Deservingness by Design?

Temporal Governance in the Canadian Immigration System

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Abstract

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The scholarly fields of geography and sociology have identified time as an important factor shaping the policy design that instruct the flow of migrants, however this phenomenon remains sparsely investigated in the political science discourse. Considering this gap in the literature of migration studies and political science, this thesis operationalizes temporal governance in the Canadian policy design context as a tool of control and investigates its differential application in the categories of skilled migrants, family sponsorship and refugees and asylum seekers. To address this gap, I use Melanie Griffith's coined term, "temporal governance" to assert that time is used as a policy tool to design permissive and restrictive eligibility criteria and it is used differently across Canada's permanent immigration categories: economic migration, family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship. Second, I use Schneider and Ingram's social constructions theory to assert that the temporally permissive and restrictive policy design reveals that the economic migration receives permissive policy treatment based on their positive social constructions and usefulness in achieving the state's economic immigration objectives. Whereas family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship receive restrictive policy treatment due to their weak political associations. Ultimately, this policy design decides which categories are more "deserving by design".

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Introduction

Time is an underexamined policy tool in the Canadian immigration system. It is baked into the inherent functions and structure of administrative procedures, legislation, policy design, guiding the experiences of migrants. However, the current political science literature reveals that the intersections of time, governance, and migration have been overlooked while other disciplines like migration studies, anthropology, sociology, and geography have been keener on analyzing time as a tool of immigration control (Cwerner, 2001). The neglect of the politics of time give rise to pressing questions in immigration policy landscape regarding the entry of economic migrants, family sponsors, and refugees to Canada. For example, why is the length of undertaking for spouses 3 years, while it is 20 years for parents and grandparents? Are these restrictions arbitrary or posed by design?

The discussion on time in the Canadian immigration system has widely focused on policy implementation and how immigrants experience temporal dynamics. I propose that it is equally important to research how policy is designed using time as a substantive policy tool, ultimately revealing how immigrant groups experience time-based policy rewards through policy design in Canada's immigration categories. To take on this task, I employ Melanie Griffith's term, "temporal governance" to show how migrants are controlled and managed by the means of time (Griffiths, 2017). I acknowledge that implementation and outcome are integral parts of the immigration policy process which require attention through a temporal lens and may be intractable from one another in their analysis. But my analysis focuses on the early stages of the immigration policy process. By focusing on design, rather than implementation or outcome, I urge scholars to turn their attention to the inconsistencies in immigration policies across categories by time-based policy design at its inception rather than the final stages which describe

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outcomes. In the Canadian case of permanent immigration categories, time is used as a substantive policy tool to manage the flow of migrants in the pathway to attaining permanent status in Canada through economic migration, sponsorship, or asylum-seeking. For this reason, I focus on how policy content is designed because policy design carries a rewarding and punitive element in its treatment towards migrants by determining which categories are the most useful in advancing the political and social objectives established by the state (Siddikki, 2020). Ultimately, the focus on the policy design stage in my work will exemplify how temporal governance is used as a time-based policy tool to inform how immigrant groups are rewarded or reprimanded through policy design in the permanent immigration categories in Canada.

To make this very large task digestible, this thesis will break down how time is used in the Canadian immigration system as a policy tool in two questions: **How is temporal governance used in the design of Canadian immigration programs? What does the use of time in the policy design of Canada's permanent immigration programs reveal about the social construction of different immigration categories?** In response to the first question, I argue that temporal governance is used in the eligibility criteria of the three permanent immigration categories, economic migration, family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship to manage the flow of migrants and create permissive and restrictive policies based on their reason for migration. In other words, temporal governance is a tool of migration control that suggests punitive and rewarding policy treatment for permanent immigration categories in Canada. In the case of economic migrants, temporal governance is used to design permissive eligibility criteria based on their work and skills that allows for rewards and positive policy treatment. For family sponsorship, temporal governance is used to design eligibility criteria for the length of undertaking, which controls the relationships between the sponsor and sponsee as a mix of

punitive and rewarding policy treatment. In the case of refugee sponsorship, time is used to design eligibility criteria for sponsors' yearlong obligation to the refugees, highlighting a restrictive and punitive policy treatment.

In response to the second question, I discover that time is used to assert the differences in the policy treatment of each immigration category to achieve Canada's political and economic objectives, therefore differentiating immigrants as "deserving" or "undeserving" of beneficial policy treatment of design. But where do the social constructions arise from? My research finds that social constructions of economic migrants, family sponsorships, and refugee sponsorships come from Canada's founding immigration policy design, historical policy practices and current immigration policy goals, reflected in the 2022 to 2024 Immigration Levels Plan. My work shows that Canada's emphasis on upholding the model of a young, educated, single, and skilled migrants is highly desired and in turn, rewarded because they are instrumental in advancing Canada's economic and social development. Consequently, economic migrants benefit from permanent migration to Canada because their resettlement is motivated by Canada's socio-economic development, therefore being more "deserving" by design. Whereas the family sponsorship program and refugee sponsorship program experience restrictive policy treatment in the form of age restrictions, smaller windows of application deadlines and long years of undertaking. As a result, the family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship comparatively receive restrictive and punitive policy treatment through long years of undertaking by removing social and economic responsibility from the state's resources in permanent resettlement support. Therefore, Canadian immigration policy design enables and restricts migrants by reinforcing social constructions of economic, familial, and refugee sponsorship through time-based policies that highlight their instrumental value in achieving national political objectives.

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My thesis plan is as follows: Chapter One will begin with a literature review on time theory, sovereignty, governance, and Canadian immigration policy design. It will be followed by outlining the skeleton of my two-part research question and design, the use of Melanie Griffith's definition of temporal governance, and Schneider and Ingram's social constructions theory as guiding theoretical frameworks that anchors my research. The methodology section will discuss how I will employ content analysis to conduct my inquiry on temporal governance on Canada's permanent immigration categories, followed by my research design's limitations.

Chapter Two will answer how temporal governance is used to design the eligibility criteria in economic migration. I will conduct my analysis on economic migration in the Express Entry (EE) program within three categories: Canadian Experience Class (CEC), Federal Skilled Workers Program (FSWP), and Federal Skilled Trades Program (FSTP). In this chapter, I will analyze the eligibility criteria, including the Comprehensive Ranking System (CRS) by allotting more points to candidates based on age, years of work experience, years of education, and years of language experience. My work will show that the EE program design allows CEC candidates positive policy treatment because they fit the model of young, educated, skilled and single applicant with Canadian experience which directly fulfills Canada's primary immigration objective of economic migration.

The second chapter conducts a similar analysis on the family sponsorship program for spousal sponsorship, child sponsorship, parent and grandparent sponsorship and relative sponsorship. I argue that temporal governance is used to control and manage the relationship between family members through length of undertaking, age, application deadlines, and windows of open applications. As a result, the policy design in the eligibility criteria is both permissive

and restrictive, depending on the relationship and how it contributes to Canada's policy objectives and Levels Plan. Although Canada's second pillar of immigration is family reunification, I assert that among the four categories, the parent and grandparent sponsorship program experience the most restrictive policies in the form of the length of undertaking due to their inability to fit the archetype of the model immigrant as aging adults. Whereas young family members in the child sponsorship program receive permissive and positive policy treatment, including the extension of the length of undertaking for child applicants under the age of 25 to gain Canadian work experience and education.

Temporal governance is used as a substantive policy tool to control the relationship between the sponsors and refugees through eligibility criteria. I discuss this phenomenon in Chapter Four to highlight that temporal governance is enacted through the eligibility criteria in age, years of organizational assessment and application deadlines in the three private refugee sponsorship categories: Sponsorship Agreement Holders (SAH), Group of Five (G5), and Community Sponsors (CS). In my analysis, I find that here are very few differences between the refugee sponsorship programs. Therefore, affirming the consistency by which temporal governance is used to create an overall permissive policy design due to the sponsors' collaboration with the state in facilitating the resettlement of refugees under Canada's third immigration objective; helping refugees under humanitarian causes.

Chapter Five summarizes how temporal governance is used a policy tool to control the flow of migrants in the Canadian immigration system by creating time-based policy restrictions and permissions that are backed by social constructions, influencing their chances for permanent residency. The final chapter characterizes the positive and negative policy treatments for each

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immigration category in its respective policy treatment for economic migration, family sponsorship and private refugee sponsorship and concludes that the CEC migrant is "deserving by design" due to the allocation of time-based benefits and positive policy treatment in the Canadian immigration categories. Whereas the parent and grandparent sponsorship is the most "undeserving by design" due to a higher number of temporal restrictions such as narrow application windows and long years of undertaking for their sponsors. The conclusion reviews my findings, addresses limitations in my research and the impact of time-based policy design on permanent immigration categories in Canada's immigration system.

I will employ two theoretical frameworks to explain where temporal governance appears in the Canadian immigration system and what it reveals about the organization of immigration groups. The first question will be answered by employing the definition of temporal governance with the help of Melanie Griffiths' research. Temporal governance is defined as a governmental strategy used to discipline and control migrants by the means of time (Griffiths, 2017). I will operationalize this definition in the Canadian context to identify where time is used as a decisive policy tool across the three permanent immigration categories: economic migrants, family sponsorship, and private refugee sponsorship. The second part of this analysis will compare the dates, age, deadlines, the number of years of work experience, years of education, years of practicing a language, and years of caretaking for a sponsor that appear in admission categories and application processes as the primary policy design used to restrict and permit movement and control migrants by the means of time. To answer the second question, I will apply Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram's theory of *The Social Construction of Target Populations*, an analytical framework for examining how democratic societies distribute policy rewards or punishments based on a group's social and political construction (1993). Using this framework,

my goal is to reveal how temporal governance is applied differently across immigration categories to control and organize immigrant groups through an exclusionary and punitive time-based policy design. This framework will be applied to economic migration, family sponsorship, and private refugee sponsorship to illustrate how Canadian immigration policy distributes rewards in the form of permissive policy treatment based on the migrant's usefulness in achieving political and economic objectives enforced through policy design.

This project is a necessary and timely undertaking for several reasons. First, Canada has used exclusionary policies to curate their population of immigrants. The creation of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in the early 1950s prompted the first immigration policy design to invite the ideal economic immigrant from Western European countries to achieve their objective of recruiting promising individuals who would quickly adapt to Canadian values (Green and Green, 2004). Considering that Canada is a nation that has had the privilege of curating their population since its inception, it is important to consider the perspective of policy design as relevant and pertinent to understanding past, present, and future migration governance through a temporal lens.

Second, due to the increase in global political conflicts since the turn of the millennia, the number of displaced peoples worldwide has rapidly increased. Subsequently, Canada has found itself at the foot of every crisis, ready to promote their attractive immigration programs for displaced peoples under humanitarian causes, as seen in recent years with refugees seeking safety from conditions in Syria, Afghanistan, and Ukraine. For this reason, understanding Canada's past policy designs, specifically through a temporal lens can help policymakers and scholars make sense of the current management of immigrants under the three permanent

immigration categories. By considering current immigration policy design through a temporal perspective, we can make accurate inferences about past designs while suggesting an alternative and holistic point of view of the future management of immigrants in Canada in the present.

Third, researching Canadian immigration policy design from a temporal perspective is pertinent due to scholarly refocus on the temporal turn. Robert Hassan coined the term "temporal turn" in his work, "Globalization and the Temporal Turn", to explain the refocus on the temporal in the analysis of social, political, cultural, and economic phenomena (2010). He states that the technological changes brought on by globalization in the 1970s prompted social scientists to reconsider their one-dimensional worldview which focused on how environments change within the context of space, without consulting time. In other words, scholars only focused on the changes that were taking place in the physical space, while taking time for granted as an important vector in the movement of people across space and its impact the direction of policy design. The transformation brought on by globalization and the financial crisis allowed for a new appreciation of time, which is an essential unit of measurement of human activity, but the most overlooked (Hassan, 2010). Although the analysis of time is not a novel study, and the focus of my work is not on the social theory of time, I urge that the temporal perspective has been done a disservice in the analysis of immigration policy design in political science. By using an essential lens that is inextricable from the human experience and contextualizes human movement, I suggest that scholars and policy makers to evaluate the setbacks of immigration policy design in the Canadian context.

Fourth, the current scholarship on immigration policy mainly focuses on policy implementation and enforcement by bureaucrats and its outcomes, particularly the affective

experiences of immigrants. They are often painted as meek victims of border patrol agents who enforce legislation that aggravates the precarious emotional, economic, political, and social status of the immigrant in environments such as border control or detention centres (Larsen, 2014). The affective experiences of immigrants, namely refugees, and those involved in processes of family reunification have been magnified and often appear in a somber light, painting the immigrant as weak and helpless. For example, this is shown in literature that the experiences of immigrants who wait extended periods of time for a court hearing, are trapped in detention centres and detained at the border (Ellerman and Gorokhovskaia, 2020), (McNevin and Missbach, 2018). However, I do not deny that such treatment from public servants and the enforcement of legislation has negative consequences on the livelihoods of migrants. In fact, I wish to shed light on the tedious turmoil they experience that stems from policy design, rather than enforcement. Moreover, I want to emphasize that the everyday reality of the immigrant experience is comprised of banal and mundane interactions with the immigration policy design rather than mistreatment from street-level bureaucrats. At the same time, I believe that the focus on policy design rather than implementation from a temporal perspective will help paint a more realistic and relatable picture of the "immigrant", who is not only capable and resilient despite their precarious situations, but also frustrated like every individual who is inconvenienced by the systemic burdens brought on from the use of policy tools in Western democracies.

Chapter One: Research Design and Theoretical Framework

Literature Review

This literature review will be divided into several parts. It will start with an introduction on time theory and the reason for why I chose time to guide my work. The second part will

address how time is given shape and power through the structure of bureaucratic institutions and state sovereignty. The third part will outline how time, or temporal governance is valued and used in the current social science literature, namely political science, and migration studies. The last, and the most comprehensive part of this literature review will sift through research published on the intersections of time, temporal governance, immigration policy design and the treatment of migrants in the Canadian case. This section will end with Griffith's definition of temporal governance which I will use in constructing my research question and research design.

Time Theory

I was first inspired to write on the intersections of time, governance, and migration when I read Mark Taylor's interpretation of Søren Kierkegaard's explicit association of human movement and the speed of time and progress (Taylor, 1973). I chose to begin the discussion from the discipline of philosophy to conceptualize how time exists as a landscape where human activity occurs. Consequently, this serves as a fertile terrain to discuss how and where tensions arise when time is controlled and regulated by government apparatuses in my work. Although this is a poignant aspect of the outcomes of immigration, my research does not focus on policy outcomes. Instead, I can only use his work to delineate how time provides the context for which human activity takes place, therefore justifying my use of temporal governance as a necessary lens in analyzing the policy design of Canadian immigration programs. By rooting our understanding of temporal governance in the context of social and political activity, we are better able to analyze how form is given to a seemingly elusive concept and turned into a lens, but also used a tool of political power and control in immigration policy design. To further ground this

idea, the following sections will touch on relevant scholarship on time theory, state sovereignty, and conclude with time in Canadian policy design.

Adding to Robert Hassan's notion of the "temporal turn", we can see how David Harvey's theory of "time-space compression" remains relevant in understanding immigration policy design in the Canadian case. Hassan's work primarily focuses on the intersections of media, culture, and policy studies. He posits that the effects of globalization have essentially changed our communal, personal, and public value systems as democratic states sacrifice stability and long-term planning for efficiency, production, and novelty (1989). By extension, Canadian immigration policy design sacrifices equality and fairness in policy content by emphasizing the achievement of immigration objectives that are beneficial for the state's economic future rather than the migrant's livelihood. This issue becomes aggravated once in contact with technological advances that lead to inefficient procedures in the immigration system that reach all the way from design to outcomes. An example of this is the processing times calculator on the Government of Canada website. Although the calculator is a temporal policy tool used to measure outcomes, the tool itself is not useful for obtaining information for refugee programs since it provides no estimation for the length of processing times for any country, whereas for skilled worker programs it provides an average of 12 months across all countries.

Barbara Adam is a sociologist who coined the term "timescap*e"* as a unit of measurement of social operation (1995). Her work asserts that time is not measured the same in every context and that social science analysis of human activity is not uniform but multidimensional. The notion of timescape becomes important in our understanding of

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temporality in the policy design because it asserts that time is inseparable from matter, and that the context in which time occurs is integral to our comprehension of social systems. In other words, time takes the shape of the environment it is placed in. In this sense, we can see an overlapping agreement with Kierkegaard, Hassan, and Harvey's proposed view of time. She writes extensively on the cultural and environmental aspects of the *timescape*. But what is most important and relevant in her work is her notion of time control. She uses clock time as a regulator of time, to create disciplined and controlled movements that operate well within institutions. For example, clock time is particularly important in identifying how temporal governance exists in the admission categories of permanent immigration programs. In the case of family sponsorships, we see that the length of undertaking of a sponsee by a sponsor is three years (Government of Canada, 2019). They are bound to this obligation due to the institutionalization of time in the policy design stage. Therefore, institutionalizing time as the landscape of policy design, which begets forms of control. Her work does an excellent job of identifying time as a tool of control and political power but is lacking in defining the political function of time and its role within governmental structures, which is otherwise fulfilled by Max Weber's interpretation of time, sovereignty and how they exist in bureaucratic institutions.

Time and Sovereignty

Max Weber is a German sociologist and political economist who has extensively written on the connections between culture, economy, and society. Published in 1968, Weber's text on bureaucratic models and the influence of capital on social and political organization asserts that the importance of bureaucratic institutions is inextricably linked with the social constructions of mass behaviour. Bureaucracies provide instrumental value to society as they

objectively allow for the categorization and regulation of mass behaviour by eliminating the emphasis on delivering personalized services to the individual. In this way, the new technical bureaucratic model, which is also fashioned in economic structures such as the labor market, stands contrary to the individual's cause by producing an objective and efficient functioning and processing of social demands (Weber, 1978). Weber's work can be used to explain why bureaucracies are a fundamental part of immigration process. Like David Harvey's theory of time-space compression, the technical model produced out of capitalistic aims fails to service and accompany the complexities brought into the system with the temporal existence of human beings. Weber's explanation is telling of technical bureaucracies' need to place an emphasis on efficiency at the risk of the individual is what reinforces the unequal fate of human beings (Weber, 1978). However, this does not take away from his central notion of the significance of bureaucracies as a crucial element of the regulation of human behaviour, and in turn, the regulation of temporality.

The reconceptualization of temporality in relation to the state can be best explained by Jens Bartelsen's *A Genealogy of Sovereignty*. Bartelsen is a political scientist and an international relations theorist that primarily writes on impacts of war in international political theory. However, he has developed extensive knowledge in the political science literature on the various forms of sovereign control. *In A Genealogy of Sovereignty,* he asserts that religious and traditional notions of time dramatically changed state structure and replaced the omnipotence of a divine being with an omnipotent institutional presence (Bartelsen, 1995). This means that linking time with state made it an eternal and omnipotent power whose reach extended past previous structures. This is the pivotal moment where changes in institutional structure no longer

relied on archaic methods of political succession, but instead were tested against the corrosive power of time (Bartelsen, 1995). As a result, the reconceptualization of temporality made time the only landscape in which institutions have any political value or power. Therefore, asserting that time is sovereign and is intractable from the operational power of the state (Bartelsen, 1995). For this reason, I consider the reconceptualization and theorization of time in the Canadian immigration system to be an important and crucial undertaking in catering to the neglected areas of immigration policy design.

