accounts alone accounting for 88%). Politicians largely condemned violence and paid tribute to the victims. The comparison with the Charlie Kirk assassination and the Tumbler Ridge shooting shows this division of labour is not particular to Montreal: in all three events, identities — particularly gender — were politicized within hours, ahead of official confirmations, with influencers leading this kind of framing and news-outlet engagement staying 92%–98% informational.

These findings matter because where Canadians encounter breaking news shapes what they take from it. A Canadian following the event through news outlets may receive largely factual and verified information, while another Canadian encountering the event through influencer content may be exposed to an already interpreted narrative — framed through gender, antisemitism, or ideology — often before basic facts are confirmed. The Montreal case also shows that official communication is only a partial remedy: speculation about the shooter's motive subsided after the police press conference, but the manifesto's publication the next day supplied new interpretive raw material, and identity blame returned. Timely official information can end speculation but does not end politicization.

Finally, the engagement patterns are consistent with the incentive structures of the ecosystem. Identity-oriented and graphic content earned substantively higher engagement per post than informational content. This further speaks to platform dynamics, where speculation and curiosity regarding the shooting can feed into algorithms that push viral content — including graphic footage — onto people's feeds, and in which accounts that convert breaking tragedies into identity content are rewarded for it. In the specific case of graphic content, platforms should apply stricter content-moderation filters at the point of upload to mitigate the spread of violent footage of public safety crises, and should demonetize accounts that show a repeated pattern of profiting from such footage — as with the single account whose graphic video of this shooting drew 37.4 million views. These recommendations concern graphic material and its monetization, not commentary on the event or the ideologies involved. As long as the underlying reward structure holds, the patterns we observe across all three shooting incidents will persist.

Methodology

Seedlist collection

Social media data are drawn from MEO's Canadian Information Ecosystem (CIE) seedlist collection across X, Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, Facebook, and Bluesky. The data collection is based on a comprehensive seed list of entities relevant to the Canadian media ecosystem (the news-outlet and politician portion is documented in Pehlivan et al. 2025) as well as US influencers, and this report draws on data from February 2025 to July 2026, covering all three incidents examined. An entity must be active on at least one platform and is defined as a person, group, organization, or media product of substantive interest to the ecosystem. In total, the seed list comprises 4,476 unique entities including 1,193 political influencers and 500 US political influencers. Following MEO's brief on political influencers (Media Ecosystem Observatory 2025), a political influencer is a person or group — distinct from politicians and news outlets — who consistently produces political or current-affairs content and generates measurable audience impact; the Canadian influencer list is curated on these criteria, while the 500 US influencers were selected for their prominence in American political discourse. Data was collected using various methods, including official APIs for platforms like Bluesky and YouTube, and custom web crawling for platforms like X, Instagram, and TikTok. In total, the dataset includes 8,804,918 posts from influencers (3,414,514 posts from US influencers). Creating a fully comprehensive dataset is not possible due to the dynamic and constantly evolving nature of social media; nonetheless, this dataset provides a representative snapshot of the Canadian information ecosystem and US influencers.

Keyword-based collection¹

For this incident, we created a list of over 300 keywords in English and French related to the Montreal shooting. Using the keywords, we searched and collected posts across X, Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, Facebook, and Bluesky for the period from June 22, 2026 to July 4, 2026. Although we tried to collect posts containing selected keywords as exhaustively as possible, the keyword collection depended on the data made available by the platforms. On platforms like X and Bluesky, we were able to retrieve close to all posts containing the keywords. On other platforms like Instagram and TikTok, we could only collect what the search function returned, which is governed by the platform's search algorithm and does not surface every matching post. False positives were a minority of matches, but because a single high-engagement post can distort aggregate engagement measures, we manually reviewed all posts with more than 10,000 engagements ($n = 73$) and removed irrelevant ones. After filtering, we analyzed 10,957 posts in total. As in the seedlist analyses, engagement and view figures are computed over original posts only, excluding reposts, which earn no engagement of their own; post counts and topic shares include reposts, since resharing is itself a posting choice.

The full keyword list (315 English and French terms) is available on request.

