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CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP: PRACTICE AND POLICY

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Canadian Citizenship: Practice and Policy
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Canadian citizenship can be obtained through birth on Canadian soil, by descent through birth or adoption outside of Canada to a Canadian citizen, or through naturalization (the process by which citizenship is obtained by a foreign national). Requirements related to citizenship are laid out in the *Citizenship Act*, as well as in the *Citizenship Regulations* and *Citizenship Regulations, No. 2*.

Responsibility for implementing the *Citizenship Act* lies with the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, who is supported by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) in managing the citizenship application process. The Citizenship Commission – an administrative body under IRCC that is made up of citizenship judges – also plays an important role, with duties including assessing citizenship applications to ensure they meet certain requirements under the Act and administering the Oath or Affirmation of Citizenship.

To become a Canadian citizen through naturalization, an individual must first obtain permanent residency in Canada and then apply for citizenship after meeting residency and other requirements. Applicants between 18 and 54 years of age must also complete a written test based on the official citizenship study guide (*Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship*) and attend an interview to test their abilities in English or French and to discuss their application. Successful applicants attend a citizenship ceremony and take the Oath or Affirmation of Citizenship, through which they swear or affirm their allegiance to the King of Canada.

Loss of citizenship can occur if it is revoked (for example, due to citizenship being acquired or retained through false representation) or it can be renounced voluntarily (for example, if an individual chooses to become a citizen of a country that does not allow dual citizenship).

Several issues are currently at the forefront of discourse on citizenship policy. For example, census data show that the rate of citizenship among recent immigrants to Canada declined between 2006 and 2021. The citizenship rate varies for different groups, with contributing factors including income level, education level and country of origin.

Another key issue is that of “lost Canadians,” which refers to individuals who were born before the 1977 *Citizenship Act* came into force and who should have been Canadian citizens under that Act but were deprived of Canadian citizenship because of outdated or obsolete provisions in the *Canadian Citizenship Act* of 1947. Many of the problems associated with “lost Canadians” have been addressed through

amendments made to the *Citizenship Act* since 1977. Those whose cases are not covered by legislative amendments may be granted citizenship on a case-by-case basis at the minister’s discretion. Following a December 2023 Ontario court ruling, the federal government introduced Bill C-71, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act, to address “lost Canadians” issues that remain following previous legislative amendments. This bill died on the *Order Paper* on 6 January 2025 when the 1st session of the 44th Parliament was prorogued, but the Court’s order is scheduled to come into effect on 19 March 2025.

Finally, the concept of birth tourism refers to the practice by foreign nationals of coming to Canada to give birth for the sole purpose of securing Canadian citizenship for their child. While data suggest an increase in non-resident births in the past two decades, it is difficult to determine how many non-resident births are cases of birth tourism. A federal initiative linking health and immigration data has shed further light on the topic.

CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP: PRACTICE AND POLICY

1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of Canadian citizenship was first enshrined in law with the introduction of the *Canadian Citizenship Act* in 1947.¹ Whereas all Canadians were previously considered British subjects, the 1947 Act created a new legal standing that reflected a growing sense of national identity and independent nationhood, which had been influenced in part by the significant contributions of Canadians during the Second World War. Three decades later, a new *Citizenship Act*² came into force on 15 February 1977, replacing the *Canadian Citizenship Act* “with a more equitable statute.”³ Since then, further amendments to the *Citizenship Act* have reflected evolving ideas about Canadian citizenship.⁴

Today, Canadian citizenship can be obtained either through birth on Canadian soil, by descent through birth or adoption outside of Canada to a Canadian citizen, or through naturalization (the process by which citizenship is obtained by a foreign national).⁵ All Canadian citizens are entitled to the same rights and are subject to the same laws and duties.⁶ In addition, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* affords every Canadian citizen the right to enter, remain in and leave the country.⁷

This HillStudy provides an overview of the key institutions and instruments that govern citizenship in Canada and describes the process for obtaining citizenship. It also reviews several policy issues pertaining to Canadian citizenship, including citizenship rates, loss of citizenship and birth on Canadian soil to foreign nationals.

2 KEY INSTITUTIONS AND INSTRUMENTS

While immigration is an area of shared federal and provincial jurisdiction under section 95 of the *Constitution Act, 1867*,⁸ responsibility for citizenship lies with the federal government. Implementation of the *Citizenship Act* is currently the responsibility of the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship.⁹ Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) manages the citizenship application process.¹⁰ The Citizenship Instrument of Delegation allows some IRCC employees to carry out duties on behalf of the minister, such as granting citizenship to those who meet the requirements or revoking citizenship from those who have obtained, retained, or resumed their citizenship through false representation.¹¹

The Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness, while not sharing responsibility for the *Citizenship Act*, plays a role in the revocation of citizenship and in the investigation of applicants who may be involved in certain criminal activity or activity that constitutes a threat to Canada’s security.¹²

2.1 LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The *Citizenship Act* and its associated regulations establish the legal framework relating to citizenship, including:

- the right to citizenship;
- the loss of citizenship;
- the resumption of citizenship;
- evidence of citizenship;
- procedures for the processing of applications;
- judicial review of the decision of a citizenship judge;
- administration of the Act;
- offences; and
- the status of persons in Canada.

The *Citizenship Act* also includes the text of the Oath or Affirmation of Citizenship, a solemn declaration through which applicants swear or affirm their allegiance to the King of Canada.

Sections 27(1) to 27.2 of the *Citizenship Act* set out the authority of the Governor in Council and of the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship to make regulations in relation to the Act. Regulations associated with the *Citizenship Act* include the *Citizenship Regulations*, published in 1993, and the *Citizenship Regulations, No. 2*, published in 2014 to support new measures implemented by Bill C-24, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act and to make consequential amendments to other Acts.¹³

As an example of the rules and procedures stipulated in the regulations, section 15 of the *Citizenship Regulations* lays out the specific criteria citizenship applicants must meet with regard to their knowledge of Canada and their responsibilities and privileges as citizens.¹⁴ Another example can be found in section 19 of the *Citizenship Regulations, No. 2*, which designates the Immigration Consultants of Canada Regulatory Council as a “body whose members in good standing may represent or advise a person for consideration – or offer to do so – in connection with a proceeding or application under the Act.”¹⁵

2.2 POLICIES, PROCEDURES AND OPERATIONAL GUIDELINES

Policies, procedures and guidelines related to immigration and citizenship are further outlined in program delivery instructions, operational manuals and operational bulletins. While not legally binding, these documents provide important guidance to the

IRCC employees responsible for implementing the *Citizenship Act* (which include certain members of senior management, citizenship officers, and immigration officers at missions abroad).¹⁶

2.3 CITIZENSHIP COMMISSION

The Citizenship Commission is an administrative body under IRCC made up of citizenship judges appointed by the Governor in Council. The commission is responsible for assessing citizenship applications referred to it to ensure they meet the *Citizenship Act*'s requirements relating to residence and physical presence; administering the Oath or Affirmation of Citizenship and emphasizing the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship; maintaining the integrity of the citizenship process; and promoting citizenship in communities.¹⁷

3 CITIZENSHIP PROCESS

In addition to those who are born into citizenship, the *Citizenship Act* provides that a person is a citizen if that person has been granted or acquired citizenship and has taken the Oath of Citizenship.¹⁸ This process is known as naturalization, which is set out in section 5(1) of the *Citizenship Act*.

3.1 APPLYING FOR CITIZENSHIP

Under the *Citizenship Act*, permanent residents are eligible to apply for citizenship if they have been physically present in Canada for at least 1,095 days (equivalent to three years) over the past five years.¹⁹ They must also have filed income tax returns for at least three years during the past five years.²⁰ Further, they must not be under a removal order or the subject of security concerns as declared by the Governor in Council.²¹ If between the ages of 18 and 54, citizenship applicants must submit proof of adequate knowledge of English or French (such as the results of an IRCC-approved third-party test) along with their application.²² Applicants must also pay application fees as found in the schedule of the *Citizenship Regulations*.²³

3.2 CITIZENSHIP FEES

In 2019, the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship was tasked with “[bringing] forward a plan to eliminate fees for citizenship for those who have fulfilled the requirements needed to obtain it.”²⁴ This mandate was renewed in 2021.²⁵ Currently, under section 31(1) of the *Citizenship Regulations*, there are five categories of citizenship application requiring application fees: grant of citizenship, renunciation of citizenship, resumption of citizenship, certificate of citizenship and search of records. These are set out in the schedule to the regulations. As seen in Table 1, the application fees differ between a minor child and a person who is 18 years of age or older.