Time Politics

Saulo Cwerner is a sociologist who researches temporality, migration, and mobility in the United Kingdom. His article, "The Times of Migration" examines fundamental aspects of the migration process through the lens of time. He emphasizes the lack of temporality in analyzing immigration processes across various disciplines, including political science. He also commends migration studies for addressing the issue of time but acknowledges that this endeavor has been inconsistent. My work is in line with Cwerner's perspective of time and immigration as he outlines that time is a policy tool used for control in immigration law (2001). It has a key hand in determining the inclusivity of immigration legislation, the social and political organization of migrants, and in affording them their welfare privileges and agency. His work affirms most of the important components of my proposal. However, it acts largely as a guide to conceive the vast possibilities of how time can be used as a framework in immigration policy implementation. But his work points to an important aspect of my thesis, which is that the way time is experienced by immigrants is extremely complex and often impossible to paint a holistic picture. His work remains the closest example of recent literature that validates my thesis and adds to my

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perspective of temporal governance, but it does not expand on how time is used in as policy tool in designing policy content.

To make up for this lack, political scientist Elizabeth Cohen provides a strong definition of the political value of time, emphasizing its use as a policy tool and political tool of power. In her seminal text, *The Political Value of Time: Citizenship, Duration and Democratic Justice,* Cohen argues that time is a scientifically measured political good that is directly linked to sovereign power in democratic states (2018). My work directly aligns with Cohen's thesis, as she lays the groundwork for a very important, yet overlooked policy tool used in Western liberal democracies, namely Canada and the United States to confer citizenship rights. Although my work does not focus on granting citizenship, it does focus on granting entry to immigrant categories based on the discriminatory use of time in admission categories. Thereby directly linking my work to hers based on inclusion and exclusion, sovereignty, political control, deservingness of status and ultimately, protection granted by the state (Cohen, 2018).

Taking from Adam's theory, Cohen further explains that time is quantifiable when associated with calendrical time in the forms of dates, deadlines, delays, durations, expiry dates, issue dates and sentences. Once an invisible tool is made visible and tangible through the redefinition of time, assigned numerical value and purpose in policy design, it becomes easier to see it mechanized through the structure of institutions rather than a discretionary tool at the hand of civil servants. This part of Cohen's work highlights the crux of the issue with temporal governance in the Canadian case. Consequently, my work is concerned with the direct link she makes to individual rights being violated through the sovereign dominance on time to draw temporal boundaries, as I intend to prove with the second part of my research question.

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Similar to Cwerner's work, Geoffrey Boyce also calls scholars to pay attention to the temporal framework in analyzing migration in the field of geography. However, Boyce argues that temporal "rhythms" of migration are purposefully manipulated through border policing, which falls into current popular discussions of detention and patrolling of illegal migrants. He confirms that the implementation of immigration policy design by public servants such as border agents dominate the conversation on how immigrants are managed by political systems (Boyce, 2020). More specifically, affective, and subjective experience of waiting, holding, detention, distancing, delays, interruption, integration, or return. As stated in my introduction, my work will not contribute to an already growing literature that cements the identity of an immigrant in a precarious state. By focusing on how time is used to design policy to target and perpetuate uncertainty in certain immigration categories, I provide a perspective that is missing from the current literature. Although Boyce does well in pinpointing the ways time has been glazed over by scholars in political science, his work does not state how it forms policy design and how they are applied to different immigration categories. For this perspective, the literature review will now shift to whether political scientists view temporal governance within the Canadian immigration system and if they do, how is it done?

Temporal Governance in the Canadian Immigration System

Before determining how temporal governance appears in Canadian immigration policy and how it informs design, we must first outline the use of policy design and how policy content is formed. Saba Siddikki has produced extensive research on policy design in the field of public administration. Her work is useful in classifying what policy design is, the tools used to design and govern, and how it applies to varying categories of a nation's population. Her work is useful

to my theory because she states that the policy design process is intractable from deciding who the targets of public policy are and how their behaviour will be manipulated or compelled to achieve state objectives (Siddikki & Curley, 2022; Siddikki, 2020). Here, I want to emphasize that writing policy is a deliberate and carefully constructed process and is written to achieve purposefully established policy goals, thereby adding weight to the social construction theory by Schneider and Ingram that informs my second research question. To exemplify this, Antje Ellermann, Alan Green, and David Green's history of Canadian immigration policy can help trace this strategy to the inception of the nation of Canada.

After recounting the historical changes in Canada's immigration policy timeline from the 1800s, Alan Green, and David Green assert that the Immigration Act provides the Department of Citizenship and Immigration with a great deal of discretionary power and flexibility in defining immigration objectives and immigration policy design (2004). Writing in the context of labor economics and migration, they note that each decade after World War I the immigration objectives had been changed to match the economic priorities of the state. Their work is relevant to mine insofar as they specify that immigration policy design always had a targeted purpose in Canadian policy design. However, our viewpoints diverge when their focus remains on immigration as policy tool, while the scope of my work delves deeper into the structure itself by using time as a policy tool to guide immigration policy objectives. Their work is also important to this study because they show how immigration was used to allow the targeting of specific populations to provide a solution for internal political, economic, or social issues. However, they do not mention the element of time as a policy tool.

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In a more recent publication on the making of Canadian immigration policy, political scientist Antje Ellerman provides a detailed history between the period of 1960s to early 2010s. Similar to Hassan, Harvey, and Adam, she acknowledges the shift after globalization, primarily the 1976 Immigration Act to be a primary catalyst of the change in direction of immigration policy reform (Ellerman, 2021). She traces the shift from a race-based immigration strategy to an occupational demand to a focus on obtaining human capital. In all cases, the emphasis and priority has consistently been on labor, alluding to the prioritization of high-skilled workers and secondly, family-based immigration selection. These trends are still present in Canadian immigration policy today and a central focus of my work. This chapter from her book, *The Comparative Politics of Immigration: Policy Choices in Germany, Canada, Switzerland, and the United States* is very useful in providing a detailed overview of immigration policy in the Canadian case, particularly in relation to its economic objectives and its targeted populations. But it does not mention a time or temporal governance as a primary policy tool. However, her later work does include the use of time control in immigration policy, but only in the cases of irregular migration, refugee claims, and family reunification under socially and economically uncertain conditions. Thereby maintaining the need for a temporal perspective in deciphering how Canadian immigration policy design targets certain populations by distributing policy rewards to maintain state objectives.

In a similar vein, Idil Atak, Graham Hudson and Delphine Nakatche's work calls attention to the administrative and bureaucratic abuses on behalf of Canadian judicial and enforcement bureaus that speak to time control as a policy tool. Although their work is a collaboration between the areas of political science, migration studies, immigration law and citizenship. Similar to Cohen's framework, Atak contextualizes the precarious situations of

refugees with temporal boundaries and an analysis of border patrol in the Canadian Border Service Agency's detention procedures (Atak, 2018; Atak et al. 2019). In this example, we can see that the political strategy of immigration deterrence and containment is applied to refugees, asylum seekers and regular migrants. A parallel argument is made by Antje Ellermann and Yana Gorkhovskaia, as they exemplify temporal governance in cases of obtaining permanent residency by refugees. They argue that probationary migration has created stark divisions among first and second-class citizens within the existing discriminatory hierarchies. The policies take away the protection of their refugee status, while controlling the time and methods by which they enter Canada. For example, low-skilled workers experience waiting and "temporary impermanence" of remaining in the same conditions, while high skilled workers experience the lighter consequences, as their situation remains temporary until their permit renews. Once again showcasing that time does not apply the same to all classes of migrants. The singling out of vulnerable populations not only makes them sensitive to disadvantages brought on by the securitization and territorial border, but also the policy border through legal framework enacted by members of the Immigration and Refugee Board during their hearings (Ellerman and Gorokhovskaia, 2020). This perspective is important to note, but it focuses on policy implementation and outcome, instead of policy design, showing the oversaturation of the same precarious identity of the immigrant due to implementation rather than design.

However, the above literature meets an important requirement of my work, exemplifying Schneider and Ingram's thesis of target populations. The application of time and treatment of refugee cases are highly correlated with the nature of their migrant status being undefined, unknown, and stuck in a perpetual waiting phase and ultimately a result of the deprioritization of their migrant category. For example, Atak interviews migrants and lawyers

who highlight the lack of time they are given to prepare for their claim between the moment of entry into the country and the time of their hearing (2018). Thereby underlining time's omniscient and invisible form which has the power to determine the possibility of entry unequally across immigration programs. Atak, Hudson and Nakatche's analysis of the CBSA's monopoly on the temporal state of Canadian immigration procedures sheds light on its procedures, it briefly mentions that time has become a central measure of discretionary power with little expansion on this thought and less than ideal statistics (Atak et al., 2019). Their work allows us to examine this in a Canadian context, but without much depth and statistical analysis to support the claim. Hereby highlighting another reason to explore this trend from a different perspective.

Larsen focuses on the Security Certificate Initiative released from Public Safety Canada, which is legitimized only when those with precarious status, not including Canadian citizens, are perpetually in a state of surveillance and exclusion (2014). His refreshing outlook on the problem of permanent temporariness of immigrants' questions whether permanence under the purview of the state ascribes rights to the citizen while denying rights to those of an assigned precarious existence. Although this is an interesting phenomenon to note, this is another example of how the current Canadian immigration literature glazes over the use of time as policy tool in design but continues to layer on multiple interpretations of how temporal governance is implemented.

An example of temporal governance in the Canadian context can be found in migration scholar Daniéle Bélanger and geography scholar Guillermo Candiz's work that emphasizes the temporal nature of family reunification in the Canadian immigration system (2019). During

administrative change, they argue that "waiting" has become a central component of immigration policy in Canada. By taking away or delaying the right to family reunification, imposed by lengthy waiting times, temporariness and waiting has become politicized and institutionalized. This is a glaring example of temporal governance in the Canadian immigration regime, despite it highlighting the precarious nature of immigrants. Although they focus on the affective consequences of waiting to be reunited with family, the deprioritization of family reunification is an example of how policy design enacts temporal governance as a tool of power. In this case, it is not a rewarding act, but a punitive act based on the state's priority of the type of migrant they want to accept. However, it shows administrative and bureaucratic efforts to reduce waiting times, especially regarding backlogs, another temporally charged element of immigration policy design. They also call attention to a very important part of the temporal experience of the family sponsee, which is no longer waiting to enter the host country, but waiting until one qualifies to enter Canada, alluding to differential treatment based on design, rather than enforcement of policy.

A second example of temporal governance in the Canadian case is provided by anthropologist Shiva Nourpanah. In her article on nurses employed on temporary work permits, she uses policy analysis on credential recognition procedures for nurses to show how a variety of policy tools can regulate migration (Nourpanah, 2021). The temporal and affective experience of nurses are central elements of her argument, but the former is more applicable to my case. She similarly uses Cwerner, Weber, and Griffith's theories to make the case of temporality being emphasized in the bureaucratic structure through policies that focus on the use of time as a tool of control. In her case, she focuses on how nurses engage with the bureaucratic deficiencies of the immigration system, such as waiting, the pressure of meeting deadlines and maintaining

credible proof for their occupation. In line with my own argument, Nourpanah is dedicated to proving that the temporal dimensions of immigration and its administrative systems invisibly perpetuate the structural inequality already present in the workplace and across borders for temporary migrant workers. The second part of her work underscores the affective experiences that arise from engagement with immigration labor policy, such as anxiety, frustration, hopefulness, and despair, which are not relevant to my case. But it provides a reasonable perspective on how temporal governance is used as a policy tool of control in the immigration system to show the division between highly-sought-after migrants, versus the temporary migrant workers. At this point, it is important to define temporal governance in its entirety and its relevance to my work in the Canadian context.

Immigration policy design through temporal strategies of governance described until now has been defined as temporal governance by migration scholar Melanie Griffiths (2017). Although Griffiths has a long resume of research in migration, her primary research fields are geography and anthropology. Much like Cohen, she assumed responsibility for a very necessary task: defining time-focused governance in migration literature and systems. Having coined the term temporal governance, she successfully shows the political, social, and bureaucratic tensions that have been described in this literature review with practical examples. Temporal governance is defined as a governmental strategy to discipline and control migrants by means of time (Griffiths, 2014, 2017, 2021). It calls attention to duration, interrupted and continuous time, calendrical time and most importantly, the legal or administrative areas in which temporal restrictions are applied to define the rights of a migrant. Her research shows that temporal governance is used as a political tool which is afforded its power by the sovereignty of the state to enforce punitive or rewarding measures upon different classes of migrants. Furthermore,

Griffith aptly acknowledges time's important role as a governance strategy to regulate migration by affirming that power operates in temporal forms just as much as it does in spatial forms. Although this can be widely implied within the immigration literature, the objective of my work is to explicitly analyze time as a method of control, power and regulation enforced by policy design, rather than outcome and implementation.

The limited but existing literature on time politics in the Canadian case provides useful insight on where the field of political science currently stands in matters of temporal governance and policy design. By highlighting the relationship between time, policy design, institutional processes, governance, discriminatory treatment, and power, they exemplify the tensions nestled deep in the structure of Canadian immigration governance. The current work partially addresses concerns for my research question, but it does so incrementally, inconsistently, and disconnectedly. By proposing the two research questions: How is temporal governance used to design policy in Canadian immigration programs, and what does the use of time in the policy design of Canada's permanent immigration programs reveal about the social construction of different groups of immigrants, I wish to create a binding theory that addresses the fragmented tensions in Canadian immigration policy design. My primary objective in proposing a theory that combines both overlooked but telling features that are baked into the institutional functioning of the immigration governance system is to shed light on the possible new avenues of analysis that can be used in evaluating future policy design. At the same time, it will allow political scientists and policy scholars to utilize existing lenses such as time to their advantage to bring forth dormant perspectives in interpreting the governmental control on human movement.

Research Question and Design

Based on the scholarship in my literature review, I have shown the current field is laden with examples of time control in immigration systems through the enforcement of existing policies and instantaneous decision-making of public officials at border control or in visa offices. But my work seeks to address an overlooked dimension which precedes implementation and outcome: temporal governance as a governmental strategy that controls migration through policy design in the Canadian case. In this section, I will introduce Melanie Griffith's definition of temporal governance, but I urge readers to note that her definition encompasses all the complex concepts that I have hashed out in the literature review. Some important examples include Taylor's work on Kierkegaard's theory of time as a measurement of progress, Adam's theory as time as social unit of measurement and control, Weber's intensification of bureaucratic processes through the speed regulated by capitalism in Western democracies and finally, Cohen's concept of the political value of time. The sum of these ideas will be echoed in Griffiths 'definition of temporal governance as we see the complex nature of the use of time as a formative policy tool in immigration control in the Canadian case.

Melanie Griffiths is a social scientist who produces research on the intersections of migration, time, deportation, and asylum at the University of Birmingham. Most of her scholarship is produced in the fields of geography, migration studies, and anthropology and based in the context of United Kingdom's immigration enforcement policies through a temporal and gendered lens. However, I focus on how she has popularized the discussion of governmental time control in migration studies since her 2017 publication, *The changing politics of time in the UK's immigration system*. I take my definition from this article, where she affirms that temporal

dimensions are central to the dynamics of the state, and migration is not exempt from this. She further asserts, "… the operationalization and negotiation of power through the medium of time is evident in a plethora of temporal devices, rationalities, rules, and tempos – including qualification periods, age requirements, time windows and bans." (Griffiths, 2017). Although discusses temporal governance through the pacing of time, rather than a bold definition, I will use her work to define **temporal governance as a governmental strategy to control migrants by the means of time.** Her definition does not only apply to policy design but the variety of ways that time can be used to govern and regulate migration strategically by Western democratic states, namely Canada.

Before introducing my research question and how I will operationalize Griffith's definition to the Canadian immigration programs, I would like to remind readers that her definition is multi-layered as it incorporates concepts that will appear in multiple parts of my work, including the concepts of the political value of time by Cohen and the social construction of target populations by Schneider and Ingram. One of the layers of her definition that coincides with the intersections of migration studies, political science and social theory is the idea of the "deserving" immigrant. Although I intend to write on this in the following section, I find it is important to identify important concepts that are central to the interactions between the immigrant and the state.

Furthermore, in the same article, she adds to her multi-layered definition of temporal governance by asserting that different types and lengths of time are manifested throughout immigration rules and legislation, making them permeable through the system, ultimately soaking immigration rules in the power of time. She goes on to say that in cases where refugees or criminals are not concerned, temporal provisions benefit migrants by rewarding them entry or

settlement in the UK through successful visa applications. Thereby giving this tool an awarding and punitive power, attributed to the type of immigrant that the state believes is deserving of a secure status in the host country. However, this is where she extends the effects of temporal governance beyond design by exemplifying "deservingness" of migrants in their outcomes. Although this is outside the scope of my project, I still intend to use her definition to show that temporal governance is baked into the admission criteria of Canadian immigration programs and afforded power by the governmental structure in the following paragraphs.

Now that I have established the definition of temporal governance, I propose the following research questions that will guide my study that I initially suggested in my introduction:

1. **How is temporal governance used in the design of Canadian immigration programs?**

2. **What does the use of time in the policy design of Canada's permanent immigration programs reveal about the social construction of the categories of migrants?**

To answer these questions, I will implement a qualitative research design by using temporal governance as the dependent variable and the admission criteria in the permanent immigration categories as the independent variable to evaluate their relationship. My units of analyses are the following: the immigration policy design in the admission categories across the three different permanent programs: skilled workers, family sponsorships and refugees. My goal is to define where time is a decisive factor that permits and restricts a migrant's agency and access in the permanent immigration categories in Canada: skilled workers, family sponsorship/reunification and government sponsored refugee programs and private sponsored refugee programs.

Before delving into the description of the categories, I must first outline the general admission criteria found across all three. I want to stress that the temporal design of the admission criteria is shared between all three categories in different ways, and they are framed based on the reason for their migration. I have identified the following requirements as forms of temporal governance in Canadian immigration policy design: age of applicant/sponsee, years of education, years of work experience, validity of language or work certifications, expiry dates, deadlines, time allotted to each category to submit applications, the length of undertaking of a sponsee by a sponsor/family member. Everything else that does not include the requirements that determine the migrant's eligibility to gain permanent residency in Canada, falls outside the scope of my research and does not answer the question of how time is used to design immigration policy in the Canadian context as a form of control. Now that I have defined temporal governance and its forms, which are equally supported by Griffiths herself in her definition, I will compare and specify further how they manifest differently in each category.

For skilled workers, we will be focusing solely on the Express Entry program. The Express Entry program is an online system that organizes and processes applications for economic migrants who want to immigrate to Canada and obtain permanent residency through employment in Canada. The program has three classifications: Federal Skilled Workers, Federal Skilled Trades and Canada Experience Class and I will be evaluating how temporal governance applies differently across all three categories, since each kind of migrant enters Canada under different conditions. For example, the amount of work experience required across these three categories. The federal skilled worker must acquire a job before your entry in Canada and it must be one full year of full-time, continuous work of 30 hours per week (1,560 hours). If the job posting is part time, the applicant must fulfill the equal number of hours. French or English language tests must

stay valid for two years, otherwise they are not credible. In this case, we can see that temporal governance is applied in terms of labor and skill, the primary reason for migration.

For the family sponsorship program, family members who wish to sponsor their relatives must be at least 18 years old, a Canadian citizen, a person registered in Canada under the Indian Act or a permanent resident. In this case, temporal governance applies mainly through age and the length of undertaking of the sponsee. Applicants are responsible for the undertaking of their family member and the length of undertaking depends on the relationship between the sponsor and sponsee, as well as their age. For example, the spousal sponsorship stream requires that the sponsor support their spouse for three years, while a parent must support their child under 22 years old for 10 years or until the age of 25, whichever one comes first. For a child 22 years old or older, the length of undertaking is three years. For parents or grandparents, the length of undertaking is 20 years and other relatives such as cousins, aunts, uncles, or in-laws are 10 years. Temporal governance is applied here to maintain family cohesion and dependence while controlling the amount of responsibility sponsors are obligated to undertake based on the restrictions on time.

