



# Big Oil's Big Year:

A Summary of Big Oil's 2023 Federal Lobbying

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

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<b>1. Acknowledgements</b>	p. 3
<b>2. Executive Summary</b>	p. 4
<b>3. Lobbying and Why It Matters</b>	p. 5
<b>4. How We Track &amp; Fact Check</b>	p. 6
<b>5. Key Findings</b>	p. 7
<b>6. Conclusions</b>	p. 15
<b>7. Reference Data</b>	
Appendix I: List of Oil and Gas Producing Companies and Industry Associations	p. 16
Appendix II: Full List of Members of Parliament Lobbied by Big Oil in 2023	p. 17
Appendix III: Deputy Ministers 2023 Lobbying Chart	p. 21





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This report is by Environmental Defence. ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENCE is a leading Canadian environmental advocacy organization that works with government, industry and individuals to defend clean water, a safe climate and healthy communities.

# Executive Summary

**The fossil fuel industry has a well-documented history of denying climate change and promoting disinformation to greenwash its brands and products<sup>1</sup>. In addition to these public-facing efforts to dissuade people from being concerned about climate change, the fossil fuel industry uses its resources to access and influence governments through lobbying.**

Environmental Defence Canada tracks meetings reported by fossil fuel industry associations and major oil and gas producers on the Federal Registry of Lobbyists. This report analyzes lobbying data from 31 oil and gas companies and industry associations in 2023. It provides details about the frequency of meetings by the companies, as well as which federal ministries and government officials the fossil fuel industry is targeting. The report only includes lobbying activities disclosed in the Federal Registry of Lobbyists.

## Key Takeaways:

- Fossil fuel companies and their main industry associations had at least 1,255 meetings with the federal government in 2023. That means Big Oil lobbied Parliament nearly five times per working day.
- Industry associations were two of the top three most active fossil fuel lobbyists in 2023, with the Pathways Alliance registering 104 meetings and the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers registering 91.
- The interests of the Pathways Alliance and its member companies were the most thoroughly represented through lobbying, occupying five spots on the list of the ten most active oil and gas lobbyists. Combining the individual lobbying of Pathways Alliance member companies with the meetings registered by the Alliance, the government had at least 469 registered meetings with this coalition.
- The federal ministries most frequently targeted by lobbyists were Natural Resources Canada (NRCan), Environment and Climate Change Canada (ECCC), and Finance Canada (FIN).
- NRCan staff participated in at least 313 meetings with oil and gas lobbyists, including 34 with Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Jonathan Wilkinson present.
- ECCC staff participated in 253 meetings, including 12 with Environment and Climate Change Minister Steven Guilbeault present.
- Finance Canada staff participated in 118 meetings.
- The Privy Council Office (PCO) and Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada (ISED) had just under 100 meetings each.
- Oil and gas companies and industry associations lobbied various Members of Parliament 410 times.

<sup>1</sup>Joint Staff Report, "Denial, Disinformation and Doublespeak: Big Oil's Evolving Efforts to Avoid Accountability for Climate Change", US House Committee on Oversight and Accountability, 2024. Accessible at [https://www.budget.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fossil\\_fuel\\_report1.pdf](https://www.budget.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fossil_fuel_report1.pdf)

# Lobbying and Why It Matters

**Lobbying is when someone employed by or representing a company meets with government officials to try to influence policies, government programs, funding decisions, or the awarding of government contracts. Often, it is a company trying to influence the government to the benefit of that company.** The Government of Canada's full definition of lobbying is available online<sup>2</sup>.

Organizations like Environmental Defence also lobby the government. Environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) lobby on specific issues in the public interest, for example, supporting policies that tackle the climate crisis.

An important distinction between NGOs and corporate lobbyists is the interests they represent. Environmental NGOs channel support for environmental and climate action, representing thousands of concerned members, supporters, and volunteers in Canada. Environmental NGOs lobby in the public interest, because addressing climate change and protecting nature benefits everyone, including future generations.

Big Oil lobbies for its private interests, namely extracting and exploiting oil, coal, and gas for profit. By doing so, it continues to pollute the planet and jeopardizes our future. For example, during the pandemic, a leaked memo from the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers to the federal government in March 2020 exposed their agenda<sup>3</sup>. It sought to either drop or postpone various rules and regulations, such as environmental monitoring and new worker protections.

Politicians and Ministry staff are not required to attend these meetings, but they regularly choose to hear from fossil fuel lobbyists.

**Lobbying is important to understand because it has shaped Canadian climate politics and continues to impact important climate policies.**

The oil and gas industry in Canada has a vested interest in persuading governments to not enact regulations, policies or laws that would limit the production of fossil fuels and potentially reduce companies' profits<sup>4</sup>. Oil and gas lobbyists also lobby for more financial support for the industry. And they have a track record of success: virtually every environmental policy in Canada has been either delayed, weakened, or blocked. In fact, Big Oil is the biggest barrier to climate action in Canada<sup>5</sup>.

By having the ear of politicians and government staff, the fossil fuel industry has tempered government ambition, shaped what is perceived as 'politically feasible' or 'acceptable action', and consistently pushed the government to prioritize the oil and gas industry in their decision-making.

<sup>2</sup> Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada (2022). *Frequently Asked Questions*.

<https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/en/registration-and-compliance/frequently-asked-questions/>

<sup>3</sup> Dale Marshall, "Big Oil has a Secret Memo", *Environmental Defence Canada*, April 17, 2020,

[https://environmentaldefence.ca/2020/04/17/capp\\_covid\\_memo/](https://environmentaldefence.ca/2020/04/17/capp_covid_memo/)

<sup>4</sup> Dave Gray Donald, "Canada's Oil & Gas Industry Undermines Democracy, Hinders Climate Action" (2023)

<https://environmentaldefence.ca/report/canadas-oil-and-gas-industry-undermines-democracy/>

<sup>5</sup> "The Biggest Barrier to Climate Action in Canada: The Oil and Gas Lobby", *Environmental Defence Canada*, accessed March 20, 2024,

[https://environmentaldefence.ca/report/oil\\_barrier\\_climate\\_action\\_canada/](https://environmentaldefence.ca/report/oil_barrier_climate_action_canada/)

# How We Track & Fact Check

- ➔ Environmental Defence tracks the federal lobby registry for meetings between fossil fuel lobbyists and the federal government. We use publicly available information from the Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada<sup>6</sup>.
- ➔ The lobby meetings we are able to track don't reflect the full extent of oil and gas lobbying of the federal government<sup>7</sup>. In 2023, we monitored 31 of the largest oil and gas companies and industry associations, but there are even more companies involved with the fossil fuel industry as a whole that may have also lobbied in support of oil and gas.