Table 1 – Citizenship Fees

| Item | Application | Payable to | Fee (\$) |
|------|---|---|----------|
| 1 | Application for grant of citizenship with respect to a minor child under section 2 of the Regulations | Department of Citizenship and Immigration | 100 |
| 1.1 | Application for grant of citizenship by a person who is 18 years of age or older under section 2 of the Regulations | Department of Citizenship and Immigration | 530 |
| 1.2 | Application for grant of citizenship under section 6, 7 or 9 of the Regulations | Department of Citizenship and Immigration | 530 |
| 2 | Application for grant of citizenship under section 4, 5 or 8 of the Regulations | Department of Citizenship and Immigration | 100 |
| 3 | Application for renunciation of citizenship under section 10 of the Regulations | Department of Citizenship and Immigration | 100 |
| 4 | Application for resumption of citizenship by a minor child under section 12 of the Regulations | Department of Citizenship and Immigration | 100 |
| 5 | Application for resumption of citizenship by a person who is 18 years of age or older under section 12 of the Regulations | Department of Citizenship and Immigration | 530 |
| 6 | Application for certificate of citizenship under section 14 of the Regulations | Department of Citizenship and Immigration | 75 |
| 7 | Application for search of records under section 18 of the Regulations | Department of Citizenship and Immigration | 75 |

Note: “Regulations” refers to [Citizenship Regulations, No. 2](#), SOR/2015-124. Note that this may not include all fees that must be paid – for example, in addition to a \$530 processing fee, a citizenship applicant aged 18 years or over is also required to pay a \$100 right of citizenship fee. See Government of Canada, “[Citizenship](#),” *Fee list*; and [Citizenship Regulations](#), SOR/93-246, s. 32.

Source: Table prepared by the Library of Parliament using information obtained from [Citizenship Regulations](#), SOR/93-246, Schedule (s. 31(1)).

From 2006 to 2014, there were two standard fees. Applications for change of citizenship status cost \$100, and applications for citizenship status documents and searches cost \$75, with no differentiation for minors or persons of age.²⁶

In February 2014, application fees increased for grants of citizenship and resumptions of citizenship for individuals 18 years of age or older. This increase introduced a fee differentiation between minors and adults. The rationale for this increase was that fees had not changed since 1995 and were not in line with the Government of Canada’s cost-recovery approach, meaning costs were not borne by those receiving the service and resulting benefits. Consequently, there was a “significant imbalance” between the cost of providing these services to applicants and the service fees paid by the applicants.²⁷

At the start of 2015, application fees increased again for grants of citizenship and resumptions of citizenship for adults.²⁸ According to the Government of Canada,

[d]espite the increase in service fees for the adult grant and resumption of citizenship in February 2014, a significant imbalance remains between the cost of providing these services to users and the service fees paid by the users. ... The Government of Canada is ... currently subsidizing the cost of providing this service by 46%.²⁹

By increasing the grant and resumption of adult citizenship application service fees from \$300 to the current fee of \$530, the Government of Canada reduced its “subsidization burden from approximately 46% to 5%,” bringing it in line with the government’s cost-recovery approach.³⁰

In 2018, the citizenship application fees were amended³¹ by aligning the fee for minors applying under section 5(1) of the *Citizenship Act* with the fee for those minors applying under section 5(2) in order to “facilitate the acquisition of citizenship for minors applying without a Canadian or permanent resident parent.”³² Under Bill C-6, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act and to make consequential amendments to another Act, which received Royal Assent in June 2017,³³ minors could now qualify for citizenship on their own behalf under section 5(1) of the *Citizenship Act*. The 2018 alignment of fees for minors was intended to ensure fairness between the types of application fees minors are charged under the regulations.

3.3 CITIZENSHIP TEST AND INTERVIEW

Citizenship applicants between the ages of 18 and 54 must prove that they have “adequate knowledge of Canada and of the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship.”³⁴ This knowledge is assessed through a written test that is taken after the citizenship application has been submitted. Test questions are developed by IRCC based on the citizenship study guide and are approved by the minister.³⁵

The current citizenship study guide – *Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship* – is provided to citizenship applicants, along with a letter acknowledging their application. It is used to study for the citizenship test. It covers such topics as the history, symbols and regions of Canada, as well as how the country’s government works.³⁶

Following the citizenship test, applicants participate in an interview in which citizenship officials provide them with their citizenship test results, test their abilities in English or French, verify their application and documents, ask questions about their application and ensure they meet all the citizenship requirements.³⁷

Individuals under 18 years of age are not required to take the test and are not usually required to attend an interview, whereas individuals aged 55 and over, who are also exempt from the test, are expected to attend an interview. However, because individuals in this age bracket are not required to have adequate knowledge of English or French, the citizenship official will not test their language abilities during the interview.³⁸

3.3.1 Amendments to the Citizenship Study Guide

In 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) published 94 calls to action based on its six-year mandate to hear and document the stories of survivors of and witnesses to the Indian residential school system.³⁹ The federal

government committed to implementing the calls to action that fell under its jurisdiction.⁴⁰ In Call to Action 93, the TRC recommended that the federal government amend the information kit for newcomers to Canada and the citizenship test “to reflect a more inclusive history of the diverse Aboriginal peoples of Canada.”⁴¹ The government is currently in the process of amending the citizenship study guide, after several consultation sessions with the Assembly of First Nations, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the Métis National Council and Indigenous historians. Amendments to the citizenship study guide will inform changes to the information kit and test.⁴²

In addition to addressing the TRC’s Call to Action 93, amendments to the citizenship study guide will focus on showcasing Canada’s diversity and commitment to official languages; describing the evolution of rights and freedoms for 2SLGBTQI+ individuals (i.e., those belonging to Two-Spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex and other sexually and gender-diverse communities), women and people with disabilities; and using language that is more accessible for individuals whose first language is not English or French.⁴³

3.4 CITIZENSHIP CEREMONY AND OATH OR AFFIRMATION OF CITIZENSHIP

The citizenship ceremony is the final step in the process of becoming a Canadian citizen. At the ceremony, new citizens take the Oath or Affirmation of Citizenship, receive their citizenship certificate, sign the “Oath or Affirmation of Citizenship” form and sing the national anthem.⁴⁴ The Oath or Affirmation of Citizenship is a solemn declaration through which applicants swear or affirm their allegiance to the King of Canada.⁴⁵

A bill introduced in the House of Commons in May 2019 proposed that the Oath or Affirmation of Citizenship be modified as follows:

I swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Queen of Canada, Her Heirs and Successors, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada, *including the Constitution, which recognizes and affirms the Aboriginal and treaty rights of First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples*, and fulfil my duties as a Canadian citizen⁴⁶ [AUTHORS’ EMPHASIS].

This version of the Oath or Affirmation of Citizenship was developed in response to the TRC’s Call to Action 94, which proposed a new version that references treaty rights.⁴⁷ It was further shaped by consultations with newcomers to Canada, the Assembly of First Nations, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and the Métis National Council.⁴⁸

The bill did not proceed past first reading in the House of Commons and died on the *Order Paper* when the 42nd Parliament was dissolved. However, it was replaced by the almost identical Bill C-8, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act (Truth and

Reconciliation Commission of Canada’s Call to Action 94), which came into force after receiving Royal Assent on 21 June 2021.⁴⁹

4 CURRENT ISSUES AND POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

The following section of the HillStudy clarifies several issues and policy considerations pertaining to Canadian citizenship that have been the subject of public debate in recent years, including the citizenship rate, loss of citizenship and birth on Canadian soil to foreign nationals.

4.1 CITIZENSHIP RATE

The most recent census, held in May 2021, enumerated 36.9 million individuals residing in Canada.⁵⁰ Of these, there were 33 million Canadian citizens, 16.8% – about 6.1 million – of whom were naturalized citizens.⁵¹ While the number of citizens by birth and by naturalization has grown over the past decade, as shown in Table 2, the rate at which eligible immigrants obtain citizenship, also known as the naturalization rate or citizenship rate, declined between 2006 and 2016. This decline can be explained by citizenship determinants, such as socio-demographic characteristics, and policy changes.

This trend continued in 2021, even when accounting for the policy changes to the residency requirement for immigrants’ citizenship application (namely, requiring residence in Canada for three years out of the past five, updated from four),⁵² and for restrictions related to the COVID-19 pandemic.⁵³ Nevertheless, Canada’s citizenship rate is still one of the highest among Western countries.⁵⁴

Table 2 – Number of Canadian Citizens Resident in Canada, 2011, 2016 and 2021

| Year | Canadian Citizens by Birth | Canadian Citizens by Naturalization | Total Canadian Citizens |
|------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 2011 | 25,720,175 | 5,175,135 | 30,895,310 |
| 2016 | 26,412,615 | 5,621,975 | 32,034,585 |
| 2021 | 27,042,120 | 6,101,105 | 33,143,225 |

Sources: Table prepared by the Library of Parliament using data obtained from Statistics Canada, “[Citizenship \(9\), Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration \(12\), Age Groups \(10\) and Sex \(3\) for the Population in Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2011 National Household Survey](#),” 2011 National Household Survey: Data tables, Database, accessed 13 June 2024; Statistics Canada, “[Citizenship \(9\), Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration \(11A\), Age \(12\) and Sex \(3\) for the Population in Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2016 Census – 25% Sample Data](#),” Data Tables, 2016 Census, Database, accessed 13 June 2024; and Statistics Canada, “[Table 98-10-0303-01: Citizenship by visible minority and immigrant status and period of immigration: Canada, provinces and territories and federal electoral districts \(2013 Representation Order\)](#),” Database, accessed 13 June 2024.

4.1.1 Citizenship Determinants

In Canada, the citizenship rate is mostly studied through census data, which focus on the effects of individual variables, such as arrival, socio-demographic characteristics or visa category.⁵⁵ The studies cited in this section of the paper include an overview of citizenship rates between 1996 and 2021.