We will look for the application of temporal governance strictly within the family sponsorship programs sponsoring immediate family (spouses, parents, children, and grandparents). For refugees, we will focus primarily both private refugee sponsorship programs refugee sponsorship programs and government assisted refugees (GARs). I chose to focus on both because there is not enough information on GARs and this would widen my scope of research and the information. I would obtain in searching for difference in temporal governance. Detecting temporal governance in the case of refugees are difficult because their reason for migration is safety and their conditions are already precarious to begin with. However, we can

see examples of temporal governance primarily in the amount of time they are afforded to submit a claim to the Immigration Refugee Board, Canada's largest administrative tribunal that functions independently from the federal body of government. They are responsible for making decisions on individual refugee claims. However, in their policy structure, refugees are only allotted 15 days to start and apply at the port of entry, whereas skilled workers are given 60 days, and sponsorship programs are given 30 days. Here we can bring forth the important dimension of the speed and pace of time expanding in favor of a deserving migrant, such as a skilled migrant who provides labor for the state, while a refugee is under the care of the state. The concept of deservingness will be better explained in the following section on the theoretical framework of my proposal.

Apart from submitting applications, time is not specified for refugees in terms of age, education, years of work experience, but is dependent on their status as migrants in need for safety and asylum under humanitarian causes. Although this provides them with potential resources and welfare under the government's care, it still extends the limits of sovereign control and overpowers any agency they may have as migrants. In terms of rejected claims, they are only given 30 days to leave the country which alludes to the uncertain and anxious nature of their migration. In this example, we can see that time is highly unspecified for refuges, which is once again reflective of their constantly pending or buffering state. We can see here how time stands still, or barely moves for refugees, while for skilled workers time expands, leaving family sponsorship somewhere in the middle of these two based on the state's prioritization of migrants. This is a concept that will be further explained as the expansion and compression of time is highly linked to the deservingness of migrants 'status in Canada.

Three policy areas were chosen for several reasons. First, they are Canada's permanent immigration categories that display the main reasons for why migrants choose to settle in Canada: work, family, or safety. Arguably, it could be asserted that most migrants around the world choose countries for this reason, but I am keener on proving this in the Canadian context. The second reason is that these categories allow us to evaluate the ultimate question that is asked by all immigration policy makers, governments: "Is this migrant deserving of settling in Canada insofar that they fit the criteria for the type of migrant that we need to build our society?" This question is implied in Griffiths' definition of temporal governance, as well as Schneider and Ingram's theoretical framework in the social construction of population. This bleeds into my last reason to choose three categories, to showcase the ductile and rigid properties of temporality in the context of migration studies, systems, and experiences. This is important because it allows scholars to develop a holistic framework of how time can be both restrictive and permissive based on traits that are considered more advantageous in achieving policy goals through design. By elucidating the malleability of time within the sovereign state, we see that temporality adopts the state's power through policy design which allows for the regulation of time, or the "ticking" of time by the permission of the state. Second, I have chosen three immigrant categories to show that time does not operate the same for every group based on uncontrollable circumstances in policy design. By comparing three immigrant categories in Canada, we are met with unavoidable cleavages in the very nature of the reason for migration that is inseparable from the way they experience temporality. I intend to prove that temporal governance, in the case of these categories is not arbitrary but purposeful and controlled initially through design. This purpose will be expanded upon in the theoretical framework to show that ultimately, there are winners and losers in immigration policy design. This will help explain why some groups are advantaged

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more than others and how policy design reinforces the images of the three permanent immigration categories. At the same time, by using the three immigrant categories, we can use this work for further research in migration studies to study the question of "deservingness" of a migrant for the future of immigration policy design. It will prove to be a useful framework for both scholars and policymakers alike, to detect patterns in admission through the differentiation of time, namely in time forms such as acceleration, deceleration and waiting. By attributing these characteristics to the pace of time, we will better understand the effects of policy design on first-time migrants in Canada and what it reveals about each permanent immigration category. In showing the differences in time application, this work will be able to prove its usefulness in categorizing deservingness of reconceptualizing time, or temporal governance as it is experienced by migrants today.

Theoretical Framework

Schneider and Ingram's social constructions framework (SCF) addresses how a democratic society's policy agenda is comprised of value-based judgments that inform policymakers' use of policy tools to assign positive or negative policy treatment to target populations. To theoretically ground my work, I will use the SCF to propose that temporal governance is a substantive policy tool of control used to assign rewarding and punitive policy treatment to Canada's permanent immigration groups. I hypothesize that the allocation of time-based policies supports the ideal economic migrant over family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship candidates to fulfill national immigration goals. Therefore, revealing that the economic migrant is more "deserving" by design in the Canadian context than family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship candidates.

The SCF contends that social constructions show up as stereotypes or images that are assigned to target groups that can be derived from media, legislation, or public attitudes, which in turn, influence policy design and the rationale for policy choices. Constructions appear as indirect or direct messages that are communicated through policy which impact the way target populations are viewed and how much they participate. In my work, I observe that social constructions come from historical policy practices of prioritizing economic migration over family or refugee sponsorship as a pathway to nation-building. The historical policy practices of prioritizing economic immigration have stayed consistent over time, supporting the current Immigration Levels Plan of 2022 to 2024, with economic migration as the main priority in fulfilling immigration objectives. To illustrate this, I will show how time is strategically and intentionally allocated through policy design based on differences in the usefulness of immigrant groups in fulfilling policy agendas. I will divide them based on positive and negative constructions to test my hypothesis for economic migration, family sponsorship, and refugee sponsorship.

An obvious limitation in using SCF is that social constructions do not exist in objective reality since the problem is the construction itself. However, the SCF framework proves that social constructions exist in objective reality because they appear as measurable and empirical phenomena in the form of data (Schneider and Ingram, 1993). Social constructions are derived through analysis of articles, texts, legislative histories, policies, statues, government guidelines, speeches, and media coverage. In my case, I will be using the eligibility criteria established by

Variations in How Policy Treats Target Populations: Allocation of Benefits and Burdens

Constructions

	Positive	Negative
Strong	*Advantaged* High control; Burdens are undersubscribed	*Contenders* Some control; Burdens are symbolic and overt
Weak	*Dependents* No control; Burdens are oversubscribed	*Deviants* No control; Burdens very oversubscribed

Constructions

	Positive	Negative
Strong	*Advantaged* High control; Benefits are oversubscribed	*Contenders* Low control; Benefits are sub rosa
Weak	*Dependents* Low control; Benefits are undersubscribed	*Deviants* No control; Benefits very undersubscribed

Note: Benefits are shown on the front part of the box to each type of target; burdens are shown at the back of the box.
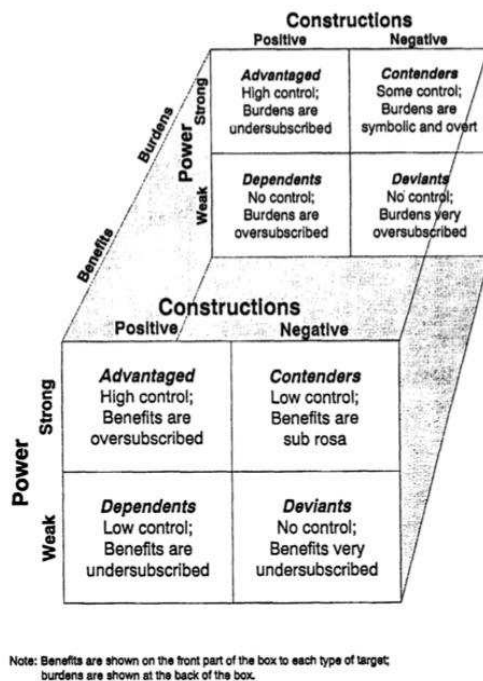
Figure 1: Variations in How Policy Treats Target Populations: Allocations of Benefits and Burdens

the IRCC in the Canadian context to analyze how temporal governance emphasizes the social constructions of permanent immigration categories through the allocated of time-based policy treatments in the form of benefits and burdens.

After my analysis, I expect to find that economic migrants are allocated more positive policy benefits than family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship candidates. However, I hypothesize that family sponsorship's policy treatment and benefits will be similar to economic migration's case since the family sponsors must be financially stable to sponsor family members. Finally, I suspect that it will be difficult to assess how temporal governance controls refugee sponsorship candidates due to the lack of information that comes with admitting refugees. Given the precarious, volatile, and unstable nature of their migration, time-based policies would be difficult to allocate to migrants who are seeking refuge.

The social constructions theory highlights that shared characteristics among certain groups are meaningful because they use specific symbols to strengthen the value of the images associated with the target group. But where do images or stereotypes come from? Schneider and Ingram assert that these images have been created and are perpetuated by each society's politics, culture, methods of socialization, history, media, literature, and religion. Second, such images of target groups have positive constructions, such as "deserving", "intelligent", "hard-working",

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"safe", and "trustworthy." These are traits that are associated with advantaged or dependent target populations. In my work, I will be testing the stereotype of the economic migrant as "advantaged", afforded strong political power, and associated with positive constructions (See Figure 1).

I wish to test this association with the economic migrant because this immigration category brings a high economic and social benefit to Canadian society by being culturally adaptable while generating profitable outcomes for the Canadian job market. There are very few economic and social downsides to designing a policy that accepts and supports this type of migrant, therefore classifying them as "deserving." In their case, temporal governance is enacted in their favor, since time for economic migrants expands as they are given more time to submit applications, the criterion for admission only specifies time in relation to their years of work experience and age. In other words, their relationship to time is agentic compared to family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship.

Second, I hypothesize that migrants who apply for entry through family sponsorship fall under the dependent group, associated with positive social constructions, and attributed weak political power. I decided to test for these associations because family reunification is a beneficial and strategic immigration policy design that allows existing citizens who have already settled and established themselves in Canada to bring relatives including spouses, children, parents, or grandparents to join their household. Sponsors themselves must be able to prove that they are able to financially, socially, economically, and emotionally support themselves and the incoming the family member for their designated amount of time. The difference in temporal governance is shown when policy- making is contingent on the relation of the sponsor to the sponsee. For example, parents and grandparents must be supported for 20 years, while dependent

children 22 years of age or older and spouses must be supported for 3 years (Government of Canada, 2024c). In this case, we can see that temporal governance is a policy tool that controls the relationship between family members, while removing the state's responsibility to the migrant. This category is only considered to have weak political power or lesser interaction with policy because they do not bring financial or economic gain since family members are continuously depending on the sponsor for support in all areas of life. As a result, I intend showcase this reality in my research by revealing that sponsored family members are only "deserving" migrants because their agency and settlement is inherently tied to members of Canadian society who have proved their "deservingness". This observation brings me to the negative policy treatment criteria, which I expect will be applied to refugee sponsorship programs.

When temporal governance is applied to the SCF towards immigration categories, it uncovers differences in how time is applied as a policy practice in Canada's value-based immigration system. I infer that temporal governance is used to overprovide access to permissive policies for economic migrants while providing both permissive and restrictive policies for family sponsors and family members. However, restrictive, or negative policy treatment may be applied to refugee sponsorships as they are stereotypically perceived as "undeserving", "lazy", "manipulative", "dishonest" or "dangerous" in the social science literature. Given that Canada has an open immigration policy and prides itself on its humanitarian missions, I believe that there will be more permissive and positive policy treatments in the case of refugee sponsorships on a humanitarian basis. Although there are no contenders in my research, I will use my analysis to determine if they fit the "dependent" category. Instead of being associated with negative traits, I infer they may face very few restrictive time-based policies in their eligibility criteria due to their

precarious situation and inability to provide direct economic benefit upon their arrival like economic migrants or family members. They may face some negative policy treatments based on social and cultural differences that make it difficult for them to readily integrate into society but they also present economic burdens for the immigration system and Canadian society at large since they receive financial relief for the first year of their resettlement. In the case of refugees, I suspect that time remains unspecified or constricted since there is little access to policy tools that allow them to clarify their future living conditions since they are given less information and no avenues for immigration counselling regarding their situation. As a result of the conditions created under the practice of temporal governance, they do not have any agency as an immigration category since their presence itself "disrupts" the resources provided by the Canadian immigration system. These policies include the distribution of resources, social welfare services, immigration information, positive interactions and relationships with government and policy and support from the government for advantaged groups, namely economic migrants.

To summarize, under temporal governance, I infer that economic migrants will receive time-based rewards in the form of access to immigration counselling from private companies, constantly updated and relevant information about their status available to them since time expands in their favor, and lenient eligibility criteria. Whereas family sponsors and family members will constantly receive mixed positive and negative policy treatments based on their relationship with their family member such as smaller windows of application and age restrictions. However, refugee sponsorship programs may have restrictive, unknown, or non-beneficial policy treatments. For example, less information on their status, less time to complete and submit applications and less options for resources and help in submitting and processing their applications. For refugees, time remains unspecified or constricted since there is little

access to policy tools that allow refugees to identify their chances of being eligible migrants. Compared to economic migrants who are given 60 days with government resources and private companies immigration counselling, they are given 15 days to submit applications, less information, and no avenues for immigration counselling because of their associations with their negative social construction as refugees. These policies include the distribution of resources, social welfare services, immigration information, positive interactions and relationships with government and policy and support from the government for advantaged groups, namely economic migrants.

However, there may be exceptions. During politically charged times, social constructions are used to create temporarily beneficial policy for deviant groups who experience negative social constructions, weak political power, and negative or inexistent experiences with political tools and policy to support their political agenda at the time. This was most recently exemplified during Taliban takeover in Afghanistan in 2020 when the Trudeau's Liberal government offered resettlement services for 20,000 displaced persons (Government of Canada, 2021). A similar policy change took place during the Syrian refugee crisis when the Trudeau government agreed to take in 25,000 refugees between late November 2015 to February 2016 (Paquet, 2019b). This included both privately sponsored refugee programs and government sponsored refugee programs.

Ultimately, I intend to use SCF to show how time is used to control and organize immigration groups into those who "deserve" rewarding or punitive policy treatment in Canada. Canada's value-based immigration system constructs policy design in a way that favors economically profitable outcomes over justice-oriented goals unless it is beneficial to lean towards the latter in politically charged times in democratic societies. By implementing the SCF

in my work, I reveal the unavoidable fate of "winners" and "losers" in the Canadian immigration system, namely the allocation of rewards to the economic migrant as the "ideal" target immigrant group. In the following section, I will show how temporal governance can be identified in eligibility criteria and IRCC service standards in Canadian immigration system.

Methodology

At this point, it will be beneficial to recapitulate the main points of my work including my research question, research design, theoretical framework before delving into the methodology. The purpose of my work is to reveal how temporal governance influences immigration control in the Canadian context through policy design. To fulfill this goal, I have proposed two research questions: How is temporal governance used in the design of Canadian immigration programs? And what does the use of time in the policy design of Canada's permanent immigration programs reveal about the social construction of the categories of migrants? I have established that I will use Melanie Griffith's coined term, temporal governance to identify strategic control by the government upon migrants by the means of time. I assert that temporal governance is an organizational tool of political control that informs immigration policy design in assigning rewarding and punitive policy treatment to economic migration, family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship. I will use Schneider and Ingram's theory of the social construction of target population to show how benefits and burdens are discriminately distributed across the immigrant groups to benefit the most "deserving" migrant. Policy treatments are assigned to groups as they are portrayed through media, legislation, and policy agendas as useful or beneficial to fulfill political mandates established by policy makers. This means that family sponsorships and refugee sponsorships may be given access to beneficial policy when it favors the public agenda during election times or political crises. However, in

time periods that are less politically charged, they are viewed as dependent groups that do not experience the full range of beneficial time-based immigration policies.

To test the theory in the Canadian context, I will be conducting a relational content analysis on two important immigration policy designs: admission or eligibility criteria and IRCC service standards. I will be using eligibility criteria and IRCC service standards across the three permanent immigration categories to identify temporal governance and compare how time expands for the "deserving" migrant while compressing for the "undeserving" migrant.

Klaus Krippendorf defines content analysis as an "empirically grounded research method that is exploratory in process and predictive or inferential in intent" (2018). It goes beyond traditional notions of symbols, contents, and intents. It focuses on the messages conveyed by organizational structures in each society and its processes. In other words, content analysis allows scholars to decode the messages in political and social systems to decipher the intended message behind policies. Since my theoretical framework is based on Schneider and Ingram's theory of social constructions which focuses on unpacking messages behind public policy design, I have decided content analysis is best suited for my research objectives. Other research methods such as policy analysis may not be a good fit for two reasons. First, I am evaluating immigration policy design as a playground where temporal governance acts as a disqualifying tool of immigration control while restricting and permitting access to beneficial immigration policy. Therefore, I am not looking to convey the messages produced by policy implementation or policy outcomes, as this is outside the scope of my work. Neither is the purpose of my work to provide solutions to the problems posed by temporal governance upon the livelihood of immigrants. I believe that these steps are secondary and tertiary to my current goal, which is to pivot the scholarly perspective towards analyzing immigration policy from a temporal and design

perspective to reveal how it is used as a tool to meet political objectives and answering the primary question in public policy research: who benefits? This is a large undertaking that is already overlooked in the Canadian case. For the reasons stated above, relational content analysis is best suited to test my theory as I dissect the role of temporal governance as a tool of immigration control and management in Canada's immigration policy design.

I will be identifying how time is used to create eligibility criteria, acting as a deciding factor that intentionally allows or restricts access to immigration resources and services by design. I acknowledge that the three permanent categories differ in their reasons for migration since economic migrants move for work, family sponsorships are granted entry based the ability to care for the family member and reunification, and refugees are granted access for secure and safe settlement. To remain consistent in my research, I have also chosen to included private refugee sponsorship programs and sponsorship agreement holders (SAH) as an extension of the refugee category.

To maintain a uniform approach and allow for consistent comparison in my research method, I have chosen the following areas for evaluation in eligibility criteria across the three immigration categories and their denominations: age, years of work experience, years of education, years of spoken language, application due dates, time granted to submit an application, document expiry dates and validity dates, changes in the validity of tests based on year, the length of undertaking of a family member or refugee, time limitations on applying for sponsorship, the length of the relationship between family members or common law applicants and date of marriage. Anything that falls outside of these areas is not considered temporal governance in immigration policy design unless the policy is updated to include new categories of time control in eligibility criteria.

An example of an exception of temporal governance that exists outside of the areas is the case of economic migration in the Comprehensive Ranking System (CRS). The CRS is a points-based system for economic migrants that awards immigrants with higher points based on skills and desirable traits in a candidate pool. The chances of successful applications are directly related to a higher number of points in the ranking system. However, for any two or more applicants that have the lowest score, there was a tie-breaking rule enforced on February 9th, 2023. The tie-breaking rule states that "if one or more candidates has the lowest score, the cut-off is based on the date and time they submitted their Express Entry profiles." (Government of Canada, 2024a). This is a clear showcasing of temporal governance in the Canadian immigration policy design, as time acts as a disqualifier even among advantaged groups. This does not exist for family sponsorships or refugee sponsorship programs, but it is only specific to economic migrants.

The second place I will search for temporal governance and how they differ among the subsets of the immigration categories is the service standards. Service standards are different than processing times as the former is the number of days the government has predetermined it takes to process an application while the latter is the actual time it takes to process an application. Service standards are a predetermined set of days that enforced by design, whereas processing times is a policy outcome that is dependent on several factors and does not remain consistent. To present my findings, I will develop my interpretation of the tables and figures found in Schneider and Ingram's work as it pertains to temporal governance in Canadian immigration policy design. A good example of the repurposing of social constructions theory has been published by political scientist Lina Newton in the context of the social constructions theory in U.S. immigration legislation (See Table 1).