Topic modelling

To understand what people were saying about each shooting, we used topic modelling, which automatically groups posts by what they are about. Rather than relying on a fixed keyword list, this approach lets the themes emerge from the conversation itself: posts that discuss the same thing are placed in the same group, and each group is then given a short, plain-language label. We used the open-source Toponymy/BERTopic tooling: the software reads every post, clusters together the ones that mean similar things, and uses an AI model to name each cluster. We then reviewed and cleaned up those labels manually, grouping them into the themes used throughout this report — for example antisemitism, the manifesto/incel angle, the shooting and police response, the suspect's identity, and the victims. We ran this separately on two sources: posts from influential Canadian accounts (our CIE seedlist) and the broader public conversation (the keyword collection). Since our CIE collection spans back to 2022, we were able to search all three shooting incidents (Charlie Kirk, Tumbler Ridge, and Montreal) and compare what each audience focused on.

Three-incident comparison

The three-incident comparison draws on the aforementioned seedlist collection. We filtered this elite-oriented collection for posts in English and French mentioning each incident across X, Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, and Bluesky; Telegram was excluded. Engagement is the sum of likes, comments, shares, and quotes (views excluded), with metrics a platform does not report counted as zero. Engagement figures are computed on original posts only, since a repost carries the original post's engagement rather than earning its own; posting figures retain reposts, since amplifying someone else's post is itself a posting choice. Deactivated handles, sports accounts, and false-positive posts were removed during cleaning.

Each incident is analyzed in an identical 72-hour window running forward from its onset, anchored to the hour in Eastern Time: September 10, 2025, 2:00 p.m. (Charlie Kirk assassination), February 10, 2026, 4:00 p.m. (Tumbler Ridge shooting), and June 22, 2026, 11:00 a.m. (Montreal shooting). Anchors are rounded down, so each window opens minutes before the confirmed event time; "+N hours" timings are relative to the anchor.

To separate informational coverage from identity politicization, the 6,699 posts in the three windows were classified by two independent large language models from different model families (Qwen3.6-27B and Gemma-4-31B), run locally on Digital Research Alliance of Canada infrastructure so that no post content left secure systems. Each model labelled posts as informational or identity-politicizing, and, within politicizing posts, distinguished group blame (holding a social or political group responsible

for the event) from identity framing that invokes a group without blaming it. We retain only labels on which both models agree (inter-model reliability $\kappa = 0.83$ for politicization, $\kappa = 0.69$ for group blame); disagreements fall to a residual “other content” category. In the figures and throughout that section the two politicizing labels are combined into a single identity-oriented category; the blame distinction is reported where noted. A stratified spot check of consensus and disagreement cases was reviewed by the team, and clear misclassifications were corrected.

Three limitations bear on interpretation. Politician posts are sparse in every window (roughly 200 posts across the three incidents), so we report direction rather than precise percentages for that group; note also that Maxime Bernier is classified as an influencer in the seedlist, so statements about politicians exclude him. The seedlist includes American influencers but no American news outlets, so cross-border comparisons concern commentary, not journalism; and because the US list is selected on prominence, the American engagement shares describe these tracked accounts — including any ideological skew among prominent US political accounts — rather than the US ecosystem as a whole. Finally, keyword filtering and a single 72-hour window bound what we observe: discussion using unanticipated vocabulary, or arriving after the window closes, is not captured.

Media-framing analysis

The news-outlet analysis scopes the seedlist collection to news-outlet accounts, the six confirmed Montreal-shooting topics from the topic model, and June 22 – July 4, 2026. Because the antisemitism, incel/misogyny, and Marxism/communism claims never resolved into their own topic clusters, frames are detected by bilingual keyword match over the post text: antisemitism/Jewish community (Jewish, antisemit-, synagogue, rabbi, juif/juive, antisémit-, Zionist, sioniste), incel/misogyny (incel, misogyn-, masculinist(e), antifeminist, femmes), and Marxism/communism (communis-, marxis-, soviet, gauchiste, socialis-). A keyword match is not an endorsement — one outlet’s Marxism hit is a rebuttal — and matches are not mutually exclusive, so an outlet’s frame shares can sum past 100%. Outlets are grouped on two distinct axes, both measured from the data — no political classification of outlets is used anywhere in this report. Identity-focused denotes the five outlets whose in-scope posts touch at least one of the three frames most often, among outlets with at least five in-scope posts: Canadian Jewish News; Rebel News Canada; Rebel News; Cult MTL; Diverge Media. The five-post floor keeps a single post from topping a share ranking, and the lower panel of Figure 4 shows exactly this group; its upper panel is the five outlets with the most in-scope posts. Both panels are therefore selected on measured quantities rather than on any classification of the outlets, but the identity-focused outlets post in small numbers (7–20 in-scope posts each, against 32–80 for the highest-volume five), so their frame shares describe coverage profiles rather than reliable rates. Because a repost row carries the original post’s counts, this affects the panel’s engagement labels for the three outlets that reposted: Rebel News Canada (4 of 7 posts original), Rebel News (13