The number of years since immigration is “one of the most important determinants of citizenship [as] it is positively correlated with naturalization.”⁵⁶ According to 15 years of census data, the overall increase in the citizenship rate “was driven by the increase among immigrants who had been in Canada for 10 years or more.”⁵⁷

Citizenship rates are also different among immigrant status groups, which vary across socio-demographic characteristics, such as family income, education, official language ability and source country or region. For example, it was observed that in 2016 and 2021, recent immigrants⁵⁸ in the lowest family income category had a lower citizenship rate than those in the highest. In 2016, the citizenship rate was 51.5% for the lowest family income group and 66.7% for the highest income group— a difference of 15.2 percentage points. In 2021, the rates for both groups declined even further: the citizenship rate was 35.8% for the lowest family income group and 56.2% for the highest income group— a difference of 20.4 percentage points. Between 2016 and 2021, the gap between these two groups continued to increase.⁵⁹

This trend of a widening gap is also found in the difference in citizenship rates between less educated (those with less than high school) and more highly educated recent immigrants (those with a university degree). This gap increased from 11.5 percentage points in 1996 to 20.2 and 21.4 percentage points in 2016 and 2021, respectively.⁶⁰ Language skills also contribute to this increasing disparity in citizenship rates. Since demonstrating adequate knowledge of English or French is a requirement for most applicants for citizenship, immigrants who have English or French as a mother tongue or who know how to speak English or French are more likely to become naturalized than those who do not have these official language skills:

The citizenship rate decline [between 1996 and 2021] ... was particularly evident among those not speaking English or French at landing. This group of recent immigrants registered a 42 percentage point decline in the citizenship rate; one in five were citizens in 2021. The increased language requirements for citizenship may have played a role in this decline. Recent immigrants who spoke English or French at landing, but whose mother tongue was not an official language, registered a 32 percentage point decline in the citizenship rate. Conversely, those who had English or French as their mother tongue saw their citizenship rate decline by 19 percentage points from 1996 to 2021.⁶¹

Another interesting statistic is the divergence in citizenship rates among immigrants based on their country of origin or their source region. While immigrants from non-Western countries are more likely to become Canadian citizens, the naturalization rate of recent immigrants from certain regions has dropped in recent years. Statistics Canada notes:

[F]ollowing 1996, the decline [in citizenship rates] was much greater among eligible recent immigrants from some non-Western regions, notably East Asia (mostly China) and Southeast Asia, than among those from the United States and Europe. ... Recently, immigrants from some non-Western nations more closely resembled those from developed nations in their tendency to acquire Canadian citizenship. In 2021, recent immigrants from East Asia had the lowest citizenship rate, at 25%, and those from Southeast Asia and South Asia had rates from 41% to 45%. This may be related to the increasing economic and international status of these regions, which may reduce the economic motivation of recent immigrants from these regions to acquire Canadian citizenship.⁶²

4.1.2 Policy and Operational Changes

Policy changes have also contributed to the decline in the citizenship rate among more recent immigrants. With the coming into force of Bill C-24, the eligibility criteria for naturalization were tightened. One of the amended criteria was an increase in the required number of days of physical presence in Canada (residency requirement) prior to applying for citizenship:⁶³

Until 2015, immigrants were required to reside in Canada for at least three years before they could become citizens; at the earliest, they could do so only during their fourth year of residence. After 2015, this residency requirement increased to four years, and immigrants could become citizens only during their fifth year living in Canada, at the earliest.⁶⁴

This policy change corresponded with a decrease in citizenship rates. For example, immigrants arriving between 2011 and 2016 had a citizenship rate of 30.5%, whereas those arriving between 2006 and 2011 had a rate of 36.7%.⁶⁵

In addition to policy changes, there have also been several operational changes, including increases to citizenship application fees. According to one researcher, these changes impacted immigrants differently, depending on their socio-demographic characteristics, such as education, official language ability and family income. For example, it was noted that due to “a more rigorous Canadian-knowledge test and language assessment,” citizenship test rates declined “from a previous high pass rate of 96 percent to 83 percent.”⁶⁶

While the policy changes that followed the passage in 2017 of Bill C-6 reversed most of the 2014 policy changes,⁶⁷ the increase in citizenship application fees has not been reversed. It has been argued that the high fees continue to remain a major deterrent to naturalization and should be reviewed by IRCC.⁶⁸ Instructions to undertake this review are included in the 2021 mandate letter of the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship.

4.2 LOSS OF CITIZENSHIP

Under the current version of the *Citizenship Act*, Canadian citizenship may be revoked only in cases where the person is believed to have obtained, retained or resumed citizenship through false representation, fraud or “knowingly concealing material circumstances.”⁶⁹ Otherwise, loss of citizenship can occur only through voluntary renunciation.⁷⁰ A person can choose to renounce Canadian citizenship for several reasons, including wanting to acquire the citizenship of another country that does not allow dual citizenship.⁷¹

Bill C-24 introduced provisions that, in certain cases of conviction for serious offences such as treason or terrorism, provided for the revocation of citizenship of citizens who had dual or multiple citizenships. However, these provisions were repealed in 2017 by Bill C-6.⁷²

4.2.1 Lost Canadians

When the *Citizenship Act* came into force on 15 February 1977, replacing the *Canadian Citizenship Act* of 1947, it had no retroactive effect, meaning it applied only to prospective citizens. All those born before 15 February 1977, whether in Canada or abroad, had their citizenship status managed under the *Canadian Citizenship Act*.⁷³ Subsequent legislative amendments addressed many of the problems associated with “lost Canadians,” that is, those persons born before the *Citizenship Act* came into force who should have been Canadian citizens but were deprived of Canadian citizenship because of outdated or obsolete provisions in the *Canadian Citizenship Act*.⁷⁴ The term “lost Canadians” therefore refers to Canadians who ceased to be citizens against their will or without their knowledge, or to Canadians who thought they were Canadian citizens but legally never were.⁷⁵

A 2007 report of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration (CIMM), entitled *Reclaiming Citizenship for Canadians: A Report on the Loss of Canadian Citizenship*,⁷⁶ identified four groups of “lost Canadians”:

- war brides – the wives of Canadian servicemen who fought for Canada in the Second World War and who immigrated to Canada during or after the war to join their Canadian husbands;⁷⁷

- people born abroad to a Canadian parent before the *Citizenship Act* came into force in February 1977;
- people who lost their citizenship between January 1947 and February 1977 because they or their parent acquired the nationality or citizenship of another country; and
- second and subsequent generation Canadians born abroad since the *Citizenship Act* came into effect in February 1977.

Both the 1947 and 1977 Acts affected each of these groups differently. For instance, in the case of people born abroad to a Canadian parent before the *Citizenship Act* came into force, they believed that they were Canadian citizens on account of their parent's citizenship. However, they may have lost Canadian citizenship or never had it in the first place due to three separate provisions in the 1947 *Canadian Citizenship Act*:

- Registration of births outside Canada: A Canadian parent had to register the birth of a child born outside Canada within two years for the child to be a “natural-born Canadian citizen.” However, some births were never registered, and, for that reason, the federal government extended the registration deadline: the final registration deadline for all births that occurred abroad before 1977 was 14 August 2004. Nevertheless, some births were still not registered, with the result that such people are not Canadian citizens today.⁷⁸
- Declaration of citizenship retention: People who acquired Canadian citizenship by descent had, under the *Canadian Citizenship Act*, to assert their Canadian citizenship by registering a declaration of retention between their 21st and 22nd birthdays. If they did not, the person ceased to be a Canadian citizen. This requirement was subsequently amended to provide that such a person could retain their Canadian citizenship either by registering the declaration between their 21st and 24th birthdays or by living in Canada on their 24th birthday. With the coming into force of the *Citizenship Act* in 1977, the requirement was repealed altogether. Nevertheless, those born prior to 1977 who had failed to comply with the 1947 requirement and did not reside in the country on their 24th birthday lost their Canadian citizenship.⁷⁹
- Distinction between children born in and out of wedlock: Under the *Canadian Citizenship Act*, a person born abroad could acquire Canadian citizenship from their Canadian father if the child was born in wedlock and from their Canadian mother if the child was born out of wedlock. Therefore, children born in wedlock to Canadian mothers and foreign fathers and children born out of wedlock to Canadian fathers and foreign mothers could not acquire Canadian citizenship.⁸⁰

Another group of individuals were not considered Canadian citizens between 1947 and 1977 because dual citizenship was not permitted under the *Canadian Citizenship Act*. If a Canadian citizen voluntarily acquired the citizenship of another

country, they and their dependants lost their Canadian citizenship. The 1947 Act provided a way for minors who lost their citizenship due to their parent's action to regain Canadian citizenship by making a declaration to resume Canadian citizenship between their 21st and 22nd birthdays.⁸¹ However, many did not know they ceased to be Canadian citizens and did not make the necessary declaration. In 2005, the *Citizenship Act* was amended to relieve those individuals who lost their citizenship as minors from the requirement of becoming a permanent resident before being eligible for Canadian citizenship. However, resumption of citizenship for this group of "lost Canadians" is not automatic upon applying.⁸² In addition, for those people whose applications to resume citizenship are approved, the status of being a Canadian citizen is not retroactive: "if such a person had a child during the period after losing Canadian citizenship and before resuming citizenship, the person would not have been able to pass on Canadian citizenship to the child."⁸³

Finally, until 2009, a provision in the *Citizenship Act* stipulated that a person who was born outside Canada after 14 February 1977 and who derived Canadian citizenship from a parent who was also born outside Canada ceased to be a Canadian citizen on their 28th birthday. To retain their citizenship, a person had to apply before their 28th birthday and have either resided in Canada for a year before applying or established a substantial connection with Canada.⁸⁴ This provision was repealed in 2009 with the coming into force of Bill C-37, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act.⁸⁵ This legislation also provided retroactive citizenship to most groups of "lost Canadians" by expanding the definition of who is a citizen.⁸⁶ However, in introducing the 2009 legislative amendments, the Government of Canada stated that it did not want to allow citizenship to be passed down indefinitely through generations born abroad.⁸⁷ For that reason, Bill C-37 introduced the first-generation cut-off rule,⁸⁸ which provides citizenship to the first generation of Canadians born abroad with no declaration of retention requirement.⁸⁹ Subsequent generations born abroad do not automatically obtain Canadian citizenship but can apply for permanent residency and citizenship through the immigration system.