Policy Narratives and the Social Constructions of Target Groups (Table 1)

Policy Narrative	Target Group	Narrative Portrayal	Social Construction	Anticipated Policy Tools	Policy Tools Supported Through Narrative
The immigrant Freeloader	Illegal and legal immigrants, children of illegal immigrants	On welfare, not contributing their fair share, absorbing citizens' benefits	Negative	Punitive, coercive	1. Restrict to SSI. Housing 2. Enforcement of public charge laws. 3. Deny schooling, etc.
The Criminal Alien	Illegal Immigrants	Lawbreakers	Negative	Punitive, coercive	1. Identification 2. Incarceration 3. Deportation
The Lawless Border	INS and Border Patrol (direct	Overwhelmed under siege	Positive	Resources	1. Barrier construction 2. Expansion of border patrol and pilot programs
The pathologies of federalism	State and local agencies	On the front lines, diligent, frustrated by jurisdictional divisions, shouldering the burdens of immigration enforcement mandates from Washington	Positive	Voluntary, positive inducements, self-regulations	• Faciliate information-sharing between jurisdictions • Federal block grants to states to absorb the costs generated by immigrant populations.
Government Off Our Backs	Employers	Trustworthy, diligent, law-abiding	Positive	Positive, voluntary, positive inducements, self-regulation	• Streamlined I-9 • Streamlined H2-A • Verification hotline • Burden of proof shifted to plaintiffs in discrimination cases

Source: Reprinted from Newton, 2005

Newton uses the same framework and definition of social constructions to evaluate for

the allocation of resources and group deservedness in democratic immigration policy making. I

intend to replicate her realization of Schneider and Ingram's table in the Canadian context (Pierce

et al, 2004). Although she had conducted discourse analysis, I would like to emphasize that we are not using the same dependent variable, which is temporal governance in my case. She is looking at how immigrants are perceived in the Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA). She does not use time as a formative and decisive tool, instead her work focuses on analyzing narratives of immigrant categories and immigration reform in the IIRAIRA. However, her work is an excellent example of how social constructions theory is a widely applicable theoretical framework in analyzing immigration policy as well as a good framework in developing a methodology to test other variables, such as temporal governance as a way of controlling migration in democratic structures.

Limitations

There are two possible limitations to my work. The first limitation is the same one that presents in Schneider and Ingram's theoretical framework regarding the subjectivity that is inherent in social constructions theory. It can be possible to infer that popular images and narratives about immigrant categories are a matter of subjective belief and do not reflect reality. However, this is difficult to contest given that there are policies and legislation designed to guide and control migration flows from its inception. Similar to Schneider and Ingram's rebuttal, I intend to prove that information that exists in forms of commensurable and empirical data such as eligibility criteria and IRCC service standards. Therefore, the constructions may appear as subjective beliefs but they present themselves in the way policy is designed and enacted by public officials. The second limitation is that my work can be seen as normative and does not identify a solution while only identifying a problem. As mentioned throughout my proposal, my intention is not to present a solution but to re-conceptualize how immigration policy design is viewed from a scholarly perspective. By focusing on the dimension of how time can produce

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unavoidable controls on the agency of migrants and their access to resources, I am prioritizing the need to view the construction of policy design from a prismatic view. By shifting the focus, I am urging scholars to think about the variety of issues that can arise from neglecting the other instruments in the policy toolbox that are used in controlling migration flows and organizing immigration groups.

Chapter Two: Economic Migration

In this chapter I will begin my investigation of temporal governance with the subcategories in economic migration under the Express Entry (EE) program: Canadian Experience Class (CEC), Federal Skilled Workers Program (FSWP) and Federal Skilled Trades Program (FSTP). I will investigate how temporal governance appears in the Canadian immigration eligibility criteria by employing my two main research questions. The first question will ask how temporal governance is used in the design of economic migration immigration programs. In response to my first question, my work suggests that the Canadian immigration policy design uses time to control and organize economic migration through positive and rewarding policy treatment. In the case of economic migration, time is applied in a permissive manner to create policies that enable economic migrants to work in Canada. Examples of permissive policies based on time include higher points assigned to applicants based on their age, years of Canadian work experience and years speaking English or French in the Comprehensive Ranking System (CRS). The second question will ask what the use of time reveals about the social construction of the category of economic migrants. The answer for this question is determined upon comparative analysis of all three economic migration classes: CEC, FSWP, and FSTP and how the goals of the program serve the political and economic immigration objectives. In the case of economic migration, my work proves that Canadian immigration policy design

favors economic migration to reward high-skilled migrants who fit the ideal archetype of the young, skilled, educated, and single migrant with Canadian work experience. This is because Canada aims to accept and resettle immigrants who can provide social, political, and economic value to the country through the integration of immigrants who have the desired skillset to settle in Canada as permanent migrants. In other words, Canadian immigration policy design seeks to import the migrant that is likely to cause the least amount of social and economic disturbance, and instead help achieve the nation's economic objectives. As a result, economic migrants, among other immigration categories are more "deserving" of access to the resettlement in Canada via permissive policy design. Among the three categories, I deduce that CEC applicants are perceived as the most deserving primarily because they have one year of Canadian experience, which separates them from FSWP and FSTP program.

There are many steps in the CEC stream that can be analyzed through a variety of lenses, but they are not all pertinent to my project on identifying temporal governance. To review, a substantive policy tool is a "policy technique that directly or indirectly impacts the production, consumption, or distribution of a good in society" (Howlett and Mukherjee, 2017). At the same time, there are certain criteria across the CEC, FSWP, FSTP that are not relevant to time in immigration policy design such as having the proof of funds, which are asked for the latter two, but the CEC remains exempt from. To reduce inconsistencies in my research, I focus on how the use of time in eligibility criteria rewards or punishes each category through policy design. Thereby unveiling how time is used as substantive policy tool to distribute goods and services in the Canadian immigration system to "deserving" candidates, which is enforced by historical and current policy practices.

The establishment of Canada as an independent nation was a result of the acquisition of new lands, inclusion of provincial members and nation-building projects to assert the nation's legitimacy. Among these projects was the use of immigration to occupy newly acquired lands and participate in the building of a railway system that would connect the eastern parts of the country to the west (Boyd and Alboim, 2012). To do this, Canada sought British, American, and Northwestern European immigrants with the intention to become permanent residents who would contribute to the nation-building project through work and settlement in agriculture, mining, and natural resource sectors (Ellermann, 2021). Prior to World War I, migration to Canada was based on race or country of origin for farmers, farm workers and female domestics. This selection criteria fulfilled national objectives as the federal government wanted to increase population growth based on race, manual labor and filling in population gaps. However, the political and economic landscape quickly changed when Canada's interest in becoming an industrialized, globalized, and competitive nation made the shifted its focus on investing in businesses and landowners rather than agricultural workers (Green and Green, 2004); (Ellermann, 2021).

This change in an open perspective increased the speed by which economic migration would become one of the most important policies in Canadian nation-building. Major revisions made to the 1910 Immigration Act strengthened the federal and provincial powers while replacing race-based eligibility with country of origin or nationality and more restrictions in which type of migrant Canada is willing to accommodate (Green and Green, 1999). After a series of labor shortages, the political, economic, and social ramifications incurred by World War I and II and a tug of war between the agricultural and business sector, developed a restrictive

immigration policy under Prime Minister Mackenzie King. In 1947, he delivered a speech that insisted immigration to Canada was seen as a privilege and not a right, explicitly introducing the concept of "deservingness" (Green and Green, 2004). These policy objectives targeted Asian migrants, manual laborers (farmers, agricultural workers), and family sponsorships. Amidst many financial and political losses, preservation was the primary method in nation-building. This created a biased, unfair and inequal scale to evaluate economic migrants, while disqualifying family members and dependents, and asylum-seekers as primary and potential candidates. Combined with the administrative and bureaucratic troubles of establishing the roots of an immigration department, the restrictive design of Canadian immigration policy became a strategy for self-preservation.

As a solution to fair and a balanced selection of migrants, an objective immigration policy was introduced with the instrumentalization of time as a public policy tool in the points-based system in 1967. Prior to this date, national origin was the primary criterion required for eligibility to migrate to Canada, but with the newly established points-system, individual candidates were given priority based on their potential for economic contribution in a knowledge and skilled-based economy calculated by the points assigned to each criterion. The first reveal of temporal governance occurred in 1967 but was perfected throughout institutionalization of time as points were allocated to each applicant based on their age, years of education, the validity of language tests and years of work experience in a designated field in the Comprehensive Ranking System (CRS). By analyzing the program through a temporal lens, we will learn that there are not only differences in how time is applied within EE, but time is applied differently to family sponsorship programs and refugee resettlement programs, respectively. Second, the differential

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application of time and how it is allocated among immigration categories is telling of Canada's "deservingness" principle and the prioritization of migrants in its policy design.

Express Entry and Comprehensive Ranking System

Today, the CRS is an important part of the Express Entry Program that was introduced in 2015. It is a two-stage system that is used to interview potential applicants that fit into one of the three federal immigration programs, the Canadian Experience Class, the Federal Skilled Workers Program, The Federal Trade Workers Program. It is a system that is operated by IRCC, the primary federal body that processes applicants, establishes and enforces immigration legislation in Canada. The advent of the EE offered four benefits to the current system: incorporating the demand for a specialized skill set in the form of human capital to address employment gaps, digitization of the submission and processing of applications, reducing future backlogs, prioritizing job offers based on the private sector needs, and accelerating the assessment process (Hiebert, 2019). The steps to apply for EE are as follows: meet the eligibility criteria, create an EE profile where they will be assigned a CRS score based on the four levels of factors, wait for an invitation to apply (iTA), prepare, submit their application for permanent residency and obtain a visa and land in Canada.

I chose the Comprehensive Ranking System (CRS) to show how temporal governance shows up in a primary part of the Express Entry Criteria because it remains consistent for all three streams in the human capital category. The Express Entry system is an online system used to organize and process applications for skilled migrants who wish to migrate to Canada under economic migration. The program is a pathway to gain permanent residency upon validation of their education, skills, and work experience. The system has three main programs which I have

outlined above, the CEC, FSWP and FSTP. Applicants must first verify if they meet the

minimum eligibility requirements needed to create a profile. This is one of the first areas where

my work will identify temporal governance in two areas in the EE system. The first is the

eligibility criteria as it pertains to age, education, work experience and foreign work experience

for applicants in the CRS. After meeting the eligibility criteria, they are required to make a

profile and submit their job application which includes temporal requirements such as age, years

of work experience, language test results. Second, I will identify temporal governance in the tie-

breaker rule implemented by Immigration Refugees Citizenship Canada in 2015. The system was

made to differentiate applicants who have identical scores based on the time and date their

application was submitted. This will be an explicit show of temporal governance that is integral

to the policy design of immigration categories and disqualification of candidates based on clock

time. The third and final show of temporal governance appears in the duration of the candidate's

application in the EE pool. The application can stay in the pool for a maximum of 12 months

before they have an opportunity to resubmit an application and receive an invitation. The process

is illustrated in the figure below (Figure 2)

Express Entry Application Process

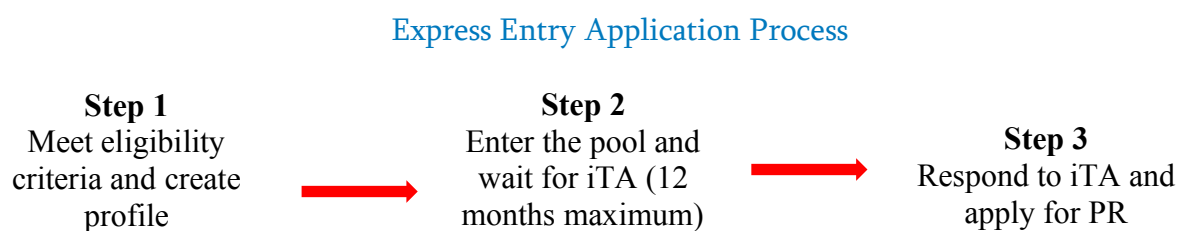| **Step 1**	**Step 2**	**Step 3**
Meet eligibility criteria and create profile	Enter the pool and wait for iTA (12 months maximum)	Respond to iTA and apply for PR

Figure 2: Express Entry Application Process

Candidates are awarded points for a variety of factors which are divided into the

following sections: human capital, spouse or common-law partner, skill and transferability

factors, and additional points for language skills or relations to existing Canadian citizens.

Candidates can be awarded up to 600 points in core sections such as skills and experience, spouse and common-law factors, skill transferability (work and education), with a maximum of 1,200 points. Section A of the CRS evaluates the candidate's economic value using the framework of temporal governance by assigning a point to age, years of education and years of work experience, in other words it evaluates the weight of each applicant's human capital. Human capital is measured by skills possessed by an individual or group that brings value to an organization or country. For example, young and single applicants between the ages of 20-29 are given 110 points in the human capital category (Government of Canada, 2024b), meaning their application is worth more in the ranking system as the system shows a higher chance of being chosen for an invitation. This is an explicit show of the high demand and assigned value for young, single, experienced, educated, and ready-to-work candidates that could make a potentially positive economic contribution based on the measurement of time in immigration policy design.

Candidates are issued invitations to apply for permanent residency after they are ranked in the CRS. If two or more candidates have the same score, the IRCC uses the tie-breaker rule to ensure transparency and fairness in the selection of their candidates based on the time and date the application was submitted (Government of Canada, 2024c). If more than one candidate has the lowest score, tie-breaker rule is used to determine the next potential migrant to apply for permanent residency. At the same time the iTA is only valid for 60 days, during this time applicants can choose to accept or deny their invitation. After the 60 days, their invitation is expired, and they may no longer be considered for permanent residency through one of the three EE programs. This is a clear portrayal of the use of time in policy design as a tool of migration control as it directly disqualifies candidates based on time and to an extent, based on their

qualifications. As of July 16, 2024, 60,006 applicants scored 451 to 500 points whereas 1,057 scored between 601 to 1,200 points, thereby making the highest scoring applicants in the category with the least applicants (Government of Canada, 2024d). Therefore, applicants who score higher are not subject to the tie-breaker rule as the applicants with lower rankings, which means there is less competition for applicants who possess more skills. In other words, the tie-breaker rule serves a restrictive function for candidates who do not possess skills or qualities that are more desirable as a potential migrant in the three economic streams. As it pertains to the CRS, the rules surrounding time and the exercise of temporal governance seems to apply equally for all three streams of economic migration. However, as my work progresses, we will see that the displays of temporal governance differ based on the stream within each immigration category. Lastly, temporal governance appears in the duration of the candidate's application in the EE pool. Applications stay in the EE pool for a maximum of 12 months. If they are not issued an invitation, they can reapply for the following year. This is a glaring and obvious indication of temporal governance in the EE system that applies to all programs, thereby emphasizing how the EE process is defined by temporal boundaries, thereby creating a policy design mechanism that is controlled and guided by time at the beginning and middle stages of the application process.

Canadian Experience Class

This section will explain how time is allocated to candidates in the CEC stream to reward them with permanent resettlement in Canada. These policy rewards or benefits show up in the form of open and rolling applications, relevant and consistent information regarding their application, and time-based eligibility criteria exceptions that allow for entry into Canada. This section will show that time-based policies are distributed to CEC candidates because they portray

the attributes of the "ideal" migrant that can fulfill Canada's economic immigration objectives. It will begin with an overview on the program, followed by an analysis of how temporal governance works to create and enforce the constructions of a young, educated, single and highly skilled migrant.

The Canadian was well established before the EE on September 17, 2008, by formally amending the Immigration Refugee Protection Act (IRPA). As previously stated, IRPA officially replaced the Immigration Act in 1976 as the primary legislation that governs immigration in Canada. The CEC is a way for temporary foreign workers and foreign students who already reside in Canada with professional, managerial, and skilled work experience to permanently settle (Boyd and Alboim, 2012). This stream is designed to take inventory of current high skilled migrants who have Canadian work experience or post-secondary degrees from Canadian academic institutions to integrate them through the workforce. They have an advantage over the skilled workers and trades workers as they have economically, professionally, and academically contribute to the designated sector where their skills are concentrated in Canada. This also includes their ability to fluently work and communicate in English and French without using government resources to practice and perfect their linguistic skills and reducing processing times, as they already reside in the country.

Before prospective applicants can be considered for the CEC, they must satisfy the minimum requirements. Temporal governance is present primarily in the minimum requirements for Canadian work experience and language ability. For Canadian work experience, candidates must have at least one year of skilled work experience in Canada for thirty hours per week (1,560 hours) or the equal amount in part-time experience (15 hours per week for 24 months) in the three years before the application date to the program (Government of Canada, 2024d). Anything

past 30 hours of work cannot be accounted for, nor does it give a candidate any more or less value as CEC applicant, which is a restrictive policy design using time as a policy instrument. However, it can also be permissive factor for applicants who are not able to work more than 30 hours due to other responsibilities such as being a full-time student.

The work experience must also be recognized as valid under one of National Occupation Classification (NOC), a system used to classify jobs based on training, education, experience, and responsibilities (TEER) they require. They must be between TEER 0 to TEER 3, which are focused on high-skilled jobs that require at least a bachelor's degree or a diploma that proves educational and technical training. Some examples are financial managers, doctors, software engineers, or dental assistants (Government of Canada, 2024d). TEER 4 and 5 are manual labor jobs or retail jobs, which is exempt from the CEC. Second, the language requirements must prove writing, reading, listening, and speaking ability, and they must be valid for two years after the end of the test result. If the language test expires after two years, then fluency in the language can be questioned or denied. As mentioned, temporal governance appears and applies in areas that focus on the nature or reason of migration. In this case, the CEC eligibility criteria uses work experience, along with the CRS ranking system's age, and years of language experience at the centre of their selection criteria to sift through applicants to have an outcome geared towards the one with the highest human capital, as they generate higher earnings on average compared to the FSWP and FSTP (Mahboubi, 2024). The key predictors of high earnings are work experience before landing in Canada, language proficiency and age, which all include a strong temporal dimension in identifying eligibility, assigned value and access to future resources in Canada (Mahboubi, 2024). This is a clear display of temporal governance, as time-based policies are created to withhold goods or services from applicants who do not meet the minimum

requirements solely based on the length of time each applicant has practiced a skill or work experience. Therefore, disqualifying them from the opportunity to access resources such as the ability to qualify and access program information if they do not meet the temporal requirements carved into the policy design.

The CEC is ultimately the most rewarded immigration group, based on their access to resources and information about the program because it contributes to the Plan's economic objectives in two ways. First, the two-step immigration process reduces costs since the foreign workers and students are not eligible for federal aid, and the costs of settlement are either covered by the employer, an academic institution, or the migrant themselves (Boyd and Alboim, 2012). Second, since the program is geared towards accommodating workers and students that match the skillset outlined by the CRS, most candidates are rewarded entry based on their accomplishments and skills, meaning that incoming candidates will possess the desired skillset that matches them with the demands of the Canadian work force. This quality makes CEC candidates desirable since their years of practicing English and French, and working in Canada at a young age makes them employable and competitive candidates.