of 17) and Diverge Media (6 of 9). Accredited follows the CIE seedlist’s outlet-level accreditation classification: an outlet is accredited if it belongs to at least one recognized press council or broadcast-standards body (the National NewsMedia Council, the Canadian Broadcast Standards Council, the RTDNA, or Press Forward), receives funding from the Canadian Journalism Collective under the Online News Act, or is designated a qualified Canadian journalism organization by the Canada Revenue Agency — that is, if it is subject to at least one external journalistic accountability structure. Accreditation reflects institutional accountability, not quality or political lean, and the two groupings are neither complements nor proxies for each other: neither Cult MTL nor the Canadian Jewish News is accredited, while accredited outlets such as CBC News (71% general updates) sit just outside the identity-focused five. Of the 79 in-scope outlets, 64 are accredited. Frame shares and post counts include reposts (amplifying a frame is editorial behaviour); engagement is summed over original posts only (see the repost convention above).

Embedded screenshots

Screenshots of individual posts (Screenshots 1–7) were recaptured on July 29, 2026 from a logged-in account and are shown with the platform interface as displayed at capture time, including any graphic-content overlay the platform did or did not interpose. Engagement figures cited in the text come from our collection data rather than the counts visible in the screenshots. Account, URL, capture, and engagement provenance for every embedded screenshot is recorded in `figures/report_screenshots_v2/manifest.csv` in the project repository.

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A note on AI tools in this research. Two locally run large language models (Qwen3.6-27B and Gemma-4-31B, on Digital Research Alliance of Canada infrastructure) classified posts for the three-incident comparison, with strict cross-model consensus and team spot checks as described in the Methodology. Claude (Anthropic) was used in drafting code, prototyping figures, and assembling this report. These tools make it possible to conduct a study of this depth at a speed and scale that would otherwise require a far larger team. We will continue to use them in future work and to disclose when we do.

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Endnotes

1 Keywords used: montreal shooting, montreal shooter, montreal assailant, montreal gunman, montreal incel, montreal manifesto, montreal hypergamy, montreal suspect, montreal target jewish, mtl shooting, mtl shooter, mtl assailant, mtl gunman, mtl incel, mtl manifesto, mtl hypergamy, mtl suspect, mtl target jewish, quebec shooting, quebec shooter, quebec assailant, quebec gunman, quebec incel, quebec manifesto, quebec hypergamy, quebec suspect, quebec target jewish, cotes-des-neiges shooting, cotes-des-neiges shooter, cotes-des-neiges assailant, cotes-des-neiges gunman, cotes-des-neiges incel, cotes-des-neiges manifesto, cotes-des-neiges hypergamy, cotes-des-neiges suspect, cotes-des-neiges target jewish, cdn shooting, cdn shooter, cdn assailant, cdn gunman, cdn incel, cdn manifesto, cdn hypergamy, cdn suspect, cdn target jewish, montréal fusillade, montréal tireur, montréal tueur, montréal assaillant, montréal incel, montréal manifeste, montréal hypergamie, montréal suspect, montréal 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montreal left shooting, montreal misogynistic shooter, montreal misogynistic shooting, montreal anticapitalist shooter, montreal anticapitalist shooting, montreal jewish bourgeoisie shooter, montreal jewish bourgeoisie shooting, montreal influential zionists shooter, montreal influential zionists shooting, montreal police shooter, montreal police shooting, montreal policewoman shooter, montreal policewoman shooting, montreal female cop shooter, montreal female cop shooting, mtl right shooter, mtl right shooting, mtl left shooter, mtl left shooting, mtl misogynistic shooter, mtl misogynistic shooting, mtl anticapitalist shooter, mtl anticapitalist shooting, mtl jewish bourgeoisie shooter, mtl jewish bourgeoisie shooting, mtl influential zionists shooter, mtl influential zionists shooting, mtl police shooter, mtl police shooting, mtl policewoman shooter, mtl policewoman shooting, mtl female cop shooter, mtl female cop shooting, quebec right shooter, quebec right shooting, quebec left 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