

Citizenship and Health

What role can citizenship play in the social determinants of health?

Anjum Sultana

Wellesley Institute works in research and policy to improve health and health equity in the GTA through action on the social determinants of health.

Acknowledgments

The author would like to extend a special thank you to Lauren Bates, Rebecca Cheff, Brenda Roche and Jo Snyder for their helpful feedback and useful guidance throughout the development and writing process.

Statement on Acknowledgement of Traditional Land

We would like to acknowledge this sacred land on which the Wellesley Institute operates. It has been a site of human activity for 15,000 years. This land is the territory of the Huron-Wendat and Petun First Nations, the Seneca, and most recently, the Mississaugas of the Credit River. The territory was the subject of the Dish With One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant, an agreement between the Iroquois Confederacy and Confederacy of the Ojibwe and allied nations to peaceably share and care for the resources around the Great Lakes.

Today, the meeting place of Toronto is still the home to many Indigenous people from across Turtle Island and we are grateful to have the opportunity to work in the community, on this territory.

Revised by the Elders Circle (Council of Aboriginal Initiatives) on November 6, 2014

Citizenship and Health | Think Piece

© Wellesley Institute 2017

Copies of this report can be downloaded from www.wellesleyinstitute.com.

10 Alcorn Ave, Suite 300
Toronto, ON, Canada M4V 3B2
416.972.1010
contact@wellesleyinstitute.com



Introduction

In 2017, the Canadian government announced that to stay globally competitive and to ensure stable population growth, it would aim to accept approximately 300,000 permanent residents, and that this target of 300,000 would become the new baseline.^{1,2} With such high rates of immigration, the Canadian government and local institutions have been keenly interested in ensuring that newcomers are able to thrive, succeed, and integrate into Canadian society. While there are many competing factors to ensuring one can thrive upon immigrating to a new country, one of the ways to promote newcomer integration is through the acquisition of citizenship.³

Becoming a citizen allows a person greater access to resources and opportunities that can lead to improved economic and social inclusion in society.⁴ But citizenship might also be good for health and health equity. Research shows that becoming a citizen has important economic and social benefits that could result in positive health outcomes for individuals and society.⁵ These positive health outcomes are at play through a few key social determinants of health. They work through income, employment and working conditions, because the majority of immigrants to Canada are economic class immigrants.⁶ And they also work through social inclusion and cohesion, because once here, community connections, language, accessible services, discrimination, racism and other factors all play into whether someone can maintain good health and thrive.^{7,8,9}

What role then, does citizenship play in the social determinants of health? We don't have all the evidence about the relationship between citizenship and health. While there is some evidence that citizens do better, we do not yet know why.

The first question to determine this is, how could the process and requirements for becoming a citizen in Canada benefit or create a barrier to good health via the social determinants of health? The second question is, what are the benefits of becoming a citizen and of citizenship? Increased access to citizenship could be linked to good health. But in order to fully understand this connection, further research is required.

Processes and Requirements for Canadian Citizenship

Before applying for citizenship, several criteria must be met to qualify for the application process, which are outlined in full in Section 5 of the *Citizenship Act*.¹ Table 1 below shows the eligibility requirements to apply for citizenship.

1 To read the Citizenship Act in full, the legislation can be viewed here: <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-29/>

Table 1: Eligibility Requirements to Apply for Citizenship

| Requirement | Brief Description |
|---|---|
| Permanent Residency | To apply for citizenship, all applicants must be permanent residents and have fulfilled all requirements as outlined in the <i>Immigration and Refugee Act</i> . |
| Residency Requirements | The applicant must have been physically present in Canada for at least 1460 days (4 years) in the 6 years immediately before applying. In addition, in each of the four years, they must have been in Canada for at least 183 days. |
| Income Taxes | All applicants must have filed income tax returns for at least 4 of the 6 years |
| Intention to Reside in Canada | Applicants must have an intention to reside in Canada, even after naturalization. |
| Demonstrate Proficiency in the Official Languages of Canada | If under the age of 65, applicants must demonstrate adequate knowledge of English or French. |
| User Fees | the <i>citizenship application processing</i> fee of \$530 dollars and the ‘ <i>grant of citizenship</i> ’ fee of \$100 dollars. |
| Citizenship Test | If under the age of 65, applicants must demonstrate adequate knowledge in either English or French, of Canada and the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship |
| Citizenship Ceremony | All applicants attend a citizenship ceremony where they recite and sign the oath of citizenship, at which point they become citizens. |