Crucially, only meetings initiated by the companies with designated public office holders are required to be registered. When lobbyists are invited to meetings by decision-makers, those meetings do not need to be disclosed. Furthermore, departments frequently convene working groups or hold regular meetings with numerous fossil fuel lobbyists, none of which appear in the registry.

For example, Minister of Natural Resources Jonathan Wilkinson said in an interview that the federal government had created a dedicated process to work with the Pathways Alliance, an industry group representing the six largest oil sands companies<sup>8</sup>. In addition, due to loopholes in the federal lobbying law, not all meetings and communications that we might consider to be "lobbying" are required to be disclosed. Lobbyists are only required to register and disclose their lobbying if they are paid on a contract to lobby or are lobbying more than 20 per cent of their work time for a business or organization.

- ➔ The federal lobby registry doesn't provide detailed information about the contents of those meetings. In Canada, what is said in lobbying meetings does not need to be reported. Lobbyists only document general topics they discuss. Further information on meetings can be sought through the Access to Information and Privacy (ATIP) request process. However, this process can take months or even years and often the contents are heavily redacted.



<sup>6</sup>Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada, <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/en/>

<sup>7</sup>We cross reference the meeting registration numbers, dates, and participants in the lobby bot data and account for reporting duplication in the case where more than one lobbyists attends and reports a meeting, so that we can accurately report the minimum number of lobby meetings.

<sup>8</sup>ARC Energy Research Institute, "Talking Energy Policy with the Honourable Jonathan Wilkinson", 2023. <https://www.arcenergyinstitute.com/talking-energy-policy-with-the-honourable-jonathan-wilkinson/>

# Key Findings



**Fossil fuel companies and their main industry associations had at least 1,255 meetings with the federal government in 2023. That means Big Oil lobbied Parliament nearly five times per working day.**

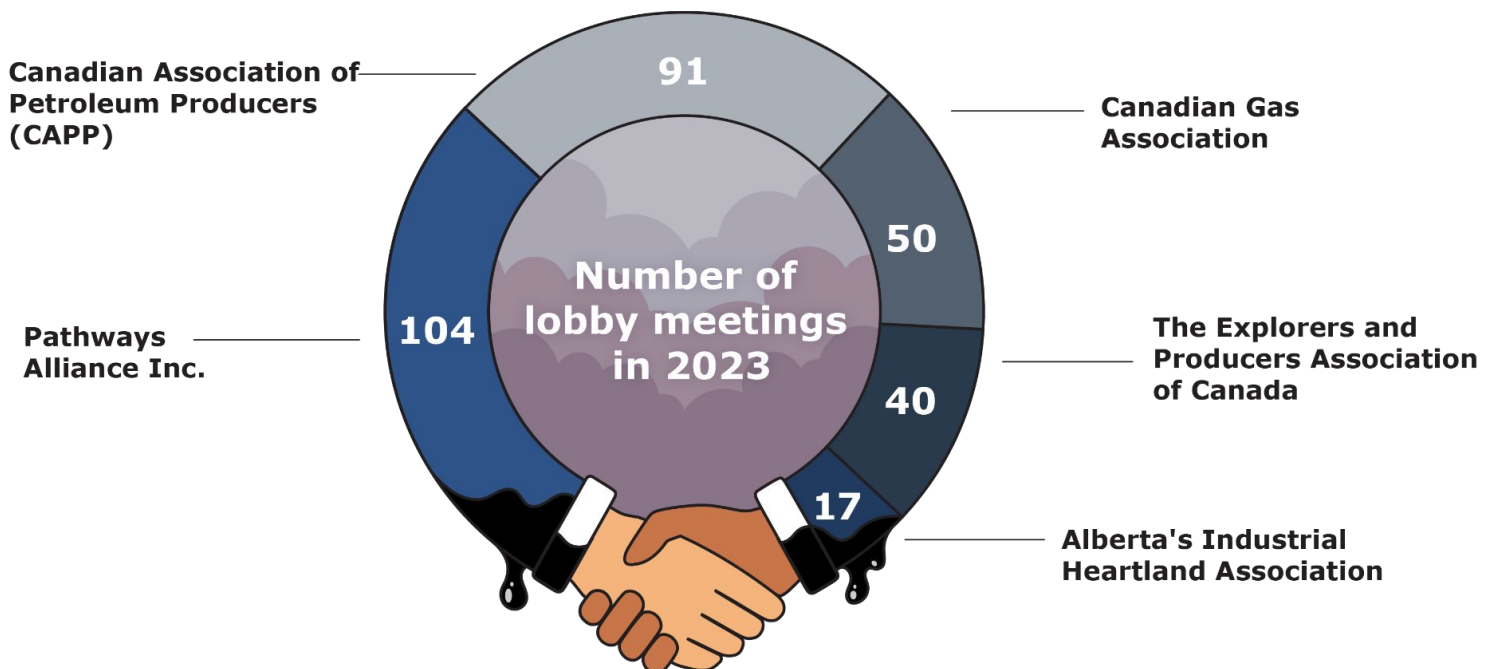
Industry associations were the most active fossil fuel lobbyists in 2023. The Pathways Alliance registered 104 meetings making it the top lobbyist and the only one to surpass one hundred meetings. The Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers registered 91, the third most active lobbyist of all those we track.

The companies with the most frequent lobbying in 2023 were Suncor (93), Pembina Pipeline Corporation (87), Cenovus (82), Imperial Oil (79), and Enbridge Inc (72). See Table 2 for the list of the ten companies with the most lobby meetings.