A second set of legislative amendments introduced by Bill C-24 extended citizenship to people who were born before the *Canadian Citizenship Act* came into force in 1947. As a result, new provisions were added to the *Citizenship Act* to account for the following categories:

- people who were born or naturalized in Canada (and therefore were British subjects) before 1 January 1947, but who ceased to be British subjects and did not become Canadian citizens when the *Canadian Citizenship Act* came into force on 1 January 1947;⁹⁰
- people who, on 1 January 1947, were British subjects ordinarily resident in Canada, although they were neither born nor naturalized in Canada and who did

- not become Canadian citizens when the *Canadian Citizenship Act* came into force on 1 January 1947;⁹¹ and
- people who were born outside Canada before 1 January 1947:
 - to a parent described in one of the two groups listed above and who did not become citizens when the *Canadian Citizenship Act* came into force on 1 January 1947,⁹² or
 - to a parent who became a citizen on 1 January 1947, but who did not themselves also become a citizen on that day.⁹³

The amendments also provided citizenship to people born before Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada on 1 April 1949 and who belonged to one of the groups described above.⁹⁴ However, citizenship by descent remains available only to the first generation born abroad as the amendments enacted by Bill C-24 did not address the second – and subsequent – generation of Canadians born abroad since 1977. Some researchers have argued that the “limitations on the acquisition of citizenship by descent are contrary to the principle of the rule of law because the current citizenship framework creates a two-tier system of Canadian citizens.”⁹⁵ In addition, they maintain that this could lead to situations of statelessness.⁹⁶

For any “lost Canadians” who are not captured by section 3 of the *Citizenship Act*, the federal government may consider ministerial discretion to grant citizenship on a case-by-case basis, as per section 5(4) of the Act.⁹⁷ However, while there are provisions for ministerial discretion to grant citizenship, it “still rests solely on the Minister’s discretion and is not a guarantee that the individual will be granted citizenship.”⁹⁸

According to the testimony of an IRCC official before the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology in 2021, approximately 17,500 individuals applied to become Canadian citizens or to regain their citizenship following the amendments made to the *Citizenship Act* in 2009 by Bill C-37. Another 600 individuals were identified and became Canadians because of the 2014 and 2015 amendments under Bill C-24. Finally, since 2014, 109 individuals had received citizenship under discretionary grants based on the special and unusual hardship associated with losing their citizenship under the retention requirement that was added to the *Citizenship Act* in 1977.⁹⁹

4.2.1.1 Developments During the 44th Parliament

On 12 May 2022, Bill S-245, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act (granting citizenship to certain Canadians) was introduced in the Senate.¹⁰⁰ The Senate public bill constituted an effort to address a category of “lost Canadians” who were not captured under previous legislative amendments – namely, persons born abroad to a Canadian parent between 15 February 1977 and 16 April 1981 who may have been unaware of the requirement to apply to retain their citizenship before they reached

28 years of age. The bill was referred to CIMM on 16 November 2022, which reported back to the House of Commons with amendments on 12 June 2023. CIMM introduced amendments to correct the unintended consequences for the first-generation limit created under Bill C-37; to operationalize the restoration of citizenship for “lost Canadians”; to correct the retroactivity and liability issues for application of the substantial connection test; to grant citizenship after the death of a Canadian parent; and to clarify the right to citizenship for adopted children.¹⁰¹ Bill S-245 had completed committee consideration in the House of Commons before dying on the *Order Paper* when the 1st session of the 44th Parliament was prorogued on 6 January 2025.

In December 2023, a ruling by the Ontario Superior Court of Justice deemed the first-generation limit unconstitutional and gave the federal government six months (until 19 June 2024) to amend the *Citizenship Act*.¹⁰² The government declined to appeal and committed to introduce a bill to this effect,¹⁰³ tabling Bill C-71, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act (2024),¹⁰⁴ on 23 May 2024. This bill legislates on similar issues to Bill S-245, establishing a citizenship framework for those affected by the first-generation limit, as well as for individuals who were born abroad and adopted by a Canadian parent beyond the first generation, provided the parent has a substantial connection to Canada. It also proposes amendments to the *Citizenship Act* in relation to categories of lost Canadians who are not covered by previous legislation, such as persons who failed to make an application to retain their citizenship under former section 8 of the Act (under which some individuals lost citizenship at the age of 28) before its repeal. Finally, Bill C-71 provides for a simplified citizenship renunciation process for those who would become citizens as a result of the bill. Bill C-71 reached second reading in the House of Commons before dying on the *Order Paper* on 6 January 2025 when the 1st session of the 44th Parliament was prorogued.

In May 2024, the federal government established an interim measure to address certain proof-of-citizenship applications impacted by the first-generation limit until that limit is removed. Among other aspects, the interim measure ensures that individuals with applications eligible for urgent processing are notified that the first-generation limit is still in place, and are provided with the option to apply for a grant of citizenship under section 5(4) of the *Citizenship Act*, based on the discretion of the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship or a delegated decision maker.¹⁰⁵

In addition, the Government of Canada requested a deadline extension from the Ontario Superior Court of Justice regarding its declaration of invalidity of the first-generation limit. On 19 June 2024, the Court granted the government an extension to 9 August 2024 while also scheduling a hearing for 1 August 2024 to determine whether an extension to December 2024, or an earlier date, would be appropriate. Among other things, the Court requested from the government “[a]n improved plan to address cases of hardship” caused by the first-generation limit

during the extension. It highlighted concerns about the effectiveness and communication of the government's interim measure, including that it pertains only to those applying for proofs of citizenship and not to those applying for grants of citizenship, and that the government has published limited information about what qualifies an applicant for urgent processing.¹⁰⁶

On 1 August 2024, the Court granted a further extension to 19 December 2024. The Court's decision noted that the government had updated its website to provide information on the status of changes to the first-generation limit on citizenship, as well as provided a tool to help users determine what they might be eligible to apply for, including urgent processing for a discretionary grant of citizenship. The judge therefore stated the following:

I conclude that the mechanism in place to address urgent cases of hardship is sufficient to ensure that an extension of the declaration of invalidity will not undermine confidence in the administration of justice. I conclude that the circumstances continue to warrant a suspension of the declaration of invalidity, and it is likely that remedial legislation will be adopted by December 19, 2024.¹⁰⁷

On 13 December 2024, the Court granted a further extension to 19 March 2025. While the judge expressed concerns about whether the federal government had sufficiently prioritized the bill, she also noted, "I am concerned that the interests of the public will be negatively affected if the declaration of invalidity comes into force without replacement legislation in place."¹⁰⁸ At the time of writing, the declaration of invalidity is set to come into effect on 19 March 2025 while Parliament is prorogued until 24 March 2025.¹⁰⁹

4.3 BIRTH IN CANADA TO FOREIGN NATIONALS

Canada's citizenship law has, since 1947, conferred Canadian citizenship at birth to anyone born on Canadian soil, irrespective of the parents' citizenship or immigration status. The only exception is for children born in Canada to diplomats, consular officers or other representatives of a foreign government or international organization and their employees working in Canada.¹¹⁰

While citizenship acquired through birth on Canadian soil is a long-standing policy in Canada, there have been calls over the years to ensure foreign nationals do not come to Canada to give birth for the sole purpose of securing Canadian citizenship for their child. This issue is commonly called "birth tourism." In recent years, several media accounts have reported the practice of birth tourism and indicated an increase in the births by foreign nationals in Canada.¹¹¹

Statistics Canada collects data on the numbers of births in Canada and includes the number of non-resident births. However, the category for mothers with place of

residence outside Canada, also referred to as the non-resident category, includes mothers whose country of residence is unknown.¹¹² This can also include “Canadians living abroad who return to Canada and give birth, international students, temporary foreign workers, as well as children who would have access to Canadian citizenship by descent through the non-birthing parent.”¹¹³ On average, according to Statistics Canada data from 2000 to 2023, there were 364,641 births per year in Canada, of which 384 were to women who do not reside in Canada.¹¹⁴ As seen in Table 3, the overall proportion of births from non-resident mothers is very low – between 0.05% and 0.40%.