To be eligible for Canadian citizenship, applicants must be physically present in Canada for a minimum number of days before applying.¹⁰ Having residency requirements may in part contribute to improved health for naturalized citizens because increasing the length of stay in Canada has been linked to having a stronger sense of belonging.¹¹

There has been little research on how Canadian citizenship processes and requirements may help or hinder economic and social inclusion, and ultimately, the health of citizens. Given that the requirements are significant and complex, and have undergone substantial legislative amendments, it would be beneficial to develop a stronger evidence base on which to found public policy.¹²

The Benefits of Citizenship

Income, employment and working conditions

International and Canadian evidence shows that naturalized citizens, immigrants who have gone through the process to acquire citizenship, experience economic advantages in the form of a “citizenship premium.”¹³ Naturalized citizens have higher rates of employment,

earnings and higher status occupations compared to non-naturalized immigrants.¹⁴ Income, employment and working conditions are all key determinants of health.¹⁵

The economic advantage of citizenship results in improved earnings, higher status occupations and lower rates of unemployment.^{16,17} For example, in Sweden, naturalized male immigrants had on average higher earnings than non-naturalized males.¹⁸ There was a positive association between citizenship status and employment too, where citizens had higher rates of employment.¹⁹ Similar findings were also seen in the Canadian context. Based on the 2001 census, researchers DeVoretz and Pivnenko found that the wage gap between immigrants with and without citizenship compared to Canadian-born residents was 12.6 percent and 14.4 percent respectively.²⁰

Naturalization also enhances the economic prosperity of a nation and the capacity of government. In a study focusing on 21 cities across the United States, it predicted that if all eligible residents became citizens, federal, state and city tax revenues would increase by \$2.03 billion.²¹ The study also found that public expenditures for services and benefits would decrease significantly when there was increased naturalization, because of reduced need and inequality. For example, in New York City, tax revenue would rise to \$789 million dollars while public benefit costs would shrink by \$34 million dollars, leaving a net benefit of \$823 million dollars.²²

Various elements in the process of citizenship application as well as the entitlements of citizenship may contribute to enhanced economic inclusion due to investments in human capital. For example, having proficiency in English and/or French can promote greater employment and participation. The ability to apply for a Canadian passport may also facilitate improved labour market participation because of greater ease of movement globally for business travel purposes.²³

Civic participation and engagement

Citizenship itself has very practical benefits in terms of civic engagement and participation. As citizens, Canadians can vote, serve on a jury and run for political office.²⁴ There is a growing understanding that civic participation is connected to improved health.^{25,26} Voting in particular has been linked to better self-reported health.²⁷ The importance of voting on health has been highlighted also by the Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW), which included democratic engagement as one of eight domains of life that contribute to one's health and well-being. The CIW defines democratic engagement as when "citizens participate in political activities, express political views, and foster political knowledge; governments build relationships, trust, shared responsibility and participation opportunities with citizens; and democratic values are sustained by citizens, government and civil society at a local, national and global level."²⁸ This definition illustrates that voting is just one aspect of democratic engagement and other ways to engage may also contribute to health.

Having the ability to fully engage in society, participate in community decision making, and having representatives better reflect their constituents is good for both social inclusion and social cohesion in society.²⁹ As naturalized citizens become more familiar with Canada and engage civically, they may also engage politically by joining a political party or running for elected office. This has the potential to increase the diversity in the pool of political candidates as well as political representatives overall. Research shows when a society's representatives are more reflective of their constituents, the electorate perceives governments as more caring and this promotes greater trust in the system.³⁰ When there is greater trust in a society, this can facilitate greater social cohesion.³¹ Increased political representation of diverse groups may also help to promote population health by the distribution of resources and opportunities to marginalized communities. A recent study based on the United States found that states with greater gender inequality in political representation had higher rates of infant mortality.³²

The citizenship process itself may even have a positive impact on civic participation and engagement. For example, the citizenship test which most must pass in order to become citizens is intended to promote greater understanding of civic institutions and responsibilities.³³ Research shows that civic knowledge significantly influences political participation.³⁴ It is therefore possible that increased understanding of Canadian institutions associated with the citizenship test may promote civic engagement.

The citizenship ceremony, at which the oath of citizenship is recited and signed, and citizenship is officially granted, is a significant symbolic moment of commitment and inclusion in Canadian society. Commitment to Canada, together with residence, has been correlated with a greater sense of belonging.³⁵ The symbolic aspects of the citizenship ceremony therefore may also have a positive impact on social inclusion.

There is Canadian research that shows that longer residency is associated with a greater sense of belonging for immigrants.³⁶ The residency requirements associated with citizenship may therefore be connected with a greater sense of commitment to and inclusion in Canadian society. There has been a significant and consistent association between sense of belonging, social ties and improved health outcomes, particularly for mental health.^{37,38}

Ultimately, access to citizenship may promote health and health equity by improving the access to and the distribution of the social determinants of health, such as income, employment, and civic participation and engagement. Given the positive outcomes tied to citizenship, especially as it relates to social and economic inclusion, it is important to address any barriers that may prevent one from acquiring citizenship.

Understanding and Addressing Barriers to Citizenship

If ultimately citizenship may have a positive effect, not just on social and economic inclusion, but also on health, it is important to ensure that citizenship is both accessible and widespread.

Canada has had relatively high rates of naturalization, with over 85 percent of eligible immigrants attaining citizenship.³⁹ Fellow immigrant receiving nations such as Australia and the United States have lower naturalization rates of 74 percent and 44 percent respectively.⁴⁰ However, Canadian rates have not been stable. While 93.3 percent of immigrants who came to Canada before 1971 became citizens, the rate dropped to 77.2 percent for immigrants who came between 2001-2005.⁴¹ Looking at data from 2011, of the 6,042,200 foreign-born people in Canada eligible for citizenship, 14.4 percent of the group did not have citizenship.⁴² This means that there are at least 870,000 people that may be eligible to, but did not, become citizens.

Many factors can affect naturalization rates. They may be influenced by broader migration trends such as the number of permanent residents accepted into a country per year, as well as an immigrant's time since migration. The rates of naturalization may also be affected by citizenship application requirements and fees. For example, lengthy residency requirements, the need to file income taxes, and language proficiency requirements may pose barriers to eligible immigrants.⁴³

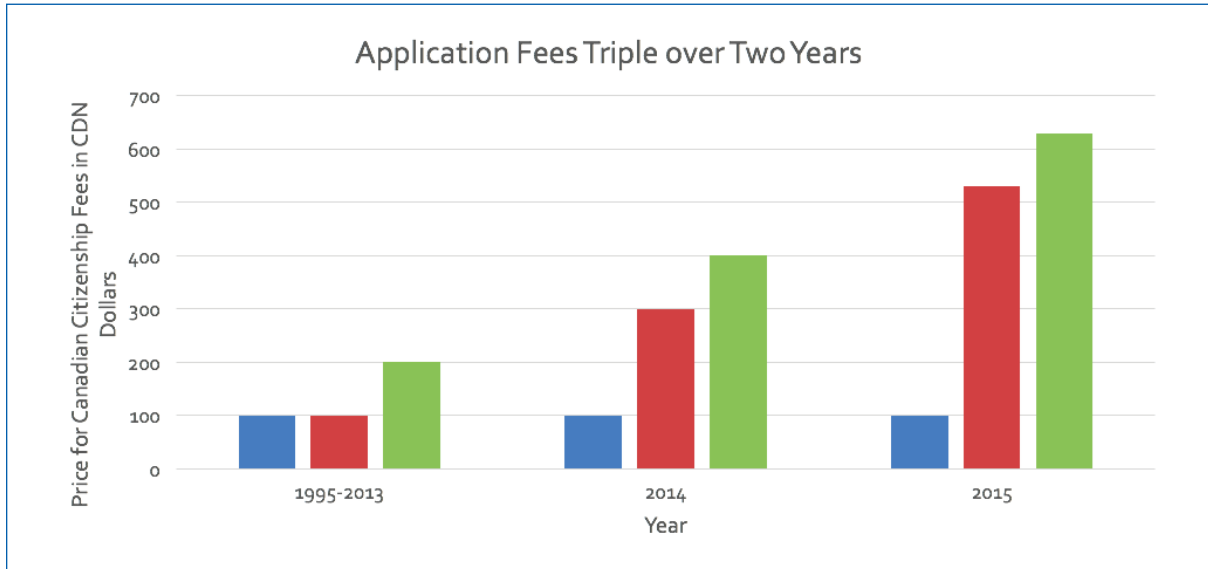
Rising Citizenship Fees

Rising fees for Canadian citizenship is a potential barrier to newcomers submitting applications. Between 2014-2015, through a two-step process, the fee for applying for citizenship increased from \$200 dollars to \$630 dollars per person.⁴⁴ This total includes both the application processing fee and the grant of citizenship fee. This can be a prohibitive cost for people applying for citizenship.⁴⁵ For example, if a family of four adults applied for citizenship now, the cost would be \$2,520. Prior to 2014, for the same family, it would have cost \$800 dollars.

As fees for citizenship increased, there has been a noticeable decline in the number of citizenship applications. Before 2014, the Canadian government received on average, approximately 200,000 applications per year.⁴⁶ Since the change in fees, applications have dropped dramatically. In 2015, only 130,117 applications were received.⁴⁷ In 2016, only 92,000 applications were received.⁴⁸ These trends suggest that the recent increase of the citizenship application processing fee may be a financial barrier to applying. It may be what is contributing to the recent reduction in the number of citizenship applications being submitted as research has indicated that rates of naturalization are sensitive to price.⁴⁹

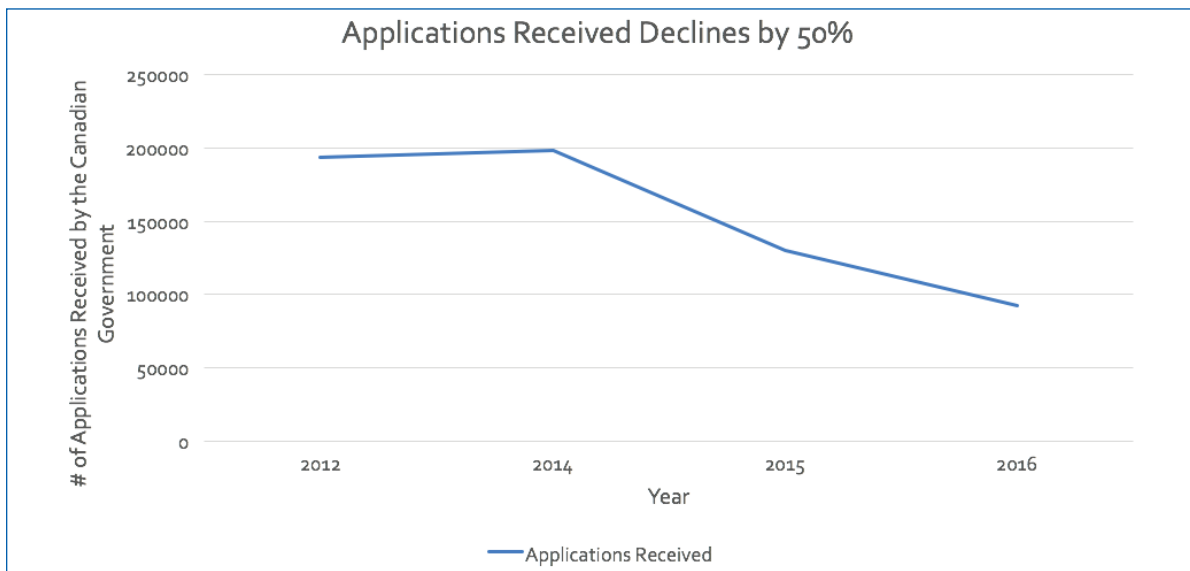
Graph 1 outlines the changes in fees for adult citizenship applications. Graph 2 illustrates the change over time of applications submitted.

Graph 1: Increasing user fees for citizenship applications.



Source: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/notices/2014-12-31.asp>

Graph 2: Decreasing Canadian citizenship applications.



Source: https://sencanada.ca/content/sen/committee/421/NFFN/Briefs/C-44__Brief_e.pdf

Areas of Future Research

There are several areas of research that would be important to investigate to better understand how the application process and the entitlements of citizenship impact health and health equity.

First, international evidence, which also aligns with Canadian research, shows that naturalized citizens, in comparison to non-citizen peers, experience an economic “citizenship premium” whereby they have higher rates of income, employment and higher status occupations.^{52,53} It has been difficult to understand what is the specific mechanism that is producing these favorable outcomes. In Europe, it is hypothesized that mechanisms such as “employer signaling” may be responsible.⁵⁴ It is thought that being a naturalized citizen makes a prospective employee more attractive to an employer because of perceived higher levels of commitment to the host nation, as well as potential ease of mobility to travel for businesses purposes.⁵⁵ However, this may not be applicable for a Canadian context. In Canada, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms² as well as the Ontario Human Rights Code,³ prohibits discrimination due to citizenship. As such, it would be difficult for employers to ascertain a prospective employee’s citizenship status. Therefore, it would be useful to understand what exactly the mechanism is that results in a “citizenship premium” within a Canadian context, which has a different landscape of labor and employment laws in comparison to Europe.

Second, Canada has a different set of requirements for naturalization in comparison to its European counterparts. It has a robust set of immigration policies that aggressively recruit immigrants to Canada through several different immigration pathways. As such, it would be interesting to understand the experiences of naturalization and their potential impact on health across a range of different immigration categories. Furthermore, people immigrate to Canada and become naturalized citizens at different ages. It would be helpful to better understand the differential impact of naturalization on health and health equity throughout the life course.

It is crucial for equity interventions to understand which requirements of citizenship are health promoting and which requirements are more likely to self-select applicants who are healthier to begin with. For example, the *Citizenship Act* has included a new requirement whereby applicants must have filed a set number of tax returns to apply for citizenship. Doing one’s income taxes requires a certain level of knowledge and savvy as well as economic and social resources. Newcomers have been noted as a group experiencing barriers to filing taxes.⁵⁶ This may apply to other aspects of the citizenship application process as well so it will

2 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Retrieved from: <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/Const/page-15.html>

3 Ontario Human Rights Code. Retrieved from: <http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/ontario-human-rights-code>

be important to investigate and examine each step to better understand which components are likely to contribute to improving health outcomes.

Conclusion

This paper has raised questions about how both the process of becoming a citizen as well as the entitlements one receives could have a potential impact on health and health equity. Acquiring citizenship can enable one to have greater access to the health via the social determinants of health leading to economic and social inclusion.

Becoming a citizen has the potential to promote economic and social inclusion by fostering opportunities to participate and engage in society in more meaningful ways. It can improve one's sense of belonging and enhance the feeling of being socially included in the fabric of society. Access to citizenship can be a potential site of intervention to promote health and health equity.

This paper has outlined some of the barriers that may exist in accessing citizenship. However, a significant proportion of the evidence has been based on the experiences of applicants in jurisdictions outside of Canada. It would be helpful to have research conducted in Canada to better understand how the requirements and process of citizenship may or may not contribute to reduced rates of citizenship applications and naturalization in our country.

Endnotes

1 Government of Canada. (2016). "Backgrounder – Key Highlights 2017 Immigration Levels Plan." Retrieved from: <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=1145319>

2 Government of Canada. (2016). "Notice – Supplementary Information 2017 – Immigration Levels Plan." Retrieved from: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/notices/2016-10-31.asp>

3 Winnemore, L. (2005). Federal Settlement and Integration Programs and Civic Participation in Canada. Canadian Issues, Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database, p. 49 - 51.

4 Pastor, M., & Scoggins, J. (2012). Citizen Gain: The Economic Benefits of Naturalization for Immigrants and the Economy. Centre for the Study of Immigrant Integration. Retrieved from: http://dornsife.usc.edu/assets/sites/731/docs/citizen_gain_web.pdf

5 Sumption, M., & Flamm, S. (2012). The Economic Value of Citizenship for Immigrants in the United States. Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved from: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/economic-value-citizenship>

6 Ibid.

- 7 Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology 2013, *In from the Margins, Part II: Reducing the barriers to social inclusion and social cohesion*, Senate, Ottawa, ON.
- 8 Mikkonen, J & Raphael, D 2011, *Social Determinants of Health: The Canadian Facts* York University School of Health Policy and Management, Toronto, ON.
- 9 Dunn, J., & Dyck, I. (1998). *Social Determinants of Health in Canada`s Immigrant Population: Results from the National Population Health Survey*. Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis. Working Paper Series. Retrieved from: <http://mbc.metropolis.net/assets/uploads/files/wp/1998/WP98-20.pdf>
- 10 Government of Canada. (2016). "Find out if you are eligible: Citizenship" Retrieved from: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/become-eligibility.asp>
- 11 Painter, C.V. (2013). "Sense of belonging: literature review" Ministry of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship. Retrieved from: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/research/belonging.asp>
- 12 Bechard, J., & Elgersma, S. (2016). "Bill C-6: An Act to amend the Citizenship Act and to make consequential amendments to another Act." Canadian Library of Parliament. Retrieved from: <https://bdp.parl.ca/Content/LOP/LegislativeSummaries/42/1/c6-e.pdf>
- 13 Picot, G., & Hous, F. (2011). "Divergent Trends in Citizenship Rates among Immigrants in Canada and the United States." Statistics Canada. Retrieved from: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m2011338-eng.pdf>
- 14 Liebig, T., & Von Haaren, F. (2011). "Citizenship and the Socio-economic integration of Immigrants and their Children: An Overview across European Union and OECD Countries. In OECD, *Naturalization: A Passport for the Better Integration of Immigrants?*," OECD Publishing. doi: 10.1787/9789264099104-4-en. Retrieved from: http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oecd/social-issues-migration-health/naturalisation-a-passport-for-the-better-integration-of-immigrants/citizenship-and-the-socio-economic-integration-of-immigrants-and-their-children_9789264099104-4-en#.WOKrrVXyuUk
- 15 Block, S. (2010). "Work and Health – Exploring the impact of employment on health disparities." Wellesley Institute. Retrieved from: http://www.wellesleyinstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/Work_and_Health.pdf
- 16 Korteweg, A., Elrick, J., Abji, S., Garcia del Moral, P. (2014). "Final Report – Citizenship Research Synthesis 2009-2013." Retrieved from: <http://ceris.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/CERIS-Research-Synthesis-on-Citizenship.pdf>
- 17 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). (2011). "Naturalization: A Passport for the Better Integration of Immigrants?" OECD Publishing. doi: 10.1787/9789264099104-en. Retrieved from: http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oecd/social-issues-migration-health/naturalisation-a-passport-for-the-better-integration-of-immigrants_9789264099104-en#.WOKrMVXyuUk#page3
- 18 Engdahl, M. (2011). "The Impact of Naturalisation on Labour market Outcomes in Sweden, in OECD, *Naturalisation: A Passport for the Better Integration of Immigrants?* " OECD Publishing: doe:

10.1787/9789264099104-6-en. Retrieved from: http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oced/social-issues-migration-health/naturalisation-a-passport-for-the-better-integration-of-immigrants/the-impact-of-naturalisation-on-labour-market-outcomes-in-sweden_9789264099104-6-en#.WOKu6VUrKUK

19 Ibid.

20 DeVoretz, D.J., & Pivnenko, S. (2005). "The economic causes and consequences of Canadian citizenship." *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 6(4), 435-468.

21 Enchautegui, M.E., & Giannarelli, L. (2015). "The Economic Impact of Naturalization on Immigrants and Cities." Urban Institute. Retrieved from: <http://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/76241/2000549-The-Economic-Impact-of-Naturalization-on-Immigrants-and-Cities.pdf>.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (2012). "Discover Canada. The Rights and Responsibilities of Canada." Retrieved from: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/discover.pdf>

25 Blakely, T.A., Kennedy, B.P., & Kawachi, I. (2001). Socioeconomic inequality in voting participation and self-rated health. *American Journal of Public Health*, 91(1), 99-104. Retrieved from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1446487/>

26 Poortinga, W. Community resilience and health: The role of bonding, bridging, and linking aspects of social capital. *Health Place*, 18(2), 286-95. Retrieved from: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1353829211001912>

27 Kim, S., Kim, C.Y., & You, M.S. (2015). Civic Participation and Self-Rated Health: A Cross-national Multi-level Analysis Using the World Value Survey. *Journal of Preventive Medicine and Public Health*, 48(1), 18-27. Retrieved from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4322515/>

28 Canadian Index of Wellbeing. (2009). "Democratic Engagement – A Report of the Canadian Index of Wellbeing." Retrieved from: https://uwaterloo.ca/canadian-index-wellbeing/sites/ca.canadian-index-wellbeing/files/uploads/files/DemocraticEngagement_DomainReport.pdf.

29 Scott, K., Selbee, K. & Reed, P. (2006). Making Connections: Social and Civic Engagement among Canadian Immigrants. Canadian Council on Social Development. Retrieved from: <https://volunteer.ca/content/making-connections-social-and-civic-engagement-among-canadian-immigrants>

30 Van Der Meer, T. (2010). In what we trust? A multi-level study into trust in parliament as an evaluation of state characteristics. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 76, 517-536.

31 Demireva, N. (2015). "Immigration, Diversity and Social Cohesion – Briefing." The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford. Retrieved from: http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Briefing-Immigration_Diversity_and_Social_Cohesion.pdf

- 32 Homan, P. (2017). Political gender inequality and infant mortality in the United States, 1990-2012. *Social Science & Medicine*, 182, 127-135. Retrieved from: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0277953617302472>
- 33 Government of Canada. (2017). "After you apply: next steps – citizenship." Retrieved from: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/become-after.asp>
- 34 Popkin SL, Dimock MA. 2000. Knowledge, trust, and international reasoning. In *Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice, and the Bounds of Rationality*, ed. A Lupia, M McCubbins, SL Popkin, pp. 214–38. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- 35 Painter, C.V. (2013). "Sense of belonging: literature review" Ministry of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship. Retrieved from: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/research/belonging.asp>.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Glover, S., Burns, J., Butler, H., & Patton, G. (1998). "Social Environs and the Emotional Wellbeing of Young People." *Family Matters* No. 49 Australian Institute of Family Studie
- 38 Kawachi, I., & Berkman, L.F. (2001). Social Ties and Mental Health. *Journal of Urban Health*, 78(3), 458-467.
- 39 Statistics Canada. (2013a). "Obtaining Canadian Citizenship." Retrieved from: http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-010-x/99-010-x2011003_1-eng.pdf
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Canadian Council for Refugees. (2014). "Barriers to Citizenship for Newcomers to Canada." Retrieved from: <http://ccrweb.ca/sites/ccrweb.ca/files/barriers-citizenshipen.pdf>
- 44 Griffith, A. (2017). "C-6 Senate Hearings. Expected Impact on Naturalization Rate." Retrieved from: https://sencanada.ca/content/sen/committee/421/SOCI/Briefs/C-6_A_Griffith_e.pdf.
- 45 Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration. (2014). "Minutes from May 12, 2014." Retrieved from: <http://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/41-2/CIMM/meeting-26/evidence>
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Griffith, A. (2017). "C-6 Senate Hearings. Expected Impact on Naturalization Rate." Retrieved from: https://sencanada.ca/content/sen/committee/421/SOCI/Briefs/C-6_A_Griffith_e.pdf.

- 49 Pastor, M., Sancez, J., Ortiz, R., & Scoggins, J. (2013). "Nurturing Naturalization: Could Lowering the Fee Help? Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration and the National Partnership for New Americans." Retrieved from: <http://csii.usc.edu/NurturingNaturalization.html>.
- 52 Sumption, M., & Flamm, S. (2012). "The Economic Value of Citizenship for Immigrants in the United States." Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved from: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/economic-value-citizenship>
- 53 Bevelander, P. & DeVoretz, D.J. (2015). "The Economic Case for a Clear, Quick Pathway to Citizenship. American Progress. Retrieved from: <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/immigration/reports/2014/01/27/82889/the-economic-case-for-a-clear-quick-pathway-to-citizenship/>
- 54 Gathmann, C. (2015). "Naturalization and Citizenship: Who Benefits?" IZA World of Labour. Retrieved from: <https://wol.iza.org/uploads/articles/125/pdfs/naturalization-and-citizenship-who-benefits.pdf>
- 55 Steinhardt, M.F. (2008). "Does citizenship matter? The economic impact of naturalizations in Germany." HWWI Research Paper, No. 3-13. Retrieved from: <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/48189/1/664193455.pdf>
- 56 Bajwa, U. (2015). "Accessing income-boosting benefits through tax filing – 2015 ABLE Financial Empowerment Conference." Retrieved from: <http://prospercanada.org/getattachment/ea6b571e-861e-4977-95cd-ba799bfbf12d/Accessing-Income-Boosting-Benefits-through-Tax-Fil.aspx>