Three of the companies listed in the top five are also members of the Pathways Alliance. By consolidating the individual lobbying efforts of Pathways Alliance member companies with the meetings registered by the Alliance itself, we found that the government had at least 469 registered meetings to discuss the coalition's interests. This number reflects only a fraction of the total interactions between the Pathways Alliance and the federal government, as the government has established at least one other working group whose meetings are not recorded in the registry.

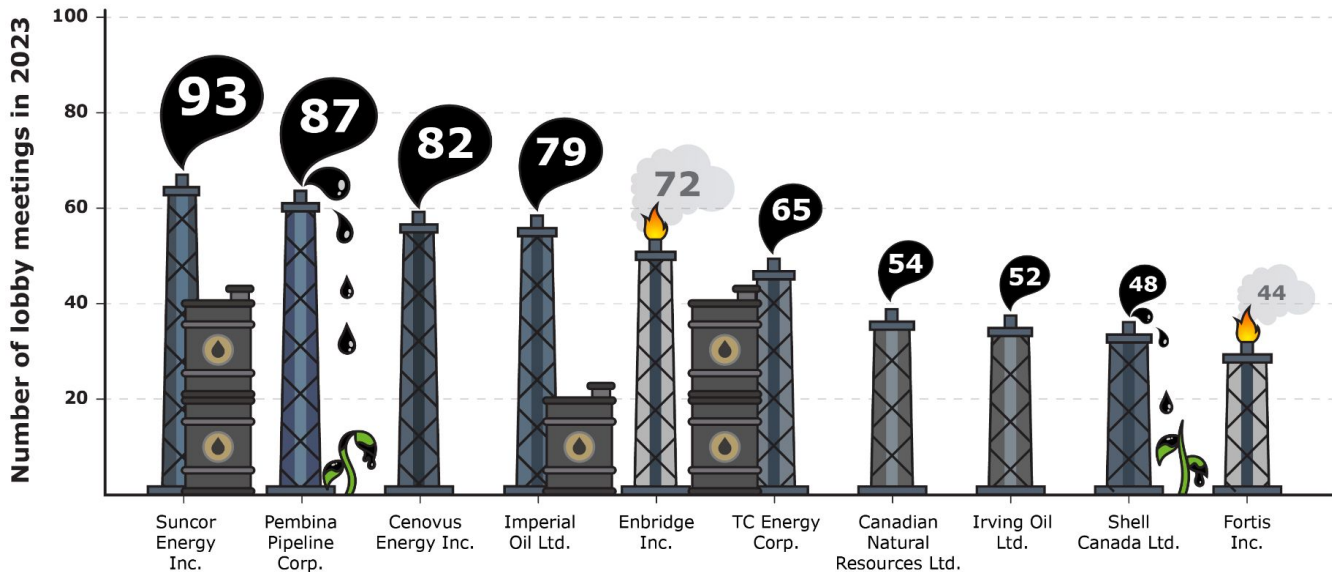
## Number of Meetings by Registered Lobbyist

● **Table 1. Industry Associations**

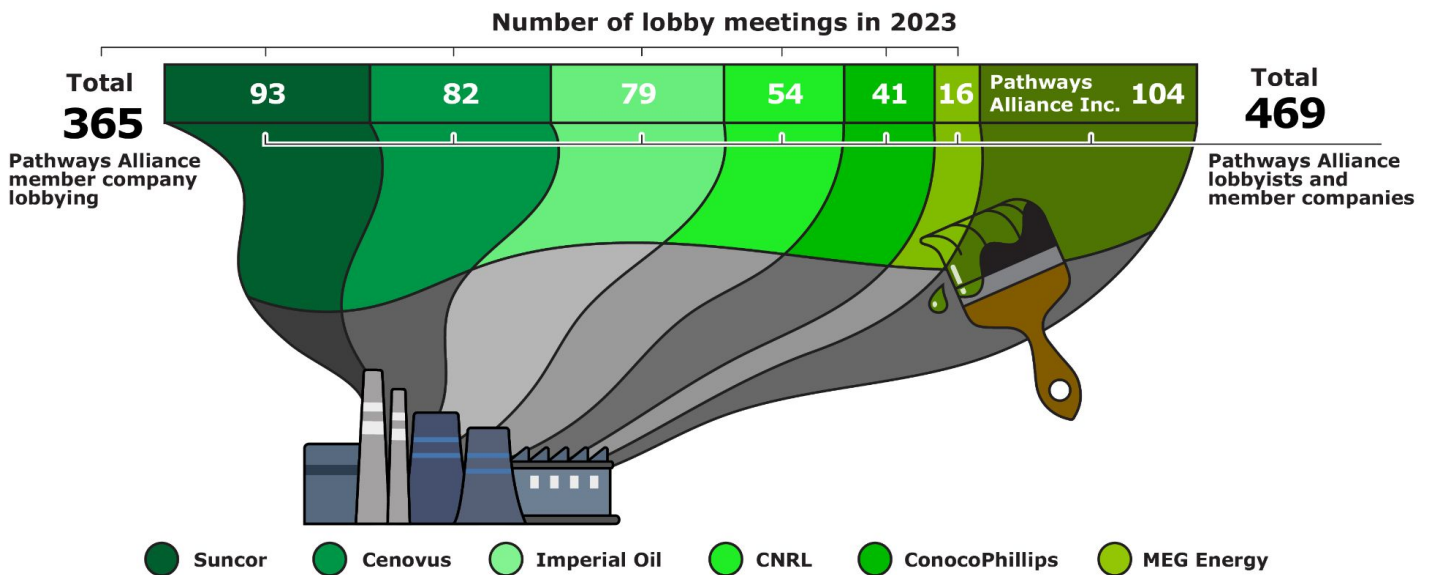


# Number of Meetings by Registered Lobbyist

● **Table 2. Top Ten Oil and Gas Company Lobbyists**



● **Table 3. Pathways Alliance and Member Companies**



The Hill Times Lobby Monitor reported that "environment" was the most registered subject in lobby communication reports for 2023<sup>9</sup>. More than half of the lobby communication reports filed by the fossil fuel industry were on the subject.