Could it be that the CEC applicants' involvement in the Canadian workforce made them instantly more desirable as they developed traits through learned experiences that are associated with positive constructions that have validated their education and language skills through their experience as a candidate in the CEC draw? In a study published by The Ontario Metropolis Centre, a group of researchers at the University of Toronto equated the hard and soft skills learned in a Canadian job environment with "tacit knowledge" (Sakamoto, et al, 2013). Tacit knowledge is defined as skills and experiences that are context specific and hard to interpret or explain outside of the work or social setting. In other words, the CEC prepares candidates to

acclimate to a social and cultural Canadian lifestyle by subliminally adopting desirable traits

before becoming official members of the country. A large part of this process is the mandatory

length of time that is set in criteria design that make them a valid candidate is no longer

perceived as foreign or threat, but a trained member of Canadian society. This process is

exclusionary and suggests that immigrants who have not had training in "being Canadian" are

typed undeserving or "unsuccessful", as they have failed to adopt traits that attach positive

constructions to their identity by their time spent in Canadian society. In this case, the identity of

a "Canadian" is a positive construction associated with the CEC applicant, deeming them as

more advantaged than the federal skilled worker (FSW) and federal trade worker (FTW) which

we will compare in the findings. At the same time, inviting CEC applicants does not raise

questions by the public about whether these applicants are "deserving" as they have proved their

contribution to Canadian society through their work experience. Therefore, the CEC class among

the three streams have been typed with positive constructions and beforehand that make it easier

for them to gain access to further resources in their journey to permanent residency. This is an

act of creating policy by prioritizing the social constructions of the type of people that apply

through the CEC. This section has concluded how temporal governance creates eligibility criteria

that rewards and attracts valid candidates that fit the role of a young, educated, single, and highly

skilled economic migrant through the CEC stream.

Federal Skilled Workers Program

This section identifies work experience as the primary area of differential policy treatment

between CEC candidates and Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) candidates. CEC

candidates are rewarded for their one year of Canadian work experience, whereas FSWP

candidates are eligible to choose from 10 years of work experience. Although there are slight

nuances in policy treatment, I argue that the overall tone of time-based policy rewards and restrictions are minimal and adjusted to the professional situation of FSWP candidates in their eligibility criteria, thereby showing that temporal governance allocates positive and lenient policy treatment to FSWP candidates.

The FSWP is the second of the three streams of the Express Entry Program with similar requirements as the Canadian Experience Class. First, applicants must meet the same minimum requirements as required for the CEC: skilled work experience in one of the NOC categories (TEER 0 to 3), they must prove validity of language tests up to 2 years, and a minimum of high school education or post-secondary education that must be verified by an Educational Credential Assessment (ECA) (Government of Canada, 2024f). Normally, candidates do not require a job offer if they rank high enough on the CRS, but if they present with a job offer and a valid LMIA assessment, then the chances of invitation into the program are higher. The major difference highlighted in terms of temporal governance in the eligibility criteria is instead of proving work experience for 12 consecutive months in the last three years, as is required by the CEC, applicants are required to show proof of skilled work experience within the last ten years in Canada or abroad. This criterion gives the skilled workers more leniency in applying since they do not have Canadian work experience or any initial connection to Canada as a prerequisite to be considered for permanent residency. In this case, the use of time as policy tool can be explained both as permissive and restrictive. This is a policy tactic that exists in democratic systems as Schneider and Ingram have noted that the distribution of burdens and benefits are not uniform but context-specific and they can be read in a way that also compensates for an earlier exclusionary policy (2017).

Therefore, if potential FSW (federal skilled workers) lack Canadian work experience, they are at a higher advantage than CEC applicants as they are not required to reside in Canada as a prerequisite, meaning they can apply from their home country and be considered without Canadian experience. Additionally, they are given seven more years than the CEC applicants to choose of one year of consecutive work experience. If potential federal skilled workers have both Canadian and international experience, they can score a minimum of 25 points for 1-2 years of foreign work experience with a maximum of 50 points for 3 years or more (Government of Canada, 2024f). However, the number of points assigned to a FSWP applicant is contingent on the length of time worked, which is an explicit display of temporal governance.

If the applicant has multiple years of experience in Canada, combined with over three years of foreign work experience, they are more likely to rank higher on the CRS and receive an invitation than the CEC candidate. However, considering that single applicants between the age of 20 to 29 are the most coveted, this makes it both difficult and unrealistic for younger applicants to have up to 10 years of work experience in a desired NOC they can choose from, along with a post-secondary education and foreign work experience that makes them a competitive choice. Therefore, the length of time available to select valid work experience is a major point of difference in eligibility criteria for potential FSWP and CEC applicants since their eligibility is determined by the CRS which applies to all three streams equally as and their different eligibility criteria including age, years of education, 60 days to apply once invited, and the two-year validity of language tests. Although the FSW program has a historical legacy in establishing the foundations of the economic migration in Canada, it is greatly subject to change.

To give another example of both a permissive and restrictive policy design, the CEC does not ask for an ECA to validate foreign education when they apply through EE, but the FSWP

requires an ECA to consider an application valid. This may put the applicant at a disadvantage when applying for the program, but the successful validation of their educational achievement may be comparable to Canadian qualifications. However, this may not always favor the applicant since the accreditation process takes time to submit, process and verify and employers request to fill a position is time sensitive combined with the reality that the applicants do not possess Canadian experience. As portrayed in the FSWP eligibility criteria, many of the factors that are advertised in the application process are looking for time-sensitive Canadian experience to match their time-sensitive demands. Thereby displaying another tension that exists in Canadian immigration policy with time at the center of its policymaking.

Candidates that apply for the FSWP through EE are still treated as desired economic migrants, but time is allocated to prospective applicants based on temporal criteria that assigns the social construction of a "deserving" migrant on a conditional basis. This conditional basis depends on how labor market needs will be met and how likely they are to develop tacit knowledge of the cultural aspects of the Canadian experience. At this juncture, we can use the social constructions theory to frame FSWP as applicants who are seen as "conditionally deserving", and as a result having the potential to have the association of the "positive construction" as a Canadian. I will come back to further develop this conclusion in my findings to answer what type of social constructions are associated with applicants in the CEC, FSWP and finally the FSTP and what they reveal about temporal governance in Canadian immigration policy design. But first, we must outline where temporal governance applies differentially in the final category of economic migrants, the federal trade workers. This section has noted that time-based policies organize FSWP candidates in a similar category than CEC and assign similar policy treatment and rewards in the CRS. However, having Canadian work experience allows for

slightly better policy treatment and quicker access to permanent resettlement in Canada, which is not present in the latter two economic migration categories. Therefore, revealing the discriminatory nature of temporal governance when the social constructions of immigrant groups in Canada are present in policy design. The implications of this policy treatment will be further explained in Chapter 5.

Federal Skilled Trades Program

Does the instrumentalization of time as an immigration management policy tool aggravate the differences between each type of economic migrant? Although economic migrants generally benefit from a time-based policy design framework, trades workers comparatively receive punitive policy treatments because of the low-skilled labor is not prioritized in the 2024-2026 Plan, and their ranking in the CRS. The Federal Skilled Trades Program (FSTP) is one of the three programs in the EE stream, prospective applicants are ranked in the CRS and given points based on their age, years of education, years of work experience, and their relationship status in the same manner as the CEC and FSWP. To review, the ideal applicant who scores higher points are between the ages of 20 to 29 years old, possess a post-secondary level of education and at least one year of Canadian work experience and at least three years of foreign work experience. This also applies for trades workers who are applying through EE, but the eligibility criteria greatly differ outside of the CRS.

The minimum requirements for the FSTP are as follows: skilled trades workers must have at least two years of full-time work experience in a skilled trade within the five years before they apply (Government of Canada, 2024g). They are also required to meet the job requirements in a specified NOC group. Moreover, they must have a valid job offer for a total period of one year to be considered an eligible candidate, whereas CEC and FSWP program do not ask for this

as a minimum requirement. At the same time, a long series of certifications and tests are required by the employer and the province to ensure validity of the prospective applicant's skill set. Non-temporal components include: LMIA (unless the job does not require an LMIA or applicant is already working with an employer that provides a work permit based on the previous LMIA), a skilled occupation under the TEER 2 and 3 categories (ex: technical trades, transportation officers and controllers' supervisors in natural resources or agriculture, manufacturing, aircraft assembly, cooks, butchers, bakers) and the proving of funds to settle in Canada (Government of Canada, 2024g) .

The temporal components of the job offer include indication of start date, validity of one year (at least 30 hours a week) and number of hours worked. A valid job offer must also be made if the applicant already possesses a valid work permit and working in Canada, and they are authorized to work on the day they apply for permanent residency and the issue date of the visa. If the applicant has been accepted for permanent residency, they must have a valid job offer for a year in the same NOC that expires one year after the residency is issued. If they are exempt from having a positive LMIA, they are still required to have a valid job offer for at least a year. In any case, the temporal policy of the year-long valid job offer is a mandatory step in possessing a positive LMIA to be considered eligible for the program. This means that FTSP applicants are conditionally valued insofar they have a pre-approved job offer for a year. This is a rigid and restrictive use of time in the eligibility criteria that prevents prospective trade workers for applying for permanent residency through this program. Another criterion that uses time in a restrictive method for FSTP program is in the minimum requirements for work experience. Prospective applicants are limited to choosing two years of full-time work experience within the last five years of their initial application date. Compared to their contenders, the CEC affords

applicants one year of work experience within the last 3 years and the FSWP are asked for one year of work experience within the last 10 years. The limits imposed on the length of work experience between the three categories sends a restrictive the message to potential trade workers: applicants who cannot prove the demand for work in your field and applicants who do not have recent work experience cannot and should not apply for permanent residency through the FTSP. Moreover, applicants who are applying as trades workers that do not have access to Canadian experience and resources that temporary foreign workers or students applying through the CEC do to prove their potential to work and live in Canadian society.

The temporal policy restrictions for trades applicants do not provide an incentive for immigrants to apply through FSTP program since many labor jobs are either filled by existing citizens or many applicants are looking to work higher paying jobs since they possess a wider skillset. This is due to the emphasis on the need to attract a "model" of with the time-based policy design that suits the requirements of the young, highly educated, highly skilled, bilingual migrant who can not only satisfy the demands of the job sector but have a cultural and social understanding of the Canadian experience. For this reason, I infer that high-skilled economic migration is advertised in an accessible light and welcoming light whereas manual labor and low-skilled migration is written into the minimum criteria as least accessible based on time-based policy restrictions. It must also be considered that FTSP applicants are less likely to migrate to another land to work in sectors they can work in their domestic country since manual labor jobs (retail, farming, manufacturing) have similar working conditions and requirements in Canada. Instead, it punishes the trades worker for not possessing the experience that can allow them access to permanent resettlement in Canada. The current immigration narrative does not

stray far from the post-war economic objectives, as high-skilled workers come out on top in terms of the reaping the advantages of temporal policy design in the Canadian context.

This section has identified how temporal governance distributes preferential policy treatment in Canada's immigration policy design through restrictive and punitive policy treatment to FSTP candidates. Although economic migrants are generally rewarded the most benefits and access to immigration goods and services, including permanent resettlement, trades workers face more challenges gaining access to policy treatment that leads to permanent residency in Canada compared to CEC and FSWP candidates. The implications of this design will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter Three: Family Sponsorship

Temporal governance is used as substantive policy tool to control the relationship between family members and access to permanent resettlement in Canada in family sponsorship. Time-based policy restrictions and permissions are applied in the eligibility criteria including age, length of undertaking, and application submission times. My analysis on the spousal sponsorship, child sponsorship, parent, and grandparent sponsorship program and other relative sponsorship will deduce that the parent and grandparent sponsorship program face the most punitive policy treatment compared to any other immigration category's policy design. Thereby revealing that the length of undertaking, tight application deadlines and shorter windows of application for the parent and grandparent sponsorship program disqualifies older immigrants who do not fit the model of a young, educated, skilled, and single individual are less deserving of permissive policies and face more time-based restrictions because of their inability to contribute to the economic growth that is prioritized in Canada's immigration policy objectives. In other words, they are seen as less "deserving" by design.

The research question is answered differently from skilled migration because temporal governance in economic migration reflects the relationship between the migrant, the state and time. In the case of family sponsorship, temporal governance controls the relationship between the existing citizen, the migrant, the state, and time, therefore extending the dimension of time control beyond the state and the migrant, by extending the permissive and restrictive element on existing citizens and their intimate relationships. Therefore, revealing the pervasive nature of temporal governance in family sponsorships as it poses control on people who are not migrating, but those who are connected to the migrant, thereby exposing the omnipresent and ubiquitous property of time in policy structures (Adam, 1990).

This chapter will be structured as follows: First, I will go over a brief history of family sponsorship from 1960 to 1973 to highlight the moment where Canada made the switch from skill-based immigration to family sponsorship from countries other than Northwestern Europe. Following the history of family sponsorship, I will briefly highlight the current state of temporal governance in the family sponsorship category by introducing the four subcategories of family sponsorship: immediate family sponsorship (including partner, common-law, dependent children), adopted child sponsorship, relative/extended family sponsorship (cousin, aunt, uncle, niece, etc.), and finally parent and grandparent sponsorship. The following subsections will be based upon the subcategories of family sponsorship and each respective subcategory will answer the following questions as it relates to their relationship with temporal governance. For consistency and clarity, each subcategory will outline eligibility criteria of the program and highlight how prospective applicants can apply. Last, I will identify where temporal governance is present each family sponsorship category's eligibility criteria and whether each category suggests a restrictive or permissive policy tone.

History of Family Sponsorship Program

      Chinese migration began as early as the 1900s, but the tail of end World War II marked the true beginning of multicultural migration to Canada (Ellermann, 2021). For the first time, large numbers of South Asian, African, and Middle Eastern migrants were making their way to Canada in search of economic prosperity. Thus, kickstarting the trend of culturally sensitive policy making and the creation of the blueprint of immigration categories in Canadian immigration legislation today. The chapter on family sponsorship will highlight four important key points in constitutional changes to immigration policy in Canada: the Sedgwick Report in 1963, the Chinese Adjustment Program in 1964, the drafting of the first White Paper in 1966, the separation of the Department of Manpower and Immigration and Department of Citizenship, the passing of the Multiculturalism Act in 1971 and the Immigration Act in 1976. Although these are important and pivotal events in Canadian immigration legislation history, it is crucial to note one primary takeaway of this time as it pertains to my work: Immigration Act of 1976 that allowed the division of immigrants based on categories, administrative changes that outlined the objectives of immigration as a tool in Canadian foreign and domestic policy, and the division of responsibilities and labor within bureaucracy. These changes were largely due to the onset of new immigrants which urged policymakers to pay attention to the lack of policies in place to determine the direction of their settlement. Instead of young and single Northwestern European migrants settling in Canada, Asian migrants of Indian, Sri Lankan, Chinese, Japanese descent, and African migrants started flowing in along with their families. Many arrived by boat, including many Greek sailors and a large majority of them were either detained or deported on the grounds of illegal migration and entry (Kelly and Trebilcock, 2010). This brought up the

question of family reunification and sponsorship as an immigration program for the future trajectory of immigration policymaking.

As a result, the family sponsorship program was at the start of the largest administrative and bureaucratic restructuring of the immigration and citizenship department in Canada (Ellermann, 2021). The program first began in the late 1950s and early 1960s, accommodating Asian, Caribbean, and African migration alongside other important changes in legislation. For example, in 1964, Renee Tremblay delivered a speech that called attention to the administrative discrepancies in the immigration system, primarily with the lack of speed and efficiency in processing applications and poor organization of tasks within the Department (Kelly and Trebilcock, 2010). The Chinese Immigration Act, a discriminatory immigration policy established against the Chinese immigrants established in 1923 came to an end with the start of the Chinese Adjustment Program.

The following sections will be divided into four categories to address how temporal governance exists in the eligibility criteria of each family sponsorship category in 2024: spousal sponsorship, child sponsorship, parent or grandparent sponsorship and relative sponsorship/extended family sponsorship. Upon evaluation for each program, I will deduce how time is applied in immigration policy legislation to different groups of migrants within the same category. The final section of this chapter will discuss what the social constructions of family sponsorship reveal about the permissive and restrictive policies formed by time and where each category lies on the social constructions grid proposed by Schneider and Ingram. This chapter will assert that temporal governance is used to control the limits of the relationship by allocating the financial and social responsibility of the family members to the spouses, instead of the state. Although family sponsorship is an important pillar of Canada's open immigration policy, the

time-based policy restrictions posed on family members control the limits by which the state allocates access to resources for new family members. Although temporal governance in the family sponsorship program provides a mix of rewarding and punitive policy treatment, I assert that the length of undertaking is an exclusionary and punitive policy treatment strongly emphasized in the case of parent and grandparent sponsorship.

Spousal Sponsorship

The spousal sponsorship was the first program category created outside of individual migration from Northwestern Europe to Canada. An intensive string of policy changes between the 1960s and 1980s allowed for the repurposing of the existing system into a legitimate bureaucratic body that guides the future of immigration in Canada. This was the federal government's first attempt in handling large numbers of foreign settlers with vastly different backgrounds that were looking to settle in Canada. However, the social and ethnic tolerance of policy makers were tested in this era since racial discrimination and family sponsorship were the main issues that aggravated the pre-existing administrative and organizational tensions in the Department of Manpower and Immigration. As a result, the slow move towards less discriminatory policies were being made as a solution to racial discrimination in a volatile policy environment due to the continuous revisions of the Immigration Act and lack of political insulation (Ellermann, 2021). Although there was a low public consensus on supporting and reuniting immigrants, there was an internal push towards an inclusive and equitable immigration policy that evaluated migrants based on their skills. This was enacted in the Immigration Act of 1976, which serves as the blueprint of current Canadian immigration legislation, however spousal sponsorship was the gateway program for all following family sponsorship programs.

The spousal sponsorship program is a pathway for existing citizens and permanent residents to sponsor their spouse or common-law partner to settle in Canada with them permanently (Cockram, et al., 2021). Sponsors may invite their spouse, common-law partner, or conjugal partner to settle with them in Canada. Each category has a distinct eligibility criterion that must be differentiated to determine their credibility as potential newcomers. The IRCC lists the shared requirements to sponsor a spouse, partner, or dependent child, parent or grandparent and relative on their website: the sponsor must be at least 18 years of age, a citizen or permanent resident residing in Canada, they must be able to prove that they do not receive social assistance other than a disability and ability to prove that they are financially equipped to take care of the sponsee, and they are without a criminal record (Government of Canada, 2024h) .

For spousal sponsorship and common-law, individuals must provide proof that they are in a genuine relationship with their partner by providing documents such as marriage certificates or a joint lease agreement. Sponsors may not be eligible to apply for spousal sponsorship for many reasons such as being convicted of a crime, bankrupt, receiving social assistance for another reason other than a disability (Government of Canada, 2024i). As it pertains to temporal governance, sponsors may not be eligible to sponsor their partner if they were sponsored by their partner or spouse and became a permanent resident less than 5 years ago, or if they are still bound to three-year undertaking that requires them to assume responsibility of a previous spouse or sponsor. This rule applies even if they become a Canadian citizen during this time. This is a restrictive display of temporal governance in immigration policy in the case of spousal sponsorship. Although there is no reason provided by the IRCC for this rule, we can infer that it will be costly to assume financial responsibility for more than one sponsored applicant as well as Canada does not legally recognize polygamous marriages. However, the three-year term of

financial responsibility for their sponsored partner is in effect even if their relationship changes (if they get divorced or separated), if they lose their job or accrue debt, or if they request to cancel their sponsorship after the sponsored person became a permanent resident. In this case, many of the restrictions do not apply to the migrant, but the sponsor.

As we dissect the immigration category of family sponsorship, we will reveal that much of immigration control through time application in policy is related to the nature or reason of their migration. In the previous chapter on economic migration, we saw that time applies to the number of hours worked by a CEC applicant which contributes to the value of their migration to Canada. In economic migration, time applies to work, in family sponsorship, time applies to the responsibility one has for another in relationship between the sponsors and the sponsee. In other words, temporal governance's state structure has the ability to apply to the nature of an intimate relationship between family members whose primary obligation to one another is **care.** For example, married couples, common-law partnerships, and conjugal partners have different eligibility requirements in terms of the declaring their relationship valid based on the length of time they have been together. A married couple's relationship is not valid based on the length of their relationship since the marriage certificate is credible proof of their relationship. Therefore, ensuring validity through time is not required.