Table 3 – Number of Births in Canada Annually, by Residence of Mother, 2000–2023

| Year | Total Births in Canada | Mothers with Place of Residence in Canada | Mothers with Place of Residence Outside Canada | Non-resident Mothers (% of total births in Canada) |
|------|------------------------|---|--|--|
| 2000 | 328,972 | 328,577 | 395 | 0.12 |
| 2001 | 334,927 | 334,591 | 336 | 0.10 |
| 2002 | 330,184 | 329,863 | 321 | 0.10 |
| 2003 | 336,643 | 336,317 | 326 | 0.10 |
| 2004 | 339,323 | 338,975 | 348 | 0.10 |
| 2005 | 345,650 | 345,307 | 343 | 0.10 |
| 2006 | 358,141 | 357,876 | 265 | 0.07 |
| 2007 | 370,533 | 370,311 | 222 | 0.06 |
| 2008 | 382,067 | 381,838 | 229 | 0.06 |
| 2009 | 384,842 | 384,638 | 204 | 0.05 |
| 2010 | 379,366 | 379,177 | 189 | 0.05 |
| 2011 | 379,412 | 379,231 | 181 | 0.05 |
| 2012 | 383,279 | 383,101 | 178 | 0.05 |
| 2013 | 381,270 | 381,054 | 216 | 0.06 |
| 2014 | 384,824 | 384,577 | 247 | 0.06 |
| 2015 | 383,212 | 382,979 | 233 | 0.06 |
| 2016 | 384,329 | 384,023 | 306 | 0.08 |
| 2017 | 378,008 | 377,627 | 381 | 0.10 |
| 2018 | 374,976 | 374,617 | 359 | 0.10 |
| 2019 | 373,412 | 372,978 | 434 | 0.12 |
| 2020 | 361,370 | 360,801 | 569 | 0.16 |
| 2021 | 370,665 | 370,155 | 510 | 0.14 |
| 2022 | 352,656 | 351,679 | 977 | 0.28 |
| 2023 | 353,334 | 351,878 | 1,456 | 0.41 |

Source: Table prepared by the Library of Parliament using data obtained from Statistics Canada, “[Table 13-10-0414-01: Live births, by place of residence of mother](#),” Database, accessed 29 November 2024.

However, one researcher used data from the Canadian Institute for Health Information (CIHI) and noted that the numbers of births in Canada to mothers who reside outside Canada increased from 1,354 in 2010 to 2,165 in 2013, and to 3,628 in 2017.¹¹⁵ Over this eight-year period, the number of non-resident births increased nearly fivefold in British Columbia, nearly tripled in Alberta and more than doubled in Ontario. In 2017, Richmond Hospital in British Columbia had registered more non-resident births than any other hospital in Canada, with non-resident births representing about 22% of total births at the hospital.¹¹⁶ As with data from Statistics Canada, it is difficult to say exactly how many of the non-resident births are from people coming to Canada to give birth to obtain citizenship. Researchers have called for more research to contextualize non-resident births, especially since the number of temporary residents arriving in Canada to work or study has increased over the years.¹¹⁷

The likely reasons for the discrepancy between Statistics Canada and CIHI data can be found in the different data sources used and the fact that all residence-related information is based on self-reported address information. For hospital administration data, individuals giving birth might use their real addresses, whereas as for vital statistics information – obtained through birth registration forms – they might use their temporary Canadian addresses.¹¹⁸

In response to two House of Commons petitions¹¹⁹ on citizenship acquired by birth on Canadian soil, the Government of Canada acknowledged that there are instances of foreign nationals who travel to Canada to give birth and recognized the need to better understand the extent of this practice.¹²⁰ In 2018, the federal government committed to better understand the extent of birth tourism and began to work with CIHI to integrate health and immigration data that would facilitate further research.¹²¹ Based on this data, IRCC released a 2022 report pointing to an increase in estimated deliveries by short-term visitors between 2010 and 2017 (from 1,385 to 3,630, or from 0.5% to 1.3% of deliveries). It noted, however, that this might also include situations unrelated to birth tourism, such as deliveries by Canadians who usually live overseas, or by certain spouses of international students, temporary foreign workers, permanent residents or citizens.¹²²

A researcher who conducted an analysis of hospital delivery data since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic noted a 57% decrease in births to mothers who reside outside Canada during the pandemic period, corresponding with a significant decline in visitor visas during that time. He estimated that birth tourists “form more than the majority of nonresident births,” accounting for approximately 1% of all births in Canada.¹²³

The federal government has indicated that it does not collect information on whether a woman is pregnant when entering Canada.¹²⁴ Under the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, a person is not inadmissible and cannot be denied a visa solely on the

grounds that they are pregnant or that they may give birth in Canada.¹²⁵ However, a person is required to state the purpose of their visit when applying for a visa to travel to Canada.¹²⁶ In some cases, “the intentional concealment of intent to give birth in Canada may lead to an examination of admissibility”¹²⁷ for misrepresentation, which would have significant consequences that could also impact the child’s citizenship.¹²⁸

Changing current citizenship policies and practices could have numerous implications, including operational and cost challenges, as well as impacts on categories of temporary residents other than those on visitor visas.¹²⁹ The federal government has explored policy options in the past. For instance, when the Honourable Jason Kenney was Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism, a citizenship reform proposal was prepared and “indicated that although birth tourism was deemed a priority, the federal government could not do much about it by itself, given provincial responsibility for birth registration.”¹³⁰ On the possibility of eliminating birthright citizenship, some observers have asserted that this “would impose additional public expenses and complicate the process for verifying citizenship and risks having two-tiered citizenship.”¹³¹ IRCC estimated that removing birthright citizenship would affect approximately 6,000 births to temporary residents outside Quebec each year.¹³²

In 2020, two researchers noted that

the available numbers do not suggest a trend in need of government action – especially action in the form of birthright citizenship refusal. Ministers of both parties reached the conclusion that no measures were necessary: in 2012, it was the Conservative minister of citizenship and immigration, Jason Kenney, and in 2018, the Liberal minister of immigration, refugees and citizenship, Ahmed Hussen.¹³³

However, others continue to raise concerns about birth tourism and advocate for policy change.¹³⁴ For example, one researcher recommends that the “cleanest” approach to addressing the issue would be a legislative change requiring one parent to be a citizen or permanent resident of Canada.¹³⁵

Overall, citizenship acquired through birth on Canadian soil is codified in the *Citizenship Act*, which can be amended by an Act of Parliament. The question is whether legislative, regulatory or policy actions are required to address the issue of birth tourism in Canada.¹³⁶

5 CONCLUSION

The concept of Canadian citizenship is more than 75 years old and is currently governed by the *Citizenship Act*, which came into force on 15 February 1977. Over the years, there have been several legislative changes to address matters such as the citizenship application process for foreign nationals who wish to become Canadian

citizens, and specific policy issues such as the “lost Canadians.” While Canadian citizenship can be obtained through birth, by descent or through naturalization, policy issues such as citizenship rates and birth tourism put into perspective how Canada manages its citizenship.

NOTES

1. While the terms “Canadian citizen” and “Canadian citizenship” were used in some statutes before 1947, the legal status of Canadian citizenship was created with the introduction of the *Canadian Citizenship Act*. Government of Canada, “[History of citizenship legislation](#),” *Citizenship Program Overview*. For more information on the *Canadian Citizenship Act*, see Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, [Canadian Citizenship Act, 1947](#).
2. [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29.
3. Government of Canada, “[History of citizenship legislation](#),” *Citizenship Program Overview*. See also Delphine Nakache and Yves Le Bouthillier, *Droit de la citoyenneté au Canada*, 2016, p. 6.
4. Michael Sullivan, “Beyond Allegiance: Toward a Right to Canadian Citizenship Status,” *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 3, 2018.
5. [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, s. 3(1).
6. *Ibid.*, s. 6.
7. [Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms](#), Part I of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, being Schedule B to the *Canada Act 1982*, 1982, c. 11 (U.K.), s. 6(1). Nevertheless, no Canadian law expressly requires the Government of Canada to assist Canadians abroad to return to Canada by maintaining a consular assistance program. The federal government has a Canadian Consular Services Charter that guides the provision of consular services, outlining the services that officials can and cannot provide to Canadians overseas, as well as the steps the government may take during large-scale emergencies. However, Canadians are ultimately responsible for their own safety overseas and do not have a right to consular assistance, including repatriation. See Government of Canada, [Canadian Consular Services Charter](#). For more information, see Delphine Nakache and Yves Le Bouthillier, *Droit de la citoyenneté au Canada*, 2016, p. 351.
8. [Constitution Act, 1867](#), 30 & 31 Victoria, c. 3 (U.K.), s. 95.
9. [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, s. 2(1); and Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), [Acts and Regulations](#).
10. [Department of Citizenship and Immigration Act](#), S.C. 1994, c. 31; and Government of Canada, [What we do](#).
11. Citizenship and Immigration Canada, [Instrument of Delegation: Citizenship Act and Regulations](#), 16 October 2023; and Government of Canada, [Delegation of authority under the Citizenship Act and Citizenship Regulations](#). This delegation instrument is enabled by section 23 of the *Citizenship Act*, which states that actions that must or may be taken by the minister under the Act and corresponding regulations may be carried out “by any person authorized by that Minister in writing to act on that Minister’s behalf without proof of the authenticity of the authorization.” [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, s. 23. This is also the case for the Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness.
12. [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, ss. 10.5 and 19.3.
13. [Citizenship Regulations](#), SOR/93-246; [Citizenship Regulations, No. 2](#), SOR/2015-124; and [Bill C-24, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act and to make consequential amendments to other Acts](#), 41st Parliament, 2nd Session (S.C. 2014, c. 22).
14. [Citizenship Regulations](#), SOR/93-246, s. 15.

15. [Citizenship Regulations, No. 2](#), SOR/2015-124, s. 19. The *College of Immigration and Citizenship Consultants Act* designates the Immigration Consultants of Canada Regulatory Council as the new College of Immigration and Citizenship Consultants, which is tasked with regulating immigration and citizenship consultants in the public interest. The Act came into force on 9 December 2020. [College of Immigration and Citizenship Consultants Act](#), S.C. 2019, c. 29, s. 292.
16. Government of Canada, [Operational instructions and guidelines](#); and Citizenship and Immigration Canada, [Instrument of Delegation: Citizenship Act and Regulations](#), 16 October 2023.
17. Government of Canada, [Citizenship Commission](#).
18. [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, s. 3(1).
19. *Ibid.*, s. 5(1)(c)(i). Temporary residents or protected persons can also count the time spent in Canada toward their citizenship requirements. For these individuals, each day spent in Canada, up to 365 days within five years, counts as one half day for the purpose of calculating their physical presence. Government of Canada, ["Time you've lived in Canada \(physical presence\)," Apply for citizenship: Who can apply.](#)
20. [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, s. 5(1)(c)(iii). Sections 5(1.04) to 5.2 of the Act also lay out varying requirements for individuals with special circumstances, such as minors, individuals who have had requirements waived on compassionate grounds, individuals who have served in the Canadian Armed Forces, stateless persons and adoptees.
21. *Ibid.*, ss. 5(1)(f), 19(2) and 20(1). As per section 20(1) of the Act, persons subject to security concerns are those for whom "the Governor in Council declares that there are reasonable grounds to believe that the person with respect to whom the report [to the National Security and Intelligence Review Agency] was made has engaged, is engaging or may engage in an activity" that, pursuant to section 19(2) of the Act, "constitutes a threat to the security of Canada" or "that is part of a pattern of criminal activity planned and organized by a number of persons acting in concert in furtherance of the commission of any offence that may be punishable under any Act of Parliament by way of indictment."
22. [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, s. 5(1)(d); and Government of Canada, ["What documents can I use to prove that I meet the citizenship language requirement?"](#), *Help Centre*.
23. [Citizenship Regulations](#), SOR/93-246, Schedule (s. 31(1)); Government of Canada, ["Citizenship," Fee list](#); and Government of Canada, ["Pay the application fees," Apply for citizenship: How to apply.](#)
24. Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau, [Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Mandate Letter](#), 13 December 2019. According to the Parliamentary Budget Officer, the cost of eliminating citizenship fees for new applicants was estimated to be \$75 million in fiscal year 2020–2021, and it will reach \$122 million in total foregone revenues by 2028–2029. See Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer, [Citizenship fees elimination](#), 29 September 2019.
25. Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau, [Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Mandate Letter](#), 16 December 2021.
26. See [Citizenship Regulations](#), SOR/93-246, [Schedule](#) (s. 31(1)) (version in effect from 6 February 2014 to 31 December 2014).
27. [Regulations Amending the Citizenship Regulations](#), SOR/2014-20, 29 January 2014, in *Canada Gazette*, Part II, 12 February 2014, p. 420.
28. See [Citizenship Regulations](#), SOR/93-246, [Schedule](#) (s. 31(1)) (version in effect from 1 January 2015 to 10 June 2015); and [Citizenship Regulations](#), SOR/93-246, [Schedule](#) (s. 31(1)) (version in effect from 11 June 2015 to 11 February 2018).
29. [Regulations Amending the Citizenship Regulations](#), SOR/2014-298, 12 December 2014, in *Canada Gazette*, Part II, 31 December 2014, p. 3481.
30. *Ibid.*
31. The amended citizenship fees can be found by viewing the current schedule to the *Citizenship Regulations*. [Citizenship Regulations](#), SOR/93-246, Schedule (s. 31(1)). At the time of writing, the regulations were current to 11 November 2024 and were last amended on 5 December 2018.
32. [Regulations Amending the Citizenship Regulations \(Fees for minor Applicants\)](#), SOR/2018-21, 12 February 2018, in *Canada Gazette*, Part II, 21 February 2018, p. 303.

33. Prior to Bill C-6, minors generally applied for citizenship concurrently with their permanent resident parent(s) or as children of a Canadian parent under section 5(2) of the *Citizenship Act*. See [Bill C-6, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act and to make consequential amendments to another Act](#), 42nd Parliament, 1st Session (S.C. 2017, c. 14).
 34. [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, s. 5(1)(e).
 35. Applicants may be provided with an oral hearing instead of a written test if they have special needs or have failed the written test twice. Government of Canada, [Citizenship grants: Applicants 18 years of age or older \(adults\)](#).
 36. IRCC, [Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship](#), Study guide, 2021.
 37. Government of Canada, [Prepare for the citizenship test](#).
 38. There are certain exceptions to this. Minors aged 14 to 17 without a Canadian parent or a parent applying for citizenship at the same time are expected to attend the interview. Other minors may be asked to attend an interview if citizenship officials have specific questions. In such cases, the person who submitted the application on the minor's behalf must also attend the interview. Government of Canada, [Who has to take the test and go to the interview](#), *Prepare for the citizenship test*.
 39. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), [Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action](#), 2015.
 40. Government of Canada, [Delivering on Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action](#).
 41. TRC, "Call to Action 93," [Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action](#), 2015, pp. 10–11.
 42. At the time of writing, an exact launch date for the revised study guide, study materials and a new citizenship kit has not been determined. See Government of Canada, [Newcomers to Canada](#).
 43. Kathleen Harris, [Revamped citizenship guide still a work in progress as election nears](#), *CBC News*, 19 May 2019.
 44. Note that citizenship candidates under the age of 14 are exempt from this requirement. Government of Canada, [Prepare for the citizenship ceremony](#).
 45. Note that, although the Oath or Affirmation of Citizenship referenced in the *Citizenship Act* still references the Queen of Canada, the web version of the federal government's citizenship study guide has updated the oath to reference His Majesty King Charles III, King of Canada. See [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, Schedule; and Government of Canada, [The Oath of Citizenship / Le serment de citoyenneté](#), *Discover Canada – The Oath of Citizenship / Le serment de citoyenneté*.
 46. [Bill C-99, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act](#), 42nd Parliament, 1st Session, Schedule (s. 24). See also Eleni Kachulis and Olivier Leblanc-Laurendeau, [Legislative Summary of Bill C-99: An Act to amend the Citizenship Act](#), Publication no. 42-1-C99-E, Library of Parliament, 2 July 2019.
 47. TRC, "Call to Action 94," [Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action](#), 2015, p. 11.
 48. Stephanie Levitz, *The Canadian Press*, [Proposed citizenship oath change prompts some to call for more education about Indigenous people](#), *CBC News*, 28 September 2017; and Government of Canada, [Newcomers to Canada](#).
 49. [Bill C-8, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act \(Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's call to action number 94\)](#), 43rd Parliament, 2nd Session. See also Eleni Kachulis and Olivier Leblanc-Laurendeau, [Legislative Summary of Bill C-8: An Act to amend the Citizenship Act \(Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's call to action number 94\)](#), Publication no. 43-2-C8-E, Library of Parliament, 22 October 2020.
- See also [Bill S-262, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act \(Oath of Citizenship\)](#), 44th Parliament, 1st Session. This Senate public bill, tabled on 9 May 2023, would have amended section 24 of the *Citizenship Act* so that individuals could choose from one of two options when swearing or affirming their citizenship:

(a) I swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King Charles III, King of Canada, His Heirs and Successors, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada, including the Constitution, which recognizes and affirms the Aboriginal and treaty rights of First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples, and fulfil my duties as a Canadian citizen;

(b) I swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Canada and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada, including the Constitution, which recognizes and affirms the Aboriginal and treaty rights of First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples, and fulfil my duties as a Canadian citizen.

The bill was dropped from the Senate *Order Paper* on 30 May 2024. See [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, s. 24.

50. Statistics Canada, "[Census Profile, 2021 Census of Population: Profile table](#)," Database, accessed 13 June 2024.
51. Statistics Canada, "Vast majority of those living in Canada are Canadian citizens," [A portrait of citizenship in Canada from the 2021 Census](#), 9 November 2022.
52. See [An Act to amend the Citizenship Act and to make consequential amendments to another Act](#), S.C. 2017, c. 14, s. 1(2).
53. Feng Hou and Garnett Picot, "[The decline in the citizenship rate among recent immigrants to Canada: Update to 2021](#)," *Economic and Social Reports*, Statistics Canada, 28 February 2024, p. 5. Further, a Statistics Canada census publication for 2021 states:

Since the 2016 Census, the residency requirement of immigrants before they can apply for citizenship was reduced from four to three years. Based on the current physical presence requirement in Canada, the naturalization rate for immigrants who have settled in the country for at least three years was 80.7% in 2021. [Taking into account a similar number of years for residency requirements] ... [a]mong all eligible immigrants admitted to Canada at least four years before a census year, 83.1% or just over 6.0 million immigrants reported Canadian citizenship in the 2021 census, while a larger proportion of the immigrant population reported Canadian citizenship in 2016 (85.8%) and 2011 (87.8%).
- Statistics Canada, "In 2021, four in five immigrants have Canadian citizenship, but the naturalization rate has declined," [A portrait of citizenship in Canada from the 2021 Census](#), 9 November 2022.
54. Feng Hou and Garnett Picot, "[Trends in the Citizenship Rate Among New Immigrants to Canada](#)," *Economic Insights*, Statistics Canada, 13 November 2019, p. 1.
55. Feng Hou and Garnett Picot, Statistics Canada, "[Citizenship Acquisition in Canada and the United States: Determinants and Economic Benefit](#)," Chapter 6 in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Naturalisation: A Passport for the Better Integration of Immigrants?*, 2011, p. 166.
56. Feng Hou and Garnett Picot, [Divergent Trends in Citizenship Rates among Immigrants in Canada and the United States](#), Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series, Statistics Canada, October 2011, p. 20.
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58. Statistics Canada defines "recent immigrant" as "a person who obtained a landed immigrant or permanent resident status up to five years prior to a given census year." See Statistics Canada, [Release and Concepts Overview – 2016 Census of Population: Immigration and ethnocultural diversity](#), 31 August 2017. For the 2021 census, "recent immigrants" refers to those who arrived between 2016 and 2021. See Statistics Canada, "[Focus on Geography Series, 2021 Census of Population: Canada](#)," Database, accessed 13 June 2024.
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60. Feng Hou and Garnett Picot, "[Trends in the Citizenship Rate Among New Immigrants to Canada](#)," *Economic Insights*, Statistics Canada, 13 November 2019, p. 4; and Feng Hou and Garnett Picot, "[The decline in the citizenship rate among recent immigrants to Canada: Update to 2021](#)," *Economic and Social Reports*, Statistics Canada, 28 February 2024, p. 7.
61. Feng Hou and Garnett Picot, "[The decline in the citizenship rate among recent immigrants to Canada: Update to 2021](#)," *Economic and Social Reports*, Statistics Canada, 28 February 2024, p. 9.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

63. Julie Béchar, Penny Becklumb and Sandra Elgersma, [Legislative Summary of Bill C-24: An Act to amend the Citizenship Act and to make consequential amendments to other Acts](#), Publication no. 41-2-C24-E, Library of Parliament, 8 July 2014.
64. Feng Hou and Garnett Picot, “[Trends in the Citizenship Rate Among New Immigrants to Canada](#),” *Economic Insights*, Statistics Canada, 13 November 2019, p. 1.
65. Andrew Griffith, “[What the census tells us about citizenship](#),” *Policy Options*, 20 March 2018.
66. Ibid.
67. IRCC, [Changes to the Citizenship Act as a Result of Bill C-6](#), Backgrounder.
68. Andrew Griffith, “[The impact of citizenship fees on naturalization](#),” *Policy Options*, 12 October 2016; and Andrew Griffith, “[What the census tells us about citizenship](#),” *Policy Options*, 20 March 2018.
69. [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, s. 10(1). Naturalized Canadian citizens can lose their citizenship if they lied during the immigration process or in their citizenship application. Under section 46(2) of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, the effect of the revocation renders the individual whose citizenship was revoked a permanent resident unless there was fraud in the permanent resident application. In that case, the individual can be subject to a removal order. [Immigration and Refugee Protection Act](#), S.C. 2001, c. 27, s. 46(2). The individual who is a permanent resident due to citizenship revocation must wait 10 years from the date of revocation before submitting a new application for citizenship. See [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, s. 22(1)(f).
70. [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, s. 9(1).
71. Once a person has renounced their Canadian citizenship, they no longer have status in Canada, and if they wish to return to Canada, they will have to comply with Canadian immigration requirements. Delphine Nakache and Yves Le Bouthillier, *Droit de la citoyenneté au Canada*, 2016, pp. 201–202.
72. [Bill C-6, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act and to make consequential amendments to another Act](#), 42nd Parliament, 1st Session (S.C. 2017, c. 14), s. 3(1); Julie Béchar and Sandra Elgersma, [Legislative Summary of Bill C-6: An act to amend the Citizenship Act and to make consequential amendments to another Act](#), Publication no. 42-1-C6-E, Library of Parliament, 8 February 2018, p. 2; and IRCC, [Changes to the Citizenship Act as a Result of Bill C-6](#), Backgrounder.
73. Delphine Nakache and Yves Le Bouthillier, *Droit de la citoyenneté au Canada*, 2016, p. 7.
74. Ibid., p. 73. The issue of “lost Canadians” was addressed by legislative measures, especially when travellers between Canada and the United States began to need passports to cross the border after 2007. As people applied for Canadian passports, some applicants learned, to their great surprise, that they were not in fact Canadian citizens.
75. For more information, see Richard Foot and Peggy Ann Osborne, “[Lost Canadians](#),” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 25 July 2017.
76. House of Commons, Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration (CIMM), [Reclaiming Citizenship for Canadians: A Report on the Loss of Canadian Citizenship](#), Second report, December 2007, p. 2.
77. For more information, see Government of Canada, [Canadian War Brides](#).
78. CIMM, [Reclaiming Citizenship for Canadians: A Report on the Loss of Canadian Citizenship](#), Second report, December 2007, pp. 4–6.
79. Ibid., p. 6.
80. Ibid., pp. 6–8.
81. Ibid., p. 8.
82. Delphine Nakache and Yves Le Bouthillier, *Droit de la citoyenneté au Canada*, 2016, p. 74.
83. CIMM, [Reclaiming Citizenship for Canadians: A Report on the Loss of Canadian Citizenship](#), Second report, December 2007, p. 9.
84. Ibid.
85. [Bill C-37, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act](#), 39th Parliament, 2nd Session (S.C. 2008, c. 14). See also Penny Becklumb, [Legislative Summary of Bill C-37: An Act to amend the Citizenship Act](#), Publication no. 39-2- 591-E, Library of Parliament, 20 February 2014.

86. Delphine Nakache and Yves Le Bouthillier, *Droit de la citoyenneté au Canada*, 2016, p. 74; and [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, ss. 3(1)(f)–3(1)(j).
87. Diane Finley, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, [Government response to the report of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration entitled Reclaiming Citizenship for Canadians: A Report on the Loss of Canadian Citizenship, tabled on 6 December 2007](#), 2 April 2008, p. 2.
88. An exception is made for people who are born to a Canadian parent working abroad in or with the Canadian Armed Forces, the federal public administration or the public service of a province.
89. [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, s. 3(3).
90. *Ibid.*, s. 3(1)(k).
91. *Ibid.*, s. 3(1)(m).
92. *Ibid.*, s. 3(1)(o).
93. *Ibid.*, s. 3(1)(q).
94. Delphine Nakache and Yves Le Bouthillier, *Droit de la citoyenneté au Canada*, 2016, p. 75.
95. Mariette Brennan and Miriam Cohen, “Citizenship by descent: how Canada’s one-generation rule fails to comply with international legal norms,” *The International Journal of Human Rights: Special Issue – Peremptory International Legal Norms and the Democratic Rule of Law*, Vol. 22, No. 10, 2018, p. 2.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
97. Diane Finley, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, [Government response to the report of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration entitled Reclaiming Citizenship for Canadians: A Report on the Loss of Canadian Citizenship, tabled on 6 December 2007](#), 2 April 2008, p. 2.
98. Mariette Brennan and Miriam Cohen, “Citizenship by descent: how Canada’s one-generation rule fails to comply with international legal norms,” *The International Journal of Human Rights: Special Issue – Peremptory International Legal Norms and the Democratic Rule of Law*, Vol. 22, No. 10, 2018, p. 5.
99. Senate, Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, [Evidence](#), 16 June 2021 (Alec Atfield, Director General, Citizenship Branch, Strategic and Program Policy, IRCC).
100. [Bill S-245, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act \(granting citizenship to certain Canadians\)](#), 44th Parliament, 1st Session. See also Julie Béchar, Philippe A. Gagnon and Michèle-Lise Lepage, [Legislative Summary of Bill S-245: An Act to amend the Citizenship Act \(granting citizenship to certain Canadians\)](#), Publication no. 44-1-S245-E, Library of Parliament, 18 July 2023.
101. CIMM, [Bill S-245, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act \(granting citizenship to certain Canadians\)](#), Seventeenth report, 12 June 2023.
102. [Bjorkquist et al. v. Attorney General of Canada](#), 2023 ONSC 7152 (CanLII).
103. Marie Woolf, “[Ottawa prepares bill to reinstate citizenship rights of ‘lost Canadians’](#),” *The Globe and Mail*, 11 May 2024 [SUBSCRIPTION REQUIRED].
104. [Bill C-71, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act \(2024\)](#), 44th Parliament, 1st Session.
105. Government of Canada, [Interim measure for proof of citizenship applications affected by the first-generation limit \(FGL\) to citizenship by descent](#).
106. [Bjorkquist et al. v. Attorney General of Canada](#), 2024 ONSC 3554 (CanLII).
107. [Bjorkquist et al. v. Attorney General of Canada](#), 2024 ONSC 4322, para. 25 (CanLII). See also Racy Rafique, “[Court grants Ottawa four more months to fix unconstitutional ‘lost Canadians’ law](#),” *CBC News*, 2 August 2024.
108. [Bjorkquist et al. v. Attorney General of Canada](#), 2024 ONSC 6982, para. 40 (CanLII).
109. In December 2024, the Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer estimated the five-year cost of the amendments to the *Citizenship Act* included in Bill C-71, based on a coming-into-force date of 1 April 2025. See Eskandar Elmarzougui, [Bill C-71 \(44-1\): Amending the Citizenship Act \(2024\)](#), Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer, 19 December 2024.

110. See Government of Canada, [Temporary residents: Persons wishing to enter Canada for the purpose of giving birth](#). In 2019, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in *Canada (Minister of Citizenship and Immigration) v. Vavilov* that this exemption is due specifically to the diplomatic privileges and immunities that foreign representatives enjoy. As a result, the court ruled that a person born in Canada to undercover Russian spies was indeed a Canadian citizen because their parents – while employees of a foreign state – did not have diplomatic privileges and immunities. [Canada \(Minister of Citizenship and Immigration\) v. Vavilov](#), 2019 SCC 65. For more information, see [Citizenship Act](#), R.S.C. 1985, c. C-29, s. 3(2); and Supreme Court of Canada, [Case in Brief: Canada \(Minister of Citizenship and Immigration\) v. Vavilov](#).
111. See, for example, Ian Young, [“Canadian hospital sues mother of million-dollar baby, amid growing concern over Chinese birth tourism,”](#) *South China Morning Post*, 13 June 2018 [SUBSCRIPTION REQUIRED]; Tristin Hopper, [“Why does Canada automatically give citizenship to people born here?”](#), *National Post*, 27 August 2018; John Paul Tasker, [“It’s fraudulent’: Former immigration official says action needed on ‘passport babies’](#),” *CBC News*, 28 August 2018; The Canadian Press, [“Ottawa probes birth tourism as new data shows higher non-resident birth rates,”](#) *CBC News*, 23 November 2018; Chris Selley, [“Chris Selley: Maybe Canada has a ‘birth tourism’ problem after all,”](#) *National Post*, 25 November 2018; Avis Favaro and Ryan Flanagan, [“‘Birth tourism’ rising fast in Canada: up 13 per cent in one year,”](#) *CTV News*, 16 September 2019; Annie Burns-Pieper and Lisa Mayor, [“‘All about the money’: How women travelling to Canada to give birth could strain the health-care system,”](#) *CBC News*, 4 January 2020; and Tristin Hopper, [“FIRST READING: Canada’s massive \(and easily fixed\) birth tourism problem,”](#) *National Post*, 1 June 2023.
112. Statistics Canada, [“Table 13-10-0414-01: Live births, by place of residence of mother,”](#) Database, accessed 13 June 2023.
113. Transport Canada, [“Hot issue: Citizenship – birth on soil,”](#) *Minister Garneau appearance at the Committee of the Whole on the 2019–2020 Supplementary Estimates A on December 9, 2019: Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada*.
114. Statistics Canada, [“Table 13-10-0414-01: Live births, by place of residence of mother,”](#) Database, accessed 29 November 2024.
115. The Discharge Abstract Database of the Canadian Institute for Health Information uses hospital financial data to code services provided to non-residents (“other country resident self-pay”), which covers birth tourism. Refugee claimants and permanent residents who are within the three-month waiting period for coverage are coded separately. However, births to other temporary residents (such as corporate transferees and international students) and Canadian expatriates returning to give birth are also included in the data for non-residents.
- See also Andrew Griffith, [“Hospital stats show birth tourism rising in major cities,”](#) *Policy Options*, 22 November 2018. See “Figure 3 – Births in Canada, by province (excluding Quebec), to mothers who reside outside Canada, 2010–17 (as reported by Canadian Institute for Health Information).”
116. Andrew Griffith, [“Hospital stats show birth tourism rising in major cities,”](#) *Policy Options*, 22 November 2018. See “Figure 4 – Canadian hospitals with the most births to mothers who reside outside Canada (including hospitals in Montreal but not elsewhere in Quebec), 2010–18.”
117. Megan Gaucher and Lindsay Larios, [“Birth tourism and the demonizing of pregnant migrant women,”](#) *Policy Options*, 17 January 2020; and Andrew Griffith, [“The risk of oversimplifying the birth tourism debate,”](#) *Policy Options*, 30 January 2020.
118. Andrew Griffith, [“Hospital stats show birth tourism rising in major cities,”](#) *Policy Options*, 22 November 2018; and Transport Canada, [“Hot issue: Citizenship – birth on soil,”](#) *Minister Garneau appearance at the Committee of the Whole on the 2019–2020 Supplementary Estimates A on December 9, 2019: Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada*.
119. On 19 October 2016, Petition e-397, which received 8,886 signatures, was presented to the House of Commons by former member of Parliament (MP) Alice Wong (Richmond Centre). It called for the elimination of birthright citizenship for foreign nationals. House of Commons, [“e-397 \(Canadian citizenship\),”](#) *Petitions*. On 5 October 2018, Petition e-1527, with 10,882 signatures, was presented to the House of Commons by former MP Joe Peschisolido (Steveston—Richmond East). It called for the federal government to publicly denounce and eliminate “birth tourism.” House of Commons, [“e-1527 \(Canadian citizenship\),”](#) *Petitions*. In addition, Petition e-2451, presented to the House of Commons by MP Wong on 30 September 2020, having obtained 548 signatures, called for the federal government to “stop granting Canadian Citizenship to those born in Canada but whose parents are not Canadian citizens.” House of Commons, [“e-2451 \(Citizenship and immigration\),”](#) *Petitions*.

120. John McCallum, Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, [Response to Petition \[e-397\]](#), 19 October 2016; and Ahmed Hussen, Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, [Response to Petition \[e-1527\]](#), 5 October 2018.
121. Annie Burns-Pieper and Lisa Mayor, “[‘All about the money’: How women travelling to Canada to give birth could strain the health-care system](#),” *CBC News*, 4 January 2020.
122. IRCC, Research and Evaluation Branch, [An examination of in-hospital deliveries in Canada outside Quebec: analytical report](#), 2022, pp. 24 and 27.
123. Andrew Griffith, [“Birth tourism in Canada dropped sharply once the pandemic began,”](#) *Policy Options*, 16 December 2021.
124. Ahmed Hussen, Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, [Response to Petition \[e-1527\]](#), 5 October 2018.
125. IRCC clarifies that
- [w]ith the introduction of the Temporary Public Policy Regarding Excessive Demand on Health and Social Services on June 1, 2018, the health-care costs related to a high-risk pregnancy (prenatal care and delivery) do **not** exceed the excessive demand threshold [BOLD IN THE ORIGINAL].
- Government of Canada, [Temporary residents: Persons wishing to enter Canada for the purpose of giving birth](#).
126. Marco Mendicino, Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, “Response by the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship,” [e-2451 \(Citizenship and immigration\)](#), 16 November 2020.
127. Government of Canada, [Temporary residents: Persons wishing to enter Canada for the purpose of giving birth](#).
128. Andrew Griffith, [“What the previous government learned about birth tourism,”](#) *Policy Options*, 28 August 2018.
129. Ibid.; Jamie Liew, [“Revoking birthright citizenship would affect everyone,”](#) *Policy Options*, 29 November 2018; and Andrew Griffith, [“The risk of oversimplifying the birth tourism debate,”](#) *Policy Options*, 30 January 2020.
130. Andrew Griffith, [“What the previous government learned about birth tourism,”](#) *Policy Options*, 28 August 2018.
131. Kelly Goldthorpe and Caroline Mok, “Canadian citizenship and the challenges of birth tourism,” *The Lawyer’s Daily*, 12 November 2018. See also Andrew Griffith, [“The risk of oversimplifying the birth tourism debate,”](#) *Policy Options*, 30 January 2020.
132. IRCC, Research and Evaluation Branch, [An examination of in-hospital deliveries in Canada outside Quebec: analytical report](#), 2022, p. 26.
133. Megan Gaucher and Lindsay Larios, [“Birth tourism and the demonizing of pregnant migrant women,”](#) *Policy Options*, 17 January 2020.
134. Jon F. R. Barrett, [“Birth Tourism – An Opinion,”](#) *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology Canada*, Vol. 45, No. 6, June 2023; and Andrew Griffith, [“Birth tourism in Canada dropped sharply once the pandemic began,”](#) *Policy Options*, 16 December 2021.
135. Andrew Griffith, [“Birth tourism in Canada dropped sharply once the pandemic began,”](#) *Policy Options*, 16 December 2021.
136. Kelly Goldthorpe and Caroline Mok, “Canadian citizenship and the challenges of birth tourism,” *The Lawyer’s Daily*, 12 November 2018.