<sup>9</sup>Jesse Cnockaert, "Environment advocacy dominates in record-breaking 2023 for lobbying", The Hill Times, January 2024, <https://www.hilltimes.com/story/2024/01/22/environment-advocacy-dominates-in-record-breaking-2023-for-lobbying/408526/>



## **Natural Resources Canada (NRCan) and Environment and Climate Change Canada (ECCC) were the top federal ministries targeted by the fossil fuel lobby, followed by Finance Canada.**

The ministry most frequently targeted for lobbying by the fossil fuel industry was Natural Resources Canada (NRCan), which took 337 meetings with the fossil fuel industry. That's the equivalent of meeting with the industry every day at work for the whole year, plus another 77 meetings.

Environment and Climate Change Canada was the second most targeted ministry, taking 261 meetings, followed by Finance Canada (121) and the Privy Council Office (108).

In parallel, the ministers who directly participated in meetings with the fossil fuel industry most often were Minister Wilkinson (NRCan), Minister Guilbeault (ECCC), Minister Boissonault (Employment and Social Development Canada, formerly Assistant Finance Minister), and Minister Freeland (FIN). (See Table 6).

It is unsurprising that NRCan and ECCC are the two most lobbied federal ministries because they are primarily responsible for Canada's federal climate policy, including a number of key files that impact the oil and gas industry. In 2023, these ministries were developing the proposed regulation for capping emissions from the fossil fuel sector; the draft Clean Electricity Regulations; methane regulations; and the Canadian Sustainable Jobs Act. These departments were also developing rules to end subsidies and public financing to the oil and gas industry.

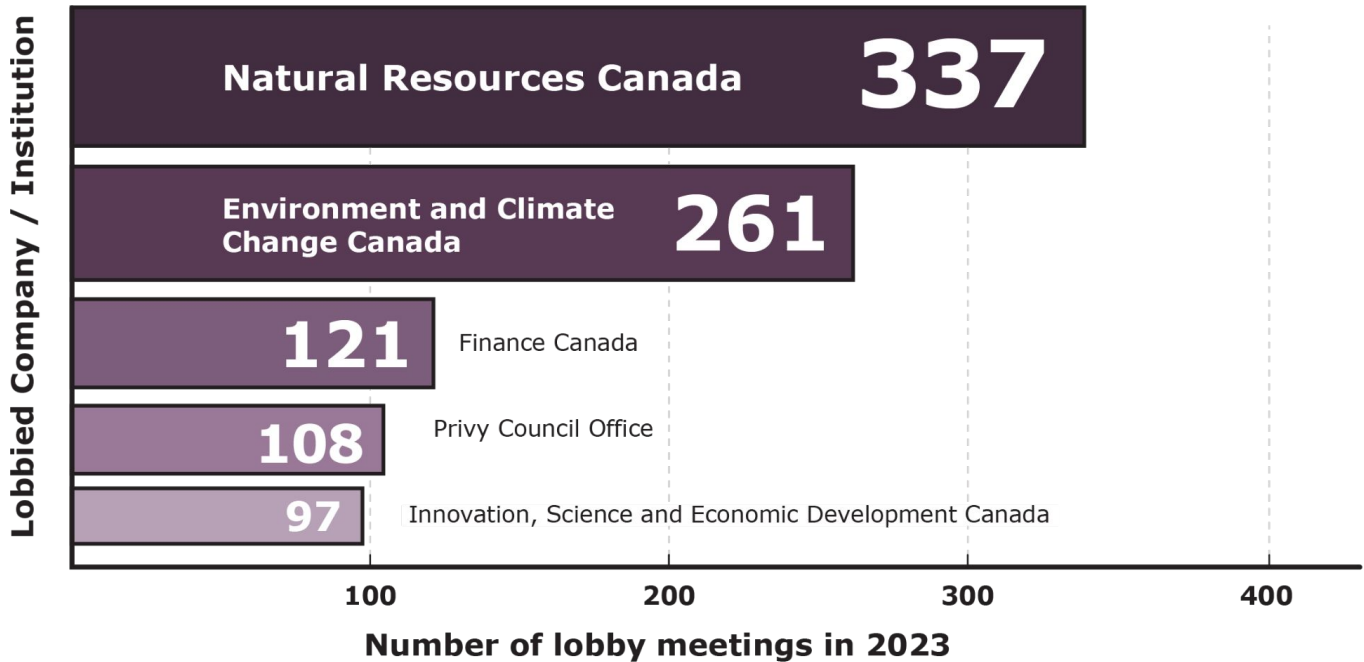
As these ministries seek to regulate the fossil fuel industry to rein in its emissions, oil and gas companies target them with lobbying to try and weaken, delay, or derail these policies. A report by the non-profit think tank InfluenceMap, found that four of the six largest oil and gas companies, as well as the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP), had engaged with the government to oppose the cap on emissions from the oil and gas sector, and some also lobbied to weaken methane regulations<sup>10</sup>. In addition, companies continue to advocate for government financial support for the oil and gas industry. The industry plans to increase production despite the consequences that fossil fuels have for Earth's climate. To justify this ongoing oil and gas expansion, the fossil fuel industry also regularly advocates for carbon capture technology and government subsidies for their proposed projects.

Our tracking shows that while the oil and gas industry focused heavily on lobbying NRCan and ECCC, they also frequently met with other ministries that have a significant influence on the government's agenda and policy approach. For example, the Privy Council Office, which supports the Prime Minister and Cabinet, was lobbied 108 times. Finance Canada, which was lobbied over 121 times, also plays a significant role in budget decisions concerning climate action and industry. Minister of Finance Chrystia Freeland had eight meetings with the fossil fuel industry last year. In contrast, Minister Freeland gave very little access to environmental organizations despite the serious budget implications of the climate crisis. The Lobby registry shows that Minister Freeland had 2 meetings in 2023 with an Environmental Non-Governmental Organization (ENGO).

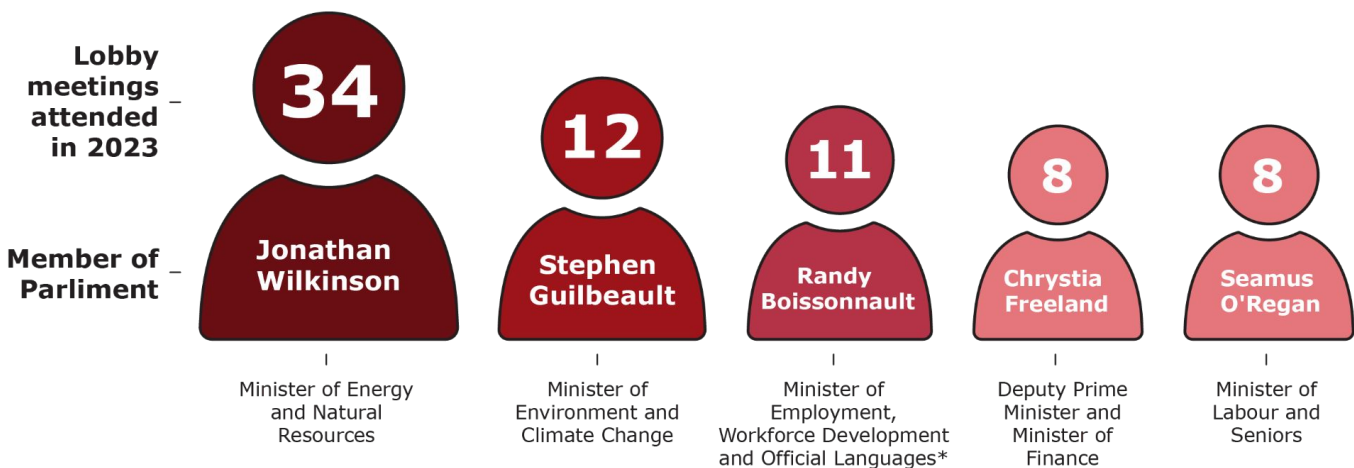
<sup>10</sup>InfluenceMap, 2023, "The Canadian Oil and Gas Industry and Climate Policy"  
<https://influencemap.org/briefing/The-Canadian-Oil-and-Gas-Industry-and-Climate-Policy-14696>

# Number of Meetings by Registered Lobbyist

● **Table 4. Most Lobbied Ministries**



● **Table 5. Most Lobbied Ministers**



\*Former Associate Minister of Finance and Minister of Tourism, July 2023



### The fossil fuel industry regularly meets with high-ranking public service staff.

It's not just the frequency of lobbying that matters, it's also who is in the room. Our tracking shows Big Oil lobbyists have frequent access to high-ranking staff in the public service, in addition to elected representatives.

For example, an Assistant Deputy Minister (ADM) to Natural Resources Canada participated in 97 lobby meetings in 2023. The Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet (Clean Growth) of the Privy Council Office, formerly Associate Deputy Minister (ADM) of Environment and Climate Change until August 2023, had 93 lobby meetings. Another Environment and Climate Change Canada ADM participated in 64 lobby meetings, and a different ADM at Natural Resources Canada participated in 54 lobby meetings. Two ADMs at Finance Canada participated in 14 and 15 lobby meetings each, and two Deputy Ministers participated in 12 and 8 meetings, respectively.

Collectively, 14 Deputy Ministers across targeted ministries participated in 74 lobby meetings.<sup>11</sup>

Cenovus Energy president, Jonathan McKenzie, was particularly successful at meeting with large groups of staff. Cenovus meetings frequently included the participation of 9 - 17 staff members. For example, Cenovus held a meeting on May 23rd with 17 members of the public service, including an ADM and Directors from NRCan, Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada (ISED), ECCC, Finance Canada, and the Privy Council office.



<sup>11</sup>See table in Appendix III



## Oil and gas companies and industry associations lobbied Members of Parliament 410 times.

The fossil fuel industry has been very successful at hosting lobby meetings with large groups of Members of Parliament in attendance. For example, in June Suncor had a meeting with 12 MPs and in October Fortis BC Energy had a meeting with 14 MPs.

Using our tracking methodology, each of the above examples is reported as a single meeting with fossil fuel lobbyists. This approach can minimize the impact of meetings with large numbers of MPs. For example, we identified 241 meetings that included MPs. However, when considering individual MP attendance, we found that 110 MPs participated in meetings a total of 410 times in 2023.

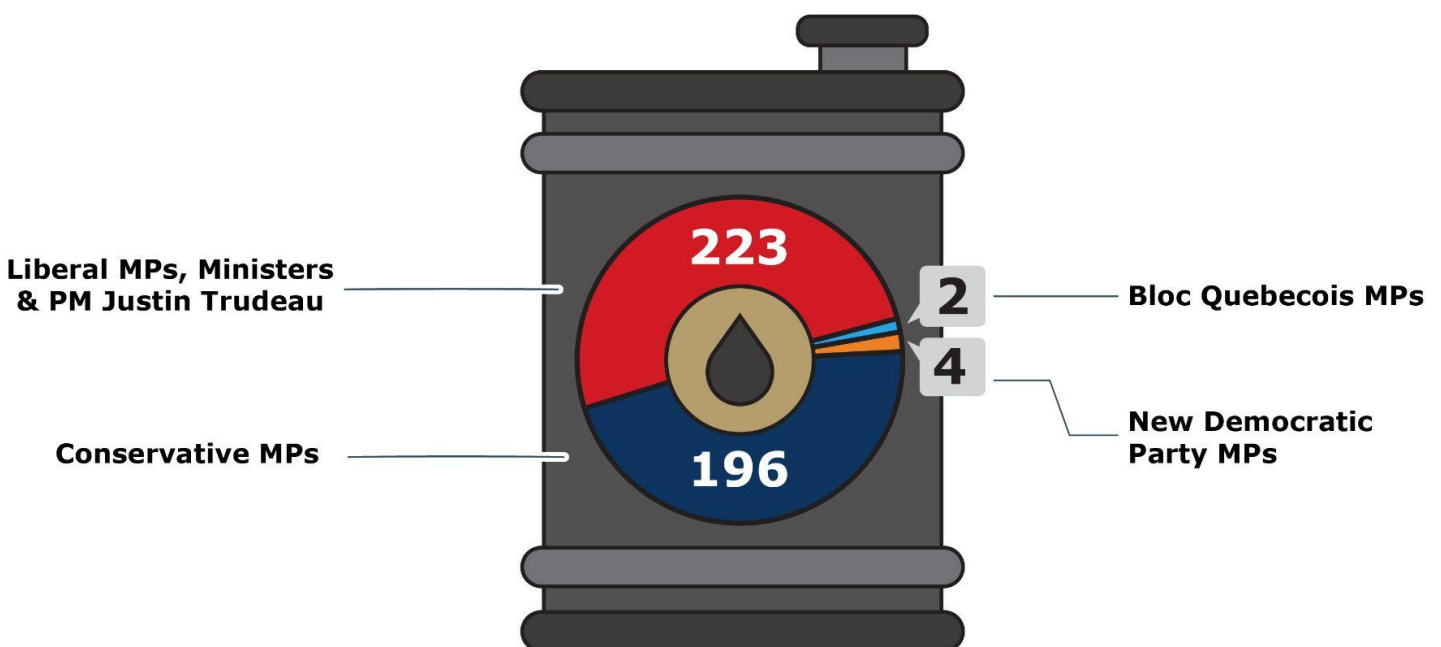
Forty-two Liberal MPs, excluding Ministers, **met with fossil fuel lobbyists 139 times**. When including the 16 Ministers who also participated in lobby meetings, and one meeting attended by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, **that number rises to 223**. As the sitting government, it is expected that they would be the primary target for lobbying.

52 Conservative MPs **met with fossil fuel lobbyists a total of 196 times**.

4 NDP MPs **each met once with fossil fuel lobbyists**.

2 Bloc Quebecois MPs **each met once with fossil fuel lobbyists**.

Number of lobby meetings in 2023

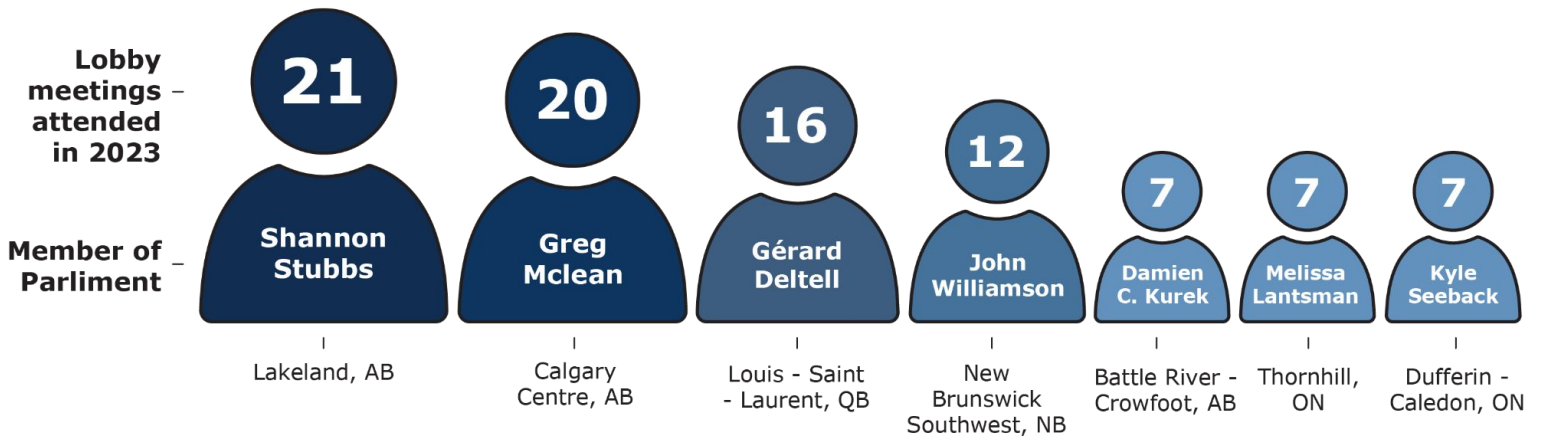


# Number of Meetings by Registered Lobbyist

● **Table 6. 5 Liberal Party MPs Most Lobbied by Big Oil** (not including Ministers)



● **Table 7. 5 Conservative Party MPs Most Lobbied by Big Oil**

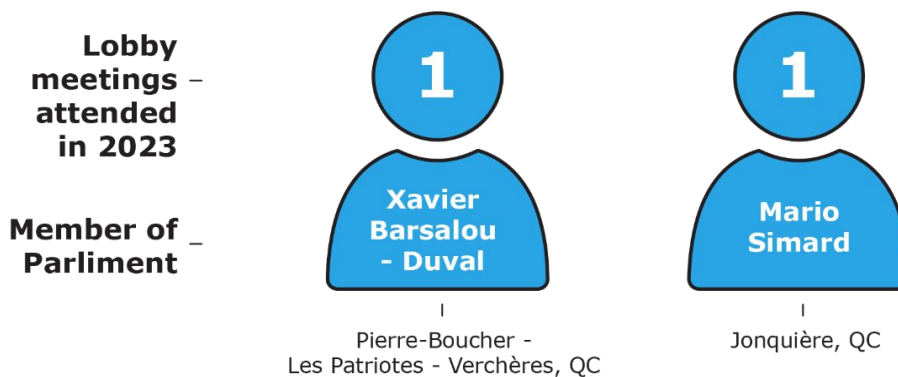


# Number of Meetings by Registered Lobbyist

● **Table 8.** All New Democratic Party Lobbied by Big Oil



● **Table 9.** All Bloc Québécois Members Lobbied by Big Oil



For a full list of members of parliament who met with fossil fuel industry lobbyists, please see Appendix II.

# Conclusion

Oil and gas companies in Canada lobbied the federal government frequently and consistently in 2023. Fossil fuel industry associations are among the most active lobbyists, and in particular, the interests of the Pathways Alliance and its member companies were most represented. The industry's primary targets are ministries most responsible for climate and environmental regulations, and they have regular access to high-ranking public service staff.

Climate science has made it clear that we must rapidly phase out fossil fuels, which are the main driver of the climate crisis. Despite the science, oil and gas companies in Canada plan to continue increasing production. The oil and gas sector remains the largest source of greenhouse gas emissions in Canada, at 31 per cent<sup>12</sup>. While not yet committing to a comprehensive or planned phaseout of fossil fuels, the current government's policy agenda pushes the oil and gas industry to be more accountable for their pollution.

The oil and gas industry has publicly opposed many of these policy measures through direct participation in government consultations, speeches and conference panels, as well as media interviews and opinion pieces. They have supported groups that mobilize public opposition to climate policy and have lobbied to block or weaken policy ambitions. This continues their long and well-documented history of lying about climate science and obstructing climate policy.

**Given the clear history of the fossil fuel industry using political influence to delay and weaken climate policy, Environmental Defence Canada recommends that Ministers and MPs stop accepting meetings with fossil fuel industry lobbyists and increase transparency around their policy influence.**

<sup>12</sup> Environment and Climate Change Canada, "Where Canada's greenhouse gas emissions come from: 2024 National Greenhouse Gas Inventory". <https://www.canada.ca/en/environment-climate-change/news/2024/05/where-canadas-greenhouse-gas-emissions-come-from-2024-national-greenhouse-gas-inventory.html>

# Reference Data

## Appendix I: List of Oil and Gas Producing Companies and Industry Associations

1. Alberta's Industrial Heartland Association
2. BHP Canada Inc.
3. Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers
4. Canadian Gas Association
5. Canadian Natural Resources Ltd.
6. Cenovus Energy Inc.
7. ConocoPhillips Canada Resources Corp.
8. Enbridge Inc.
9. Enhance Energy Inc
10. The Explorers and Producers Association of Canada
11. ExxonMobil Canada
12. Fortis BC
13. Heartland Generation Ltd.
14. Heritage Gas Limited
15. Imperial Oil Limited
16. Inter Pipeline Ltd.
17. Irving Oil Limited
18. LNG Canada Development
19. MEG Energy
20. NorthRiver Midstream Inc.
21. Ovintiv Canada ULC
22. Parkland Corporation
23. Pathways Alliance Inc.
24. Pembina Pipeline Corporation
25. Petronas Energy Canada Ltd
26. Questerre Energy Corporation
27. Shell Canada Ltd
28. Suncor Energy Inc.
29. TC Energy Corporation
30. Tourmaline Oil Corp.
31. Woodfibre LNG

## Appendix II: Full List of Members of Parliament Lobbied by Big Oil in 2023

Riding	Member of Parliament	Party	Meetings attended
Algoma—Manitoulin—Kapusksasing, ON	Carol Hughes	NDP	1
Aurora—Oak Ridges—Richmond Hill, ON	Leah Taylor Roy	LPC	2
Banff-Airdrie, AB	Blake Richards	CPC	1
Battle River—Crowfoot, AB	Damien C. Kurek	CPC	7
Battlefords—Lloydminster, SK	Rosemarie Falk	CPC	4
Beauséjour, NB	Dominic LeBlanc	LPC	1
Bonavista—Burin—Trinity, ON	Churence Rogers	LPC	1
Brandon—Souris, MB	Larry Maguire	CPC	3
Brantford—Brant, ON	Larry Brock	CPC	1
Bruce—Grey—Owen Sound, ON	Alex Ruff	CPC	2
Burnaby North—Seymour, BC	Terry Beech	LPC	1
Calgary Centre, AB	Greg Mclean	CPC	20
Calgary Confederation, AB	Len Webber	CPC	1
Calgary Forest Lawn, AB	Jasraj Singh Hallan	CPC	3
Calgary Heritage, AB	Shuvaloy Majumdar	CPC	1
Calgary Midnapore, AB	Stephanie Kusie	CPC	1
Calgary Rocky Ridge, AB	Pat Kelly	CPC	2
Calgary Signal Hill, AB	Ron Liepert	CPC	1
Calgary Skyview, AB	George Chahal	LPC	29
Cape Breton—Canso, NS	Mike Kelloway	LPC	2
Cardigan, PEI	Lawrence MacAulay	LPC	2
Carleton, ON	Pierre Poilievre	CPC	2
Carlton Trail—Eagle Creek, SK	Kelly Block	CPC	4
Central Okanagan—Similkameen—Nicola, BC	Dan Albas	CPC	6
Chatham-Kent-Leamington, ON	Dave Epp	CPC	1
Cloverdale—Langley City, BC	John Aldag	LPC	6
Coast of Bays—Central—Notre Dame, NFL	Clifford Small	CPC	5
Cumberland—Colchester, NS	Stephen Ellis	CPC	2
Cypress Hills—Grasslands, SK	Jeremy Patzer	CPC	1

Riding	Member of Parliament	Party	Meetings attended
Dauphin—Swan River—Neepawa, MN	Dan Mazier	CPC	2
Davenport, ON	Julie Dzerowicz	LPC	1
Desnethé—Missinippi—Churchill River, SK	Gary Vidal	CPC	1
Dufferin—Caledon, ON	Kyle Seeback	CPC	8
Edmonton Centre, AB	Randy Boissonnault	LPC	11
Edmonton West, AB	Kelly McCauley	CPC	1
Edmonton—Wetaskiwin, AB	Mike Lake	CPC	1
Egmont, PEI	Robert Morrissey	LPC	2
Elgin—Middlesex—London, ON	Karen Vecchio	CPC	2
Elmwood—Transcona, MB	Daniel Blaikie	NDP	1
Etobicoke—Lakeshore, ON	James Maloney	LPC	7
Flamborough—Glanbrook, ON	Dan Muys	CPC	3
Fleetwood—Port Kells, BC	Ken Hardie	LPC	3
Foothills, AB	John Barlow	CPC	1
Fort McMurray—Cold Lake, AB	Laila Goodridge	CPC	1
Fredericton, NB	Jenica Atwin	LPC	1
Gatineau, QC	Steven MacKinnon	LPC	3
Glengarry—Prescott—Russell, ON	Francis Drouin	LPC	4
Grande Prairie—Mackenzie	Chris Warkentin	CPC	4
Haliburton—Kawartha Lakes—Brock, ON	Jamie Schmale	CPC	5
Halifax West, NS	Lena Metlege Diab	LPC	1
Hamilton Mountain, ON	Lisa Hepfner	LPC	1
Honoré-Mercier, QC	Pablo Rodriguez	LPC	1
Humber River—Black Creek, ON	Judy Sgro	LPC	1
Jonquière, QC	Mario Simard	BQ	1
Kings—Hants, NS	Kody Blois	LPC	6
Kitchener South—Hespeler, ON	Valerie Bradford	LPC	2
Lac-Saint-Louis, QC	Fancis Scarpaleggia	LPC	4
Lakeland, AB	Shannon Stubbs	CPC	22
Laurier—Sainte-Marie, QC	Steven Guilbeault	LPC	12
London North Centre, ON	Peter Fragiskatos	LPC	1
Long Range Mountains, NFL	Gudie Hutchings	LPC	1
Louis-Saint-Laurent, QB	Gérard Deltell	CPC	16

Riding	Member of Parliament	Party	Meetings attended
Markham—Thornhill, ON	Mary Ng	LPC	1
Markham—Unionville, ON	Paul Chiang	LPC	1
Medicine Hat—Cardston—Warner , AB	Glen Motz	CPC	1
Mississauga—Erin Mills, ON	Iqra Khalid	LPC	1
Mississauga—Lakeshore, ON	Charles Sousa	LPC	1
Napean, ON	Chandra Arya	LPC	1
New Brunswick Southwest, NB	John Williamson	CPC	12
Niagara Centre, ON	Vance Badeway	LPC	1
North Van, BC	Jonathan Wilkinson	LPC	34
Northumberland—Peterborough South, ON	Philip Lawrence	CPC	2
Oakville North Burlington, ON	Pam Damoff	LPC	1
Oakville, ON	Anita Anand	LPC	1
Oshawa, ON	Colin Carrie	CPC	2
Ottawa Centre, ON	Yasir Naqvi	LPC	1
Outremont, QB	Rachel Bendayan	LPC	2
Papineau, QC	Justin Trudeau	LPC	1
Peace River—Westlock, AB	Arnold Viersen	CPC	2
Pierre-Boucher—Les Patriotes—Verchères, QC	Xavier Barsalou-Duval	BQ	1
Prince Albert, SK	Randy Hoback	CPC	3
Prince George—Peace River—Northern Rockies, BC	Bob Zimmer	CPC	5
Provencher, MB	Ted Falk	CPC	2
Red Deer—Mountain View, AB	Earl Dreeshen	CPC	4
Regina—Qu'Appelle, SK	Andrew Scheer	CPC	5
Regina—Wascana, SK	Michael Kram	CPC	2
Richmond Hill, ON	Majid Jowhari	LPC	1
Saint Boniface—Saint Vital, MB	Dan Vandal	LPC	3
Saint John—Rothesay, NB	Wayne Long	LPC	4
Saint-Maurice—Champlain, QC	François-Philippe Champagne	LPC	4
Sarnia—Lambton, ON	Marilyn Gladu	CPC	1
Saskatoon, SK	Corey Tochor	CPC	1
Scarborough Southwest, ON	Bill Blair	LPC	1
Scarborough—Guildwood, ON	John McKay	LPC	4
Scarborough—Rouge Park, ON	Gary Anandasangaree	LPC	1

Riding	Member of Parliament	Party	Meetings attended
Skeena—Bulkley Valley, BC	Taylor Bachrach	NDP	1
Souris—Moose Mountain, SK	Robert Kitchen	CPC	1
South Shore—St. Margarets, NS	Rick Perkins	CPC	7
St. John's East, NFL	Joanne Thompson	LPC	2
St. John's South—Mount Pearl, NFL	Seamus O'Regan	LPC	8
Steveston—Richmond East, BC	Parm Bains	LPC	4
Sturgeon River—Parkland, AB	Dane Lloyd	CPC	3
Sudbury, ON	Vivian Lapointe	LPC	1
Surrey Centre, BC	Randeep Sarai	LPC	4
Thornhill, ON	Melissa Lantsman	CPC	7
Timmins—James Bay, ON	Charlie Angus	NDP	1
Tobique—Mactaquac, NB	Richard Bragdon	CPC	1
Toronto—Danforth, ON	Julie Dabrusin	LPC	4
University—Rosedale, ON	Chrystia Freeland	LPC	8
Vancouver Granville, BC	Taleeb Noormohamed	LPC	2
Vaughan—Woodbridge, ON	Francesco Sorbara	LPC	11
Ville-Marie—Le Sud-Ouest—Île-des-Soeurs, QC	Marc Miller	LPC	3
Vimy, QC	Annie Koutrakis	LPC	1
West Vancouver – Sunshine Coast – Sea to Sky Country, BC	Patrick Weiler	LPC	2
Windsor, ON	Irek Kusmierczyk	LPC	1
Winnipeg South, MB	Terry Duguid	LPC	11
Yellowhead, AB	Gerald Soroka	CPC	1
York South—Weston, ON	Ahmed Hussen	LPC	1

## Appendix III: Deputy Ministers 2023 Lobbying Chart

Deputy Ministers	Department	Number of Lobby meetings
John Hannaford	NRCan	14
Chris Forbes	Finance	12
Michael Vandergrift	NRCan	12
Nick Leswick	Finance	8
Simon Kennedy	ISED	7
Jean-François Tremblay	ECCE	4
Tushara Williams	PCO/ Intergovernmental Affairs	4
Arun Thangaraj	Transport Canada	3
Michael Sabia	Finance	3
Rob Stewart	International Trade	3
Kelly Gillis	Infrastructure Canada (INFC)	2
Catherine Blewett	ISED	2
Sandra Hassan	Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC)	1
Daniel Quan-Watson	Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada (CIRNAC)	1