For a common-law relationship, both parties must prove that they have been living together or have lived with their partner for at least a 12 month long consecutive relationship in a marriage-like relationship (Government of Canada, 2024i). A conjugal partner is someone who resides outside of Canada and has been in a relationship with the sponsor for at least a year. The temporal requirements for a conjugal partner sponsorship are as follows: for at least 12 months where marriage or cohabitation was not possible for any reason and a significant degree of

attachment can be proven between the two individuals that have a physical and mutually interdependent relationship (Government of Canada, 2024i). In these three examples of romantic relationships, we can see that time as acts as a validating and permissive policy only in common-law and conjugal partners because do not have legal documentation, like a marriage certificate to ensure the validity of their relationship. In this case, time acts as the seal of credibility that considers the latter two relationships as valid, seen and "deserving" of settlement under Canadian immigration policy. Therefore, adding to the permissive and restrictive element of time because it certifies relationships through its policy design in the Canadian context for spousal sponsorships.

The length of undertaking for a spouse, common-law partner or conjugal partner is three years (Government of Canada, 2024i). Current immigration legislation bounds the sponsor to their partner under the conditions that they will be able to provide financially for their necessities such as housing, healthcare, and overall social welfare. The length of undertaking begins after the submission and processing of the spousal sponsorship application and starts on the day the sponsored applicant becomes a permanent resident. For example, if a sponsored partner obtains their permanent residency on January 1st, 2024, the sponsor is responsible to fulfill their partner's needs until January 1st, 2027. The dates and times in which policies are deemed effective or expired is also a strong display of temporal governance. This means that the start and end dates control the division of responsibility the sponsoring couple's relationship based on the length of assigned time. This is one of the primary ways citizens are controlled by time in government structures, as first established by Barbara Adam and further expanded upon in contemporary examples by scholar Elizabeth Cohen. Calendrical time is one of the first uses of time control in social and political settings since it determines the starting and the end of an action or in this

case, the scope of effectiveness of a policy. Therefore, controlling the nature of their relationship by entrenching responsibility through time in immigration eligibility criteria is a true marker of the reach of temporal governance. Furthermore, it is restrictive since it bounds the sponsor to their partner by removing responsibility from the state and instead reinforcing it in the intimate relationship of the sponsored couple. In this way, the financial welfare of the incoming migrant no longer lands on the state, but the existing citizen who has already proven their deservingness of a legitimate status in Canadian society as someone who assumes responsibility for their spouse. Consequently, the sponsee does not inherently possess value as a migrant, but they are deserving of the potential Canadian status consequently by relation to the sponsor who has already economically and socially contributed to Canadian society and achieved a status of a deserving citizen who is in the position to assume responsibility for another person. This is important to highlight because immigration policies that are designed through a temporal lens that strongly reinforce the existing and future relationships of migrants through the structure they are enacted through. This is well exemplified in the spousal sponsorship case.

The spousal sponsorship application is different than its neighbouring programs because the validity of the application is highly contingent on whether the applicant can take care of their partner for an assigned length of time and the validity of relationship based on its length. The length of undertaking is assigned to the sponsor based on the age of the dependent and the nature of their relationship thereby highlighting the main marker of temporal governance in the eligibility family sponsorship program as age and length of undertaking. This is the strongest display of temporal governance in family sponsorship which allows us to differentiate family migration from economic or humanitarian migration as temporal governance is exercised

primarily on the sponsor and the migrant. Next, we will look at how this differs in cases of child sponsorship.

At this juncture, we have observed that time not only has a permissive and restrictive power in immigration policymaking but becomes a very personal tool that governs relationships between human beings by being attached to policies that guide the state's objectives, thereby revealing temporal governance's metamorphic and insidious nature. Time acquires its instrumental political value from the system it is processed through because the political subjects must undergo experiences that are a product of the political system (Cohen, 2018). In this case, time application in the Canadian immigration regime cements past policies while reinforcing current policies and in effect, establishing a system in which time itself becomes a tool of governance and in turn, the livelihoods of those who are subject to it. Since the family sponsorship programs explicitly guide the relationship between family members and the state respectively, the restrictions on the relationship between the applicant and the sponsored family member is an explicit case of immigration control in this chapter.

The current immigration policy agenda supports family reunification overall, seeing it as a beneficial endeavor that strengthens social relations while bringing a moderate level of economic value. Spousal sponsorship has overall positive and permissive policy treatment, as many spousal sponsorships consist of younger couples who will partake in the Canadian labor force. Considering the length of undertaking for a spousal sponsorship is three years, the principal applicant will no longer be bound to the sponsor financially as they would have to financially contribute when this period is over. For the time they are sponsored, they are classified as dependents. However, they are still considered a dependent, which means that they do not have political agency and control while being financially and politically bound to their

spouse for the length of undertaking. As a result, spousal, common-law and conjugal relationships have an overall tone of restrictive policy design in their eligibility criteria. However, they are bound to their sponsor for three years, which is the shortest length of undertaking in all family-sponsorships. Therefore, it could be argued that although the spousal sponsorship category has an overall restrictive policy tone with legal and financial obligations that tie their "deservingness" as immigrants to their spouse, they will gain agency and experience permissive policies when the term of undertaking is over. This is because during the three-year care period, they will acclimate to Canadian society by working, socializing, and contributing to the community with their spouses and enforcing the narrative of the young, working, and skilled migrant. However, as we have seen in the previous chapter, being a single migrant is rewarded more than being a migrant with a spouse. In CRS, single applicants that apply through EE score 10 more points than applicants with a spouse or partner. Since spouses and partners do not immediately fit the desired archetype of the young, single, educated, and skilled migrant with Canadian experience, they are at the risk of experiencing more restrictive policies than their counter part. In the following section, we will investigate how and where time is used in the second family sponsorship category to allocate rewarding policy treatment in child sponsorship.

Child Sponsorship

In this section, we will cover where and how temporal governance applies for the dependent children being sponsored by a parent or guardian in its eligibility criteria. Temporal governance applies in eligibility criteria for child sponsorship in the areas of age, length of undertaking and the date which application rules are amended. We will search for temporal governance in dependent child sponsorship in areas that are also present in spousal sponsorship. Time is applied in policies that guide the relationship between the parent and the child, both

relatively and respectively. In the first criteria, time is applied to the age of the sponsor. Applicants must be at least 18 years old and prove they are can financially provide for their sponsored child. They must also be a Canadian citizen or residing in Canada with a permanent residency. They must not possess a criminal record or owe a major debt. Although there is no proof of minimum income required by the IRCC, the applicants must be able financially provide for the child for a designated period to be eligible as an applicant (Government of Canada, 2024i). The second display of temporal governance in child sponsorship is applied to the length of undertaking of the dependent. The length of undertaking in Quebec is different from the federal criteria due to their independently functioning immigration system. For this reason, my case study excludes Quebec's length of undertaking as a target unit of analysis of temporal governance in federal immigration policy design.

According to the IRCC guidelines in 2024, dependent children, biological or adopted under the age of 22 must be under the care of a sponsor for 10 years or until the age of 25. However, the length of undertaking does not apply respectively. If the dependent is 20 years old, the length of undertaking is not 10 years, but 5 years (Government of Canada, 2024i). For dependent children 22 years of age or older, the length of undertaking is 3 years (Government of Canada, 2024i). Therefore, the maximum age a dependent can be financially provided for is 25 years old in 2024. This leads us to the third display of temporal governance in child sponsorship, the amendment of policies based on dates. On October 24, 2017, the age of dependents and inevitably the length of undertaking was changed. It was divided into three criteria: child under 13 years of age, child 13 to 19 years of age, and child over 19 years of age (Government of Canada, 2017).

Before October 24, 2017, the eligibility criteria for children under 13 years of age, was 10 years, or until the age of 13. For children between the ages of 13 years old to 19 years old, it was 3 years or until the age of 22. For children over 19 years old, it was 3 years, or until the age of 22 (Government of Canada, 2023f). The extension of the age limit is an explicit show of temporal governance in Canadian immigration policy design and a permissive use of time as a tool of immigration control. In other words, policies for child sponsorship have become more permissive over time as the age of dependent has increased from 18 to 25. This change occurred for several reasons, but it aligned with the change in global trends in changing family structures and an adherence to the Canadian immigration objectives and beliefs.

According to a news release on May 3, 2017, Ottawa increased the age of dependence to allow immigrant families to stay together by allowing children who are 22 years old and older with mental health and physical conditions to rely on the support of their parents for a better quality of life (Government of Canada, 2017). A higher age limit on child sponsorship will allow children of immigrants to pursue or complete their studies longer or complete its equivalent in Canada. Most importantly, the time-centric change in the eligibility criteria adheres to the Canadian immigration agenda of family reunification, thereby showcasing the government's commitment to keeping families together. In 2017, the Minister of Immigration, Ahmed Hussen affirms this change in support of this mandate, "…raising the age of dependents lets more families stay together. This will bring economic and social gains to our country as it enhances our attractiveness as a destination of choice for immigrants and refugees." (Government of Canada, 2017). As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the trajectory for Canadian immigration policy changed indefinitely when priority shifted from race based to skill-based migration and family reunification (Ellermann, 2021). This change was cemented in immigration

policies under the rational of socio-economic prosperity for Canadian nation-building. However, the method by which it would be implemented was continuously subject to change, as seen in the case of everchanging time application in the economic migrants and family sponsorship categories.

At this juncture, we have covered where time appears in immigration policy in the family sponsorship category's eligibility criteria: age of the applicant, the length of undertaking, the age of the dependent and dates of policy change. However, there is a fifth display of temporal governance present in the case of child sponsorship that is not obvious; the time elapsed between policy dates. For example, the policy that permits the eligibility of dependents was increased by 7 years as the age limit changed from 18 to 25. Thus, revealing which type of migrant is coveted by the Canadian immigration system and which category is ultimately the most deserving of rewards of time. After October 24, 2017, immigrants between the ages of 18 to 25 were seen as one of the most deserving migrant groups in the immigration policy design in my case study because they were given access to Canadian resources including permanent residency, access to education, and financial undertaking in an established Canadian household and family reunification through the extension of age. According to Schneider and Ingram's framework, social constructions can be derived from legislation and federal policy objectives itself (1993). Since the expansionist vision of Canadian immigration policy began with family reunification in the 1960s, there has been a persistent political motive that has allowed immigration policy design to create and perpetuate how immigrant groups can instruct themselves through policy in their respective categories. Overall, the child sponsorship group have higher rewards through time-based policy design, as it is accompanied by amendments of past policies to accommodate the younger generation of immigrants to Canada. Whereas the spousal sponsorship category faces

fundamental policy restrictions in the eligibility criteria that disqualify prospective applicants if they fail to verify the credibility of their relationship by the eligibility criteria. Whereas the eligibility criteria in the child sponsorship program have been amended to reward families who sponsor young, educated, and single immigrants who will invest in higher education and integrate into the Canadian labor force, characteristics that are similar to CEC applicants.

This policy has now been cemented to support the Canadian narrative of encouraging children of immigrant families between the ages of 18 to 25 to contribute to the socioeconomic landscape of the Canadian nation as a family unit. For this reason, many social welfare resources, including schooling and post-secondary education, equivalency certifications, social aids in entering the job market, healthcare, and a pathway to permanent residency are readily available through parental support. Although the benefits that are eventually subscribed to spouses are similar to dependents, the policies act as hurdles rather than gates for the former. My work suggests that the preference in designing the criteria differently for immigrant groups is guided by the long-standing socio-economic and political objectives of immigration policy to attract and maintain a young, working and educated population with Canadian experience, similar to the CEC migrants who gain permanent residency through Express Entry. The permissive policies have economic and social benefits associated with child sponsorship, including access to resources and information about their program which are distributed to migrants who have the most potential to integrate into the Canadian lifestyle while in their formative years.

According to the social constructions framework in the case of immigration categories, child sponsorship is seen as the most "deserving" of the benefits that immigration policy design offers. Considering that the child sponsorship category creates permissive policies to encourage the increase of young adults, the experience for parent and grandparent sponsorship may be

different. In the next section, we will explore how and where temporal governance directs punitive policy treatment through its time-based policy frameworks in the parent and grandparent sponsorship category.

Parent and Grandparent Sponsorship

The 1966 White Paper divided immigrants into two categories: sponsored dependents and non-dependent relatives. These two categories were an effort to make sense of the multi-generational migration coming from non-Northwestern countries. The White Paper originally deemed sponsored dependents as spouses and children but was revised to include parent and grandparents as well as younger relatives such as orphaned children. However, it was recognized that welcoming extended family members outside of spouses and biological children would upset the economic balance that Canadian immigration policy was originally designed to equalize since parents, grandparents and extended family members entered without meeting the education and skills requirements (Chen and Thorpe, 2015), (Ellermann, 2021). This tension was aggravated when outlined in the following Green Paper since parent, grandparent and extended family sponsorship was considered inefficient and contrary to fulfilling the socio-economic agendas as it fell short of manpower quotas. With significant backlash from existing migrants, the 1976 Immigration Act then established three official immigrant groups by eliminating the division of nominated migrants and officially introducing the family class. Chen and Thorpe affirm that the trajectory to establishing family reunification as a principal in Canadian immigration policy is inherently a biopolitical question. Therefore, proving that Canadian immigration policy goals are purposefully restrictive based on social groups regardless of their inclusion in either 1966 or in present day immigration policy. This section will highlight how

time-based policymaking strengthens this narrative in parent and grandparent sponsorship program's (PGP) eligibility criteria.

So far, we have seen a mix of restrictive and permissive eligibility criteria in economic migration, spousal sponsorship, and child sponsorship, with an overall positive attitude towards welcoming young, educated and culturally adept migrants having positive experiences with the rewards time has to offer. However, parent and grandparent sponsorship follow a different narrative. As we sift through the eligibility criteria in parent and grandparent sponsorship, temporal governance tightens the restrictions in policy design, thereby effecting their chance to settle in Canada because the parents do not fit the archetype of the ideal and deserving migrant that we have seen supported in previous immigration categories. Unlike the spousal sponsorship or child sponsorship program, there are deadlines and time limits on when applicants can apply in PGP. In this section, we will see that temporal restrictions appear in the form of deadlines, date and time of policy changes, tax years and age limits. The process of sponsoring a parent and grandparent is lengthy and complex compared to the previous programs since sponsors are restricted to applying within specified windows. Instead of applying directly, sponsors face a multi-step process to be eligible to move further into the process.

The first step in meeting the eligibility criteria is to express an interest to sponsor a parent or grandparent four years prior to the intake process. The 2024 intake requires applicants to submit a form in 2020 to be considered a valid applicant (Government of Canada, 2024j). The interest to sponsor form was open for a total of three weeks from October 20, 2020, to November 3, 2020, until 12:00pm (Eastern Standard time). If the sponsor failed to apply within this window, they are immediately disqualified from this round of parent and grandparent sponsorships and must therefore wait at least four years until PGP has been reset and

applications have reopened. In other words, this three-week window is the only time that Canadian immigration system accepts need for an immigrant to reunite with their parents and grandparents. Without an invitation, adult immigrant children are disqualified from this round of applications to PGP and cannot reunite with their parents or grandparents for at least four years (Government of Canada, 2024j). If applicants miss this window, they are given the option to apply for a Super Visa, which is type of a temporary visitor visa. The Super Visa as an alternative temporary option will be revisited towards the end of this section.

After receiving an invite, applicants are given from May 21, 2024, to August 2, 2024, until 11:59pm (Eastern Standard Time) to submit their application (Government of Canada, 20324j). This is the first glaring display of temporal governance in the case of the PGP and evidently the most impersonal. By setting limits on the time and date the applicant can submit a request for sponsorship as the first step of being eligible, it already disqualifies those who are unable to send their application within this time, thereby naturally reducing the volume of applicants. The IRCC specifies that there are no exceptions for any applicant who miss the window to submit their interest to sponsor their parent or grandparent, and their window to accept their invitation to apply. The window of application is similar to the tie-breaker rule in the case of CEC applicants, which is used to differentiate between identical scores based on the time and date their application was submitted. Although there is no reason given for the small window of the application deadline, it suggests that the IRCC uses deadlines to narrow their pool of applicants to meet their quota of accepting 20,500 applicants out of the 35,700 invitations (Government of Canada, 2024j).

The third display of temporal governance lies in the number of years of undertaking. As previously discussed, temporal governance impacts the nature or reason for migration. In the

case of family sponsorships, we see that sponsors are financially and socially tied to their dependents (spouse, child, parent, or grandparent) through the years of undertaking. Spouses are responsible for their partner for three years, parents are responsible for their children for 10 years or until the age of 25, and parental sponsors are financially responsible for their parents or grandparents for 20 years. Sponsors financially bound to their parents or grandparents for 20 years in every province except Quebec, where the length of undertaking is 10 years (Government of Canada, 2024i). The undertaking period starts the day the principal applicant becomes a permanent resident. Similar to the spousal sponsorship criteria, the sponsor is prohibited from canceling or shortening the length of undertaking and continues to bound the sponsor to the principal applicant under any circumstance. The length of undertaking rule persists under ordinary or extraordinary circumstances. For example, if the parents or grandparents become Canadian citizens, the relationship changes, if they move to another province or country, if the sponsor experiences joblessness or debt, or if the sponsor sends an application to withdraw the sponsorship and it was received after the principal applicants became permanent residents, the sponsors are still financially and socially bound to their parents or grandparents for 20 years. This accounts for: food, shelter, clothing, needs for everyday living, dental care, eye care and other health care needs that are not covered by public health care services (Government of Canada, 2024j).

My analysis of temporal governance in the PGP's eligibility criteria reveals that time application in PGP's eligibility criteria is largely restrictive than permissive, as the window for application is not more than three weeks and the length of undertaking is two decades. As a result, sponsors cannot apply to bring their parents or grandparents at any time, but only between a limited window every four years. After they submitted their form in 2020, they must wait four

years to receive an invitation, after which they are given less than 9 weeks to gather all of their documents and submit their application (from May 21st, 2024, to August 2, 2024) to be considered valid applicants. Although my work focuses primarily on policy design and not policy implementation or outcome, prolonged waiting times are integral administrative features of the eligibility criteria, thus making PGP immigration category with the most restrictive policies in family sponsorship (Belanger and Candiz, 2020). Compared to the former two sponsorship categories, the IRCC has allotted the least amount of time for PGP sponsors to compile their applications and express interest for family reunification. The lack of time given to sponsors apply for sponsorship to adult immigrant children is indicative of the current political attitudes towards older immigrants and the value that is assigned to their immigration. This trend has been observed by Canadian immigration policy scholars since the 1990s (Chen and Thorpe, 2015); (Ellermann, 2021); (Franklin, 2015). But where and how did this shift in attitudes and political objectives arise?

Parent and Grandparent Supervisa

In the 1960s and 70s, family reunification was considered a duty rather than a privilege. However, the gradual de-politicization of the Family Class made way for the neoliberal democratic state that emphasized individual contribution rather than maintaining social cohesion through family bonds as it produced less economic value in commercial markets (Chen and Thorpe, 2015). This resulted in a series of devasting political impacts on the immigration system, including the reduction of family class quotas by 75% and eventually creating the largest case of immigration backlogs that last until present. In July 2024, the Canadian immigration system holds over 890,000 cases of backlogs carried over from the early 1990s due to the piling case

files of restricting policies regarding entry of elderly parents and grandparents (Government of Canada, 2024k)

As mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, the family sponsorship category arose from a series of administrative and legislative changes when establishing the foundations of the Canadian immigration system and writing the 1976 Immigration Act. but as economic and bureaucratic needs shifted, so did the trajectory of immigration policy. Before this major change, over 50% of applicants Although most of the current literature focuses on the integrative experiences of parents and grandparents and policy outcomes rather than policy design, it can be deduced that PGP is the most adversely affected group in the family sponsorship category due to their lack of economic contribution and cultural integration into Canadian society (Vanderplaat et al, 2015). For this reason, sponsors often use alternative pathways of temporary migration to alleviate the stress they experience in trying to navigate difficult and restrictive policies. For example, The Super Visa allows parents and grandparents to visit their children for up to 5 years at a time. The date the grandparents apply determine the length of their stay. Applications are accepted on a rolling basis, unlike the PGP. Due to policy changes, if parents or grandparents apply on or after June 23, 2023, they may stay for a maximum of five years. If they applied before June 23, 2023, the border agent who is responsible for granting the parent or grandparent entry must decide the length of their stay (Government of Canada, 2024k). Considering the parents or grandparents stay on a visitor visa, they are not afforded any social welfare by the government. However, if the children choose to take responsibility for their parent by their own accord, they may. Belanger and Candiz outline the social, emotional, and financial setbacks the adult children of immigrant parents and grandparents experience due to the inability to meet the minimum income requirement or missing the window to apply for sponsorship (2020). They

describe the inherently temporally restrictive nature of the visa by "gaining time and losing rights". In exchange to meet with their children, aging parents and grandparents must forfeit political power and social security for duration of their stay.

Although the Super Visa is a temporary immigration pathway and is not included in the scope of my study, I find it important to call attention to this issue as the temporal restrictions become stronger in temporary pathways to migration. As seen in this example, temporal governance applies within temporary visas stronger than it does in the PGP. Visitors may only stay for a maximum of five years alternative programs used by sponsors as a "temporarily permanent" pathway to reunite with their parents after receiving rejections or missing the window to apply (Government of Canada, 2024k). For this reason, sponsors often find themselves in precarious situations that arise from the restrictive policies in the PGP eligibility criteria and instead use the Super Visa to alleviate the tensions they face upon reception of delays or rejections. However, this is usually at the cost of their physical, mental, and social well-being as many adult children relocate to other countries to reunite with their parents if they are unable to meet the income requirements or have a successful application with or without the help of a co-signer (Belanger and Candiz, 2020).

The main purpose of family reunification is to allow immigrant families to have complete households where they may continue their lifestyle of living in a multigenerational household. Parents and grandparents are most likely to contribute to domestic work such as caretaking of younger children or participating in community events which is seen as feminized and private labor (Vanderplaat, et al. 2015). In an excellent paper working paper by Devon Franklin, Canadian immigration policy design is maneuvered by the neoliberal paradigm of meeting labor market needs and placing value on the "Canadian taxpayer" rather than evaluating

the "worth" of the family unit (2015). Therefore, creating permissive policies for an aging population would only result in an economic deficit by increasing an aging immigrant host society at the cost of the "Canadian taxpayer" (Franklin, 2015); (Paquet and Lawlor, 2022). As a result, this creates punitive time-based policy treatment for aging immigrants because they do not match the young, skilled, educated, culturally adept and working professional who is sought after in the economic migration stream.

Relative Sponsorship

The relative sponsorship program is one of the four categories of family sponsorship in the Canadian immigration system. The program allows Canadian citizens or permanent residents to sponsor their extended family with the exception that they do not have any immediate family members to sponsor. The sponsor must be over the age of 18, be a Canadian citizen or permanent resident, be able to financially provide and support the sponsee, must not possess a criminal record, and must not be sponsoring another family member (Government of Canada, 2024m). Sponsors can only sponsor one blood relative if they do not have a living immediate family member including their spouse, conjugal partner, child, parent or grandparent, an orphaned sibling, nephew, niece, or grandchild (Government of Canada, 2024m). They are further eligible for sponsorship if they do not have another family member who is a Canadian citizen or permanent resident. The IRCC website provides examples of family members that can be sponsored. For example, if a potential sponsor has no living family members in their proximity, they may sponsor an aunt or uncle with their dependent. If their aunt or uncle is married, they are considered the principal applicant with their spouse as the dependent (Government of Canada, 2024m). Children can also be included with the application if they are under the age of 22. If the aunt or uncle's child does not meet the age requirement, then the child will have to immigrate to

Canada on their own. Canadians who are single and live alone and would like to sponsor their orphaned cousins, as they are their next immediate family, are eligible to do so. Therefore, if the Canadian citizen is single and does not have any living blood family members in their proximity that are citizens or permanent residents, the sponsor is eligible to invite a blood relative to immigrate to Canada under the relative sponsorship category.

Since relative sponsorship is not as frequent as spousal sponsorship, child sponsorship or parent and grandparent sponsorship, there are less restrictions and less frequency of information on the IRCC website. Time is applied in its eligibility criteria in the following areas: the age of the sponsor, age of the dependent if the principal applicant has a child, and the years of undertaking and the method of accepting applications. The sponsor must be at least 18 years of age, which is the legal age in Canada. If a Canadian citizen is living alone under the age of 18, or if they are an orphan, they are restricted from reuniting with any potential family members outside of the country and must remain in care of the state. The age of the dependent of the principal applicant is another show of temporal governance, as they are only eligible to migrate if they are under the age of 22. Otherwise, they must migrate independently to Canada. The third display of temporal governance in relative sponsorship is in the length of undertaking. The sponsor must be able to financially and socially support the sponsee for 10 years. However, like the parent and grandparent sponsorship, they are not required to show a proof of the minimum income requirement based on their tax years based on the number of members their family unit will be comprised of. Like parent and grandparent sponsorship, the restrictions are tightened at the intersections of time, minimum income based on tax-year. Since the family unit includes the existing spouse and children, the financial responsibility to sponsor an extended family member is more burdensome if an immigrant has a larger family or needs to sponsor a family member

with a dependent. Meaning that the financial responsibility for the sponsor increases with each tax year alongside the number of members in the family unit overall.

At this juncture, I would like to highlight a central element in family sponsorship that is fundamentally based on cultural differences: the need to reunite with extended families. As we have seen in the parent and grandparent category, cultural differences are at the core of restrictive and permissive policies in the PGP eligibility criteria. The emphasis on the young, single, educated, working and highly skilled migrant brings more economic value and has more potential to contribute and integrate into Canadian society than an older family member. By the same token, we see that single Canadians with no blood relatives are only eligible to sponsor distant relatives such as cousins. However, the transnational approach to migration has been severely undermined in immigration policy design but is gaining momentum in the scholarly field. A study conducted on Sub-Saharan African immigrants and refugees living in Alberta, Canada and their experiences and viewpoints on extended family migration in Canada explored the consequences of a lack of familial resources and social support as a result of being away from their family (Okeke-Ihejrika, et al. 2022). The study emphasizes that family networks are the foundation of economic, social, and familial support and often, there is a sense of obligation and responsibility to support your cousin, aunts, and uncles. The article highlights the perceived sense of financial and care-taking obligation to extended family members as having both positive and negative outcomes on the lives of Canadian sponsors who settled as immigrants. The positive outcomes are creating a sense of belonging, community, and social support. What is important here are the negative effects that comes from the sponsor's family acclimating to the Canadian lifestyle, which means the relatively high cost of living, which increases with more

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family members they feel obliged to sponsor. At the same time, extended family members have an expectation that the support of their sponsors will be prolonged and always available.

Although my paper focuses on policy design rather than outcome and implementation, it is important that I highlight how eligibility criteria aggravate the restrictions that temporal governance puts on the perceived sense of responsibility to their extended family. This is because it disturbs cultural expectations and norms of immigrant families who want to migrate to Canada. For example, applicants over the age of 22 must immigrate on their own and financially provide for themselves instead of relying on their Canadian cousin, aunt, or uncle. By allowing the maximum 10 years of undertaking for an extended family member sets sponsors free from perceived responsibility or obligation or creates a boundary through its policy design.

The relative sponsorship category can be similarly classified as the parent and grandparents on the grid of social constructions, benefits, and burdens. They have an overall positive construction since family reunification is one of the Canadian pillars of immigration policy. The length of undertaking for relative sponsorship is 10 years, which is significantly less than PGP, but more than a spouse or possibly a child dependent, depending on their age. Since relative sponsorship applications are accepted on a rolling basis and do not have a limited window where applications are sent out, neither do they have a system where delays are built in from the expression of interest to the invitation stage, they are at a higher advantage than PGP sponsors and applicants. However, they are still bound to their sponsor through years of undertaking and the minimum income requirements and whether their sponsor will be able to support them in addition to their family unit members. The income for these increases with each tax-year from 2021 to 2023 and family unit size, which largely determines if their sponsor will be eligible to be able to meet the minimum requirements to provide financially for their relative

for 10 years. For this reason, relative sponsors and their principal applicants are place under the same social construction category as the PGP. They have an overall positive construction because they are dependents, with low political power, as their benefits as undersubscribed with the enforcement of a strict financial income level of the sponsor. Their burdens are oversubscribed since the policies are temporally restrictive because they can only be sponsored if their Canadian relative is single without any existing family members in Canada. Although this exclusionary criterion does not have a temporal component, it fits the image of the ideal Canadian immigrant that is a young, single, educated, skilled worker targeted through the current policy design.

Chapter Four: Private Refugee Sponsorship

This chapter will answer my two research questions in the case of the Private Refugee Sponsorship Program (PRSP). Temporal governance is used in the policy design of the PRSP program to control the relationship between the sponsor and the refugee by placing limits on the length of undertaking, including the financial and social responsibility of the sponsored refugee. In return, the sponsors are awarded with strong political rights through sponsorship organizations, namely the ability to choose who they can sponsor. As a result, showing the rewarding policy treatment being are distributed to the sponsors who are "deserving" of rewards because they direct fulfill the third pillar of immigration objectives, refugee sponsorship.

There are three sponsorship programs, the sponsorship agreement holders (SAH), the Group of Five (G5) and the Community Sponsors (CS) under refugee sponsorship which are subject to the yearlong undertaking. Instead of temporally permissive policy designs, they are awarded with the agency to choose a refugee to resettle in Canada as part of the sponsor's permissive policy

design. Ultimately revealing that temporal governance in PRSP creates permissive policies for sponsorship groups because they take on the financial responsibility for resettling the refugee through sponsorship. At the same time, the relationship between the sponsors and the state is a collaborative partnership rather than one that seeks to discipline and disqualify its sponsors and by extension, their refugee applicants.

This chapter will be organized as follows: First, it will cover a brief history of PRSP since the 1940s until present to outline the origins and trajectory of refugee sponsorship in Canada and its eligibility criteria. It will emphasize the collaborative effort between religious groups and the federal government to establish a sponsorship program on the basis of humanitarian causes. I will then identify where and how temporal governance appears in the three private sponsorship programs: Sponsorship Agreement Holders (SAH), Group of Five (G5), and Community Sponsors (CS). I chose to exclude Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) from this study because policies that temporally restrict and/or permit sponsors and principal applicants do not apply to the state. Instead, my work focuses on how the state differentially uses time in the creation of its policies to control the relationship between sponsor and the refuge. For this reason, my work will only focus on identifying where and how temporal governance appears in PRSP in each category and how they differ. Furthermore, my analysis of temporal governance will follow the same framework as the previous chapters wherein I assert that the allotting of time, creates permissive and restrictive policy differences in each category. I will then use my findings to prove that the application of time in SAH, G5, and CS reveals an important trend about the "deserving migrant" and the larger political agenda of the Canadian value system. As we sift through the major political events that created the conditions in which the PRSP was designed, I urge readers to pay attention to an important facet of immigration policy design that

is not present in the skilled migration and family sponsorship: the motives by which refugee

sponsorship was privatized. Private refugee sponsorship is inherently differently than the former

two programs because they are the result of community-based efforts to improve the living

conditions of strangers, with whom they have no shared identity or characteristics on a

humanitarian basis. In other words, it is the right thing to do. If this is the case, is there an ideal

archetype of a "deserving refugee" that the current eligibility criteria is targeting? Or is there an

ideal and deserving sponsor? Is there a difference between how time is allocated in each

category of refugee sponsorship? These questions are at the center of this final section.

Pathway to Private Refugee Sponsorship

The political turmoil that ensued during World War II left over 30 million people stateless

and displaced. In 1946, more than one million refugees from Germany, Italy and Austria waited

in refugee camps to be received by third countries (Labman and Cameron, 2020). The beginning

of the rocky road in creating an open and tolerant immigration policy towards refugees and

displaced peoples started after the Department of External Affairs advocated for refugee

resettlement in Canada despite backlash from other departments. However, the foreign policy

rationale was motivated by the nation's desire assert its autonomy in international affairs as their

first act of independence and leadership. However, it was not a humanitarian basis that supported

the livelihood of stateless and displaced people who incurred major losses due to the

consequences of war, but the desire to recruit refugees who had ties to relatives residing in

Canada to resettle for work. Thus, introducing the bulk labor program, which was designed to

promote economic growth through labor by employing refugees (Labman and Cameron, 2020).

However, many were ineligible because non-citizen ethnic Germans were considered enemy

aliens regardless of their circumstance. Things started to look up when the Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees (CCCRR) to offer solutions for the relatives' case of refugee resettlement. They were successful in helping relatives reunite with their refugee family members and their efforts proved useful in combatting policy problems in refugee resettlement cases without Canadian family members (Labman and Cameron, 2020). This indicates the start of religious and community groups who came together and worked with government officials to support newcomers financially, economically, and socially in their resettlement to Canada who were seeking asylum. The CCCRR gained official recognition through collaborative work with the Immigration Branch to become the primary agency for groups who are interested in sponsoring refugees regardless of creed and race. The longest functioning religious group that supported resettlement efforts was the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC), who helped relocate those of Jewish descent from 1919 to 2011. The CCCRR took the process further by becoming strong affiliates with the World Council of Churches (WCC) which eventually allowed for international migration for refugees outside of European descent to Canada. Due to their negotiations with the WCC, a key element of Canada's private refugee sponsorship program – an agreement to provide for the refugee for one year was cemented. The sponsorship was possible if the refugee could be guaranteed employment for the duration of their settlement (Cameron, 2020). In 1951, the first display of temporal governance was written into policy design, and this time by the citizens and community and not by the state. As trailblazers in refugee sponsorship, community sponsors are the first and only group in the history of immigration policy design to draw their own temporal policy restrictions as sponsors.

At this juncture, it is crucial to note the persistent effort of religious groups, a politically charged international environment and the Canadian nation-building project were the primary

reasons for a more routinized private sponsorship system. The fundamental basis for private

refugee sponsorship was because of the fervent belief of religious groups' duty to support human

beings in precarious situations. Therefore, it is crucial to note that the Canadian cornerstone of

supporting refugees based on humanitarianism is inherently a product of religious mobilization

of early settler immigrants themselves and not the Canadian state. Thereby explaining why, the

first temporal restrictions in PRSP were designed by the sponsors themselves.

Although this was a great accomplishment for Jewish, Protestant and Catholic community

groups looking to sponsor refugees, it brought on a slew of other unforeseen complications such

as refugees falling ill after a year or being unable to work. As a result, tensions arose on the

policy front regarding the criteria for selecting refugees as the government wanted refugees who

were ready to work, while religious groups wanted to select them based on humanitarian need

and an obligation to care for people in precarious situations (Labman and Cameron, 2020). The

policy tug-of-war reached a stalemate in 1956, at the same time the United Nations High

Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) began supporting refugees that were fleeing from the

Soviet invasion of Hungary. Due to international peer-pressure from human rights organizations

neighboring countries, citizens and the UNCHR, Canada accepted over 35,000 Hungarian

refugees. This political event allowed the CCCRR to push for non-European migration, thus

opening the doors to a more modern and familiar immigration policy that is widely practiced

today. The support of religious groups waxed and waned for the next decade amidst periods of

bureaucratic disintegration and reconstruction within and between government departments and

religious groups until the establishment of the 1976 Immigration Act which passed at the same

time of the Indochinese refugee crisis and program introduction. This marked the turning point

for the codification of private refugee sponsorship's program requirements and eligibility

criteria. Although Canada did help the United States with accepting a small number of Indochinese refugees, it was not until 1979 an official policy framework was established where the federal government would assume more risk and financial cost for welcoming refugees of all backgrounds. Therefore, resulting in "Master Agreements" (known as sponsorship agreement holders today):an agreement between a national corporate body and the government that frees religious groups from the liability from the government. This is important to note because this agreement formed the foundation of refugee resettlement today, that allowed the government to work in unison with private refugee sponsors to resettle over 44,000 Syrian refugees from 2015 to 2024 and nearly 39,000 Afghan refugees from 1978 to 2024, with half of each population being privately sponsored, (Government of Canada, 2024a).

Sponsorship Agreement Holders (SAH)

Nicholas Kamran defines private refugee sponsorship as a relationship between citizens and refugees as a supportive bond that replicates the obligation that the government would have towards refugees. The first of the three categories of private refugee sponsorship is the Sponsorship Agreement Holder (SAH). The program is an incorporated organization that is in a joint agreement with the IRCC to submit and process refugee applications every year (Government of Canada, 2024n). It allows individuals who are part of the organization to sponsor refugees as long as both the sponsor and principal applicant meet the eligibility criteria. They are usually ethnic, religious, community-based, or humanitarian organizations that have previous experience in sponsoring refugees. As of 2023, there are over 130 SAH in Canada and they are permitted to sponsor up to 13,500 refugees per year (Kamran, 2023).

In the case of SAHs, time is used to form policies on age, the length of undertaking, dates of policy changes and windows of open applications. Similarly, to family sponsorship, we will

see that time applies to the nature of migration but also the nature of the relationship. However, I argue that the nature of migration in the PRSP, including the SAH reflects the precarious state of the sponsor-refugee relationship, meaning that time application will be inconsistent and unknown for the refugee rather than the sponsor. As a result, there are no temporal restrictions on who qualifies as a refugee, but only situation specific eligibility criteria. Since the identity and existence of the refugee is one who is "in-between" spaces and is often in danger, the IRCC has created two categories of refugees who can qualify for sponsorship under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations: convention refugee and a member of a country of asylum. I have observed that there are no temporal restrictions in their eligibility criteria because the state of their identity is tied to an unknown time and place and precarious situation. Instead, to qualify for SAH program, refugees must be a convention refugee, which is any person who has a fear of persecution because of race, religion, nationality, or of a certain political opinion. They must be outside of their country of nationality or they must be unable to live safely in their country of nationality. The refugee does not have a country of nationality or is unable and unwilling to return to the country because they fear for their livelihood. They qualify as a convention refugee if they do not have another offer of resettlement in a reasonable amount of time and they are seeking resettlement in Canada (Government of Canada, 2024n). Second, the refugee must be a member of the Country of Asylum Class. A refugee qualifies under this category if they are outside of all their countries of nationality or residence, and they continue to be seriously and personally affected by civil war, armed conflict, or massive violation of human rights. The refugee is eligible for sponsorship if they have no option of returning to their countries of nationality or habitual residence, cannot integrate in the country of first asylum and does not have any form of resettlement except Canada (Government of Canada, 2024n). To be granted

asylum, an IRCC officer must assess each case and the refugee(s) must pass medical, security and admission checks and prove they have the potential to settle in Canada, such as having relatives or a sponsor in Canada, ability to speak or learn English or French, and potential to work (Government of Canada, 2024n). However, refugees in emergency situations are not assessed by their ability to resettle. Potential people who apply for private sponsorship may not be considered if they already live in Canada, people who fled at the time of persecution but can reintegrate into the country where they live or can return home safely, or if they were under a previous sponsorship application but their situation has changed and does not match the current eligibility criteria. There is a common trend within the current eligibility criteria: they are all circumstantial and contingent on the level of safety of the person, which cannot be quantified through time. Although there is no reference to the concept of "irregular migrant" in Canadian immigration law. Idil Atak affirms that refugee migration is considered irregular migration, in other-words, a status-less migration (2018). Non-citizens without an immigration status often find themselves subject to laws and state practices subject that do not have explicit limits, but their limits are assessed by circumstance. This includes the immigration eligibility criteria, where time is considered an integral part of its policy design. As a result, scholars are left to analyze their precarious circumstances that are drawn by the limits of policy treatment rather than policy design. In the following paragraphs, will see that temporal governance only applies to sponsors since their situation is recognizable and associated with the state, whereas the identity and situation of the refugees is inherently precarious due to the nature of their migration.

The eligibility requirements to become a sponsorship agreement are as follows: the sponsor must be a part of an organization that has been operating legally for at least two years, be physically located in Canada, must be capable of sponsoring more than 5 refugees or families

per year, the main contact of the organization and the sponsor themselves must be at least 18 years old and have the financial and social means to support the refugee for at least 12 months.

SAH applications are open once a year for four months. There are a series of temporal restrictions in eligibility criteria based on the date a policy is in effect. To become a SAH, sponsors have a designated four-month application period. In 2024, sponsors must apply between July 5, until October 4th. If they do not apply within this timeline, they are ineligible to act as sponsors, regardless of their situation. This is the first outstanding display of temporal governance in the case of PRSP, which does not appear in the rest of the PRSP categories. Another restriction based on the date of when the eligibility criteria is amended. In 2022, the IRCC established an organizational assessment that all SAH must complete and submit at the time of their application. The checklist is only available during the assessment period and it occurs every five years. This checklist verifies that the organization the SAH is associated with has the capacity to support refugees after they arrive in Canada. The checklist asks for the SAH's organization's structure, settlement and financial capacity, contingency plans, and the ability to work well with the sponsor's organization. If sponsors sign the agreement within two years of the next assessment date, they are not required to submit another assessment. If they sign the agreement more than two years before the next assessment date, they are required to complete the assessment. The next assessment occurs in 2027 meaning that if someone becomes a sponsor between 2024 and 2027, they are required to be assessed by the IRCC for operational risks and verification of their sponsorship plan and framework. However, they will only be accepted at the next assessment year in 2027. This temporal policy change is important to highlight because it determines how long new SAHs can hold the title of a sponsor (usually 1-5 years), based on when the next SAH organizational assessment is set to happen. The same eligibility criteria only

allow new sponsors to invite a total of 25 refugees for two years. Thereby, directly effecting the sponsor's ability to help refugees who want to resettle in Canada.

Temporal governance applies in the length of undertaking as well. Successful SAHs are obligated to support their sponsored refugees financially and socially for a maximum of one year, or until they become independent. However, if the refugee requires more time to be settled, the length of undertaking can be extended up to 36 months. This responsibility includes resettlement into a community, familiarizing them with the way of life in Canada, and helping them use basic resources such as healthcare, enrollment in education, etc. Unlike family sponsorship, SAHs are not required to have a minimum income based on their tax year, but the SAH form requires them to report the timeline of their employment as verification of financial stability. However, the yearlong length of undertaking binds the sponsor to the refugee(s) and makes them the main source of stability as it anchors their journey of resettlement to the identity of the sponsor. In other words, if the sponsor can provide financial and social welfare for the refugee for the assigned length of time, they are considered as deserving migrants in Canada even under precarious conditions. What does the allocation of time in the eligibility criteria reveal about the relationship between SAH, refugees and the state?

 It must be acknowledged that several temporal controls on SAH's eligibility that do not exist in the G5 or CS category give them more benefits as well (Korteweg, et al. 2018). This is displayed through temporal restrictions that are not present in the C5 or CS categories. The first show of temporal governance for SAH include the window of application which is only open for four months in a year, once a year. This feature is similar to the window of application for PGP, which is limited to four months in a year, every four years. In this case, the window of application is smaller, but provides a different function. I argue that instead of time being a

restrictive element, SAH are provided with political rewards that come with the smaller application window. This is due to the "naming principal", which gives private sponsors the right to select refugees they wish to invite if they meet the criteria in return for their willingness to sponsor refugees for a yearlong length of undertaking. The naming principal is one of the more attractive and advantageous parts of the sponsorship program as it affords sponsors exceptional political rights in refugee selection in exchange for fulfilling one of Canada's core immigration principals. This means that sponsors that can financially and socially support refugees have valuable social capital that dictates sponsorship selections (Labman and Cameron, 2020). Refugees privately sponsored by SAHs are predetermined to be "deserving" applicants based on their connection to an existing citizen or permanent resident's financial and citizenship status.

The second show of temporal governance for SAH appear in the organizational assessment that occurs every five years which determines the length of time SAH can become and remain eligible sponsors before or after they must retake the assessment. Third, the organization that the SAH are associated with must be operating for at least two years. Thereby making this criterion a disqualifying component for sponsors based on their association with how long an organization has been operating. For example, if sponsors want to support refugees under a recent humanitarian cause, but there are not any organizations who have been established under the last two years, they may not be eligible to act as sponsors, and in turn, unable to provide financial and social relief for refugees. However, all categories of the PRSPs share the temporal criteria of sponsors having the minimum legal age of 18 years old and yearlong length of undertaking, along with 90 days to sign and submit their application to the Resettlement Office Centre in Ottawa (ROC-O). What does the temporal application of immigration control reveal about the SAH program and the social construction of refugees in immigration policy design?

Although temporal governance is active in controlling the relationship between the state, sponsor, and refugee, and shaping the eligibility criteria of the sponsor rather than the principal applicant, it does not apply in a restrictive or punitive tone. Instead, sponsors are rewarded with positive and permissive policy treatment in the form of exceptional political rights for their financial and social investment in fulfilling Canada's third immigration objective. This is because the Canadian immigration system seeks a certain type of sponsor that can support and invite a refugee to integrate into Canadian society, rather than a certain type of refugee. Instead of using temporal controls on refugees, SAHs are subject to many rounds of "full proof" temporal policy that can influence the refugee's resettlement trajectory in Canada, such as being associated with an established and trusted organization, an organizational assessment that can validate their competency as a sponsor, and small windows of application. By defining the limits of control through time on such criteria, sponsors are vetted through the immigration system, which in turn, assures the state that the sponsor has a genuine interest in supporting the refugee, but also that they are an adequate and competent guide for resettlement in Canada that fits the state's expectations. This is because refugees often adopt the lifestyle of the sponsor and become accustomed to the way of life in the sponsor's community to embody both Canadian culture and values. Whereas the government funded refugees are more likely to take longer to settle into communities and find work, whereas privately funded refugees experience a "handheld" type of resettlement from SAHs. For this reason, SAHs are then awarded for their generous participation in accepting a large responsibility that is usually taken on by the state. This reinforces Canada's merit-based immigration system, which not only applies to immigrants but sponsors as well (Elrick, 2020). Therefore, revealing that Canada uses temporal governance to control migration flows by rewarding the fulfillment of its own immigration objectives, as seen in the relationship

between SAHs and principal applicants. There are very few differences in the rewarding. policy treatments in PRSPs, although there are slight differences in time-based policies that impact the management and organizational structure of the programs. We will see a similar pattern of rewarding policy treatment through temporal governance reflected in Group of Five and Community Sponsors streams.

Group of Five (G5)

The group of five (G5) sponsorship program is the second of three private sponsorship programs that Canada has to offer for its citizens who are interested in inviting refugees living abroad for resettlement. Five or more Canadian citizens or permanent residents can create a group to provide settlement and support for a one principal applicant (Government of Canada, 2024n). Similar to SAHs, all members of the G5 must be over the age of 18, must not have a criminal record, be a Canadian citizen or permanent resident, reside in the community where the refugee will live and commit to financially supporting the principal applicant for 12 months. G5 members must also prove that they have adequate employment, necessary financial and human resources to comfortably integrate the refugee into their community and Canadian society. Unlike the SAH program, there is no limited window of application, no mandatory organizational assessment every five years, and no association is required with an organizational entity that has been operating for two years. Instead, interested citizens can congregate by their own accord to support the principal applicant and potentially their dependents. Each applicant must be able to meet the criteria individually and form a collective support group that allows them to take on the responsibilities for the principal applicant. If interested individuals are having trouble forming a group of five members, their application will be rejected. However, if

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only five of the three members are required to financially support the principal applicants, the remaining members can provide social, organizational, emotional, and logistical support to meet the eligibility criteria. There are no temporal controls for the principal applicant since the eligibility criteria is the same for principal applicants across all three private sponsorship programs. The principal applicant must be recognized formally as a refugee in their country of asylum (where they reside), and they must be able to provide documentary proof of their status such as a document that affirms their refugee status recognition or "mandate letter" by the UNHCR. This criterion has been previously outlined with detail in the SAH section.

The SAH program and the G5 program hold many similarities. The G5 members can also choose to sponsor a refugee if they meet the eligibility criteria, therefore receiving the reward of the naming principle (Korteweg et al. 2018). By extension, the eligibility criteria for refugees remains the same since it does not have a temporal component due to the uncertain and precarious nature of migration. Instead, their cases are reviewed based on their circumstance by immigration officers or agents. As for submission dates, all private sponsorship applications must be signed within 90 days of submission to the ROC-O.

Although there are fewer temporal restrictions for members in the G5 category, temporal governance applies in the areas of age, length of undertaking and application submission deadlines. Compared to the SAH category, there are fewer temporal restrictions on G5's eligibility criteria because they are not associated with organizations that have been historically involved in a public-private partnership with the government. In other words, the G5 program lacks the momentum of the SAH category that was continuously built from the late 1970s until today. Instead, the G5 allows individual members to support each other who may or may not have equal resources to support the process of refugee sponsorship on their own. In this way, the

G5 program allows citizens to support one another through the process of private sponsorship, especially if the sponsors are not equally financially qualified. Whereas the SAH program's identity and background is linked to the previous generations of established organizations who have previous experience in facilitating the sponsorship process for SAHs. However, temporal governance still applies in the base areas such as being of legal age, length of undertaking and submitting signed applications to the ROC-O. Consequently, they are afforded the same discretionary power in selecting newcomers as long as they meet the eligibility criteria as a refugee. However, they fall short of the SAH in terms of strong political ties because of their lack of historical partnerships with organizations that were responsible for the creation of private-public sponsorship partnerships. For this reason, the G5 members are awarded with the opportunity to choose which refugees they can support, and they have the shortest length of undertaking of all permanent immigration categories. The reason for the yearlong length of undertaking could be due to the nature of their relationship since sponsors and refugees do not have the same relationship as family members. In fact, private sponsor and the refugee's relationship is an initiative pursued by existing Canadian citizens on a humanitarian basis, which does not oblige them to financially care and support the citizens for longer than needed after resettlement. As a result, they are allocated political rewards from the Canadian values that are baked into the immigration system (Korteweg et al. 2018; Chudleigh, 2024). In the following section, we will highlight slight differences that exist in the eligibility criteria in the third category, Community Sponsors (CS).

Community Sponsors (CS)

Although private sponsorship programs have urged Canadian citizens to take an active part in resettling refugees, community groups have historically been the primary source of

interest for humanitarian migration in Canada. According to the Government of Canada website, community sponsors are groups refugees to come to Canada, such as organizations, associations, and corporations. They are not required to be incorporated under federal or provincial law and community sponsors can partner with an individual, otherwise known as co-sponsors. To distinguish private sponsorship from community sponsorship, Jennifer Bond and Ania Kwardens, describe community sponsorship as "programs that empower ordinary individuals to lead in welcoming supporting and integrating refugees" (2019). Their multi-country study affirms that Canada's model of community sponsorship follows the public-private partnership between governments who facilitate the legal admission of refugees and private actors who provide financial, social, and emotional support for resettlement. In other words, the private-public partnership depends on Canada's legal aid and community sponsor's financial and social aid. Before the induction of the 1976 Immigration Act, refugee settlement was based on ad hoc decisions and Cabinet orders-in-council (Bond and Kwardens, 2019). This resulted in the eventual creation of independent sponsorship programs that we have discussed such as SAH and G5, however community sponsorships have always been the backbone of Canada's diverse refugee sponsorship architecture.

The eligibility requirements for community sponsors are as follows: community sponsors must be located in the community where the refugees are expected to settle and are required to be financially and socially provide for principal applicants for 12 months. They have two options regarding who they can sponsor: sponsor a refugee they know or sponsor a refugee who is approved to come to Canada. The first option allows the refugee to be a family member, a friend or refugee identified by someone else. They must qualify under Canada's refugee and humanitarian resettlement program. The second option allows community sponsors to go through

the Blended Visa Office-Referred program (BVOR). This program matches refugees in need of protection to dedicated sponsors. However, my work does not cover the BVOR program since it is an auxiliary sponsorship program not Community Sponsors are excluded from the usual places where temporal governance appears in the eligibility criteria in immigration policy design because they are an organization and not individuals applying as sponsors. For example, temporal governance only appears in the case of CS choosing to take on a co-sponsor, the minimum legal age requirement would apply to the individual. Therefore, the CS is an exception to the ordinary application of temporal governance we have seen in previous cases, such as age, application deadlines, and minimum financial requirements per tax year. As a result of being an organization, the CS is the only immigration program that does not have a minimum age requirement among the three permanent immigration categories and their subcategories. However, temporal governance applies in length of undertaking for sponsored refugees which is 12 months, like the SAH program and G5 program.

Community sponsors are still subject to standard procedures that verify the group's competence to support refugees such that apply to every PRSP category such as organizational assessments, check-ins, showing proof of funds for the last 12 months, 90 days to submit signed documentation to the ROC-O, and 30 days to submit additional family members and dependants for the principal applicant. Similar to the SAH program and G5 program, community sponsors are entitled to the naming principle, giving them agency in the selection process of refugees who wish to resettle in Canada. Considering community sponsorship is the original pathway for refugee sponsorship in Canada, many of the religious groups and social organizations that participated in the establishment of private refugee sponsorship are still active today. Majority of community sponsors are Anglican, catholic or protestant church groups that have continued their

service, but many ethnic minority groups have congregated to create separate associations to provide relief for their own communities in need such as: the Afghan Association of Ontario, the Islamic Foundation of Toronto, Welfare Committee for the Assyrian Community in Canada. Many SAHs are affiliated with religious groups or community organizations that support their individualized effort to resettle refugees in Canada.

The mapping of PRSP have a dependent social construction across all three categories because of the private-public partnership with the state which affords them a strong political associations and purpose. Community sponsors have an overall positive construction, strong political power, with their benefits oversubscribed and their benefits undersubscribed. In other words, major temporal restrictions are not present in the refugee sponsorship category since many of the temporal controls do not disqualify sponsors but create constructive pathways that guide the relationship between the sponsor, the refugee, and the state. This will be seen in the following chapter when I map the policy benefits and burdens for this category. At the same time, community sponsors are the predecessors of a variety of unique refugee sponsorship pathways that are defining features of the Canadian immigration system. As mentioned earlier in this section, community sponsors are the first and only immigration category that created their own temporal controls in their eligibility criteria in collaboration with the state by proposing the 12 months length of undertaking. Additionally, community sponsors are able are to operate in any of Canada's official languages, but their own native languages such as Hindi, Hebrew, Farsi, or Arabic to better instruct their practice of resettlement based on their refugee demographic. Although they are subject to organizational assessments, community sponsors not restricted from introducing refugees to life in Canada with the religious or cultural undertone that their group is founded in.

Chapter Five: Social Construction of Temporal Governance in the Canadian Immigration Categories

The last three chapters have thoroughly answered the first part of my two-part research question on the impact of temporal governance on Canadian immigration policy design in economic migration, family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship. My first research question asks how is temporal governance used in the design of Canadian immigration programs? I have answered that temporal governance is a substantive policy tool used to control the management and organization of immigrant groups in Canada's fulfillment of immigration objectives in the form of rewarding and punitive policy treatments. I argue that time is used to create restrictions and permissions in eligibility criteria based on work-related requirements in order to attract and reward the model economic migrant, while reprimanding others.

In the case of family sponsorship, time is used to control the relationship between the sponsor and the family member through the length of undertaking because the financial and social obligation is being assumed by the sponsor instead of the state. Therefore, connecting the sponsor and the family member through a time-based obligation as a form of punitive policy treatment. This is because the financial and social cost to resettle family members and refugees in Canada is too burdensome for the state, especially for aging populations such as parents and grandparents. For this reason, the length of undertaking is applied differently to spouses, children, and parents and grandparents based on their usefulness as an immigration category to fulfill policy objectives in the Plan.

In the case of refugee sponsorship, temporal governance is used to delineate the relationship between the state and the sponsors who take financial and social responsibility in the resettlement of refugees for up to a year. This is similar to the policy design of the family

sponsorship program, except temporal policy designs are not applied to refugees, but to sponsors in outlining the limits of the relationship between the sponsor, state, and migrant. This category is exceptional because the sponsors are allocated rewarding policy treatment in the form of political rights such as the "naming principal" for supporting the relocation and resettlement of refugees. In this way, they are rewarded for being an instrumental group that directly fulfills the obligations of the state in achieving its immigration goals in the Plan.

The second research question asks what the use of time in its policy design reveals about the social constructions of the different categories of migrants in the Canadian immigration system. The use of time reveals that economic migrants, family sponsors, and refugee sponsors receive different policy treatment through eligibility criteria due to their social constructions in the Canadian immigration system. Although there are many social constructions shown in Schneider and Ingram's theory, I will only be using the advantaged and dependent categories to organize immigration groups and discuss their allocations of policy burdens and benefits. I will place economic migrants in the advantaged category with strong political power and family sponsors and refugee sponsors in the dependent category with weak political power. All three categories have positive constructions because economic migration, family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship are pillars of Canada's open immigration policy. As a result, there are no social constructions of deviants and contenders in my research.

According to Schneider and Ingram's theory, social constructions are created and enforced by the state through legislation to identify and change the behaviour of groups in order to achieve policy objectives. In my work, I have identified that Canadian immigration objectives prioritize migrants who possess the qualities of the CEC migrant: young, single, skilled, educated and possessing Canadian experience. Although most economic migrants fit this model, sponsors and

children who are sponsored may also fit in this category. In order to continue the recruitment of young, skilled, educated individuals with Canadian experience, time is used in the policy design to draw boundaries in the eligibility criteria to filter out applicants who cannot fulfill the immigration objectives outlined in the Plan. As we have seen in chapters from one through four, there is a consistent prioritization of economic migration in Canadian policy objectives. Primarily, with the Plan focusing on long-term growth by relying on 60% of the admissions to come from the economic class by 2025 (Government of Canada, 2022). Thereby directly impacting the way immigration policy design allocates positive and negative treatment of groups through temporal governance. Consequently, if any of the categories fail to contribute to Canada's immigration objectives, they are ultimately seen as "undeserving" by the policy boundaries enforced through its temporal design. This chapter will outline how this phenomenon occurs in economic migration, family sponsorship, and refugee sponsorship respectively by discussing the allocation of policy burdens and benefits based on their advantaged or dependent social construction.

To illustrate my work, I have created three charts for each permanent immigration category that represents a summary of the targeted areas of temporal governance, such as age, length of undertaking, and application deadlines in the policy design. I will then outline the policy treatment each category receives by dividing them into terms coined by Schneider and Ingram: policy burdens and policy benefits. According to their theory, policy burdens and benefits are allocated to the populations who are instrumental in fulfilling policy objectives and agendas promoted by policymakers. Policy burdens for dependents come in different forms such as a lack of access to information, unclear or inconsistent policy changes, short or closed application windows, less government expenditures and investments. Policy benefits or rewards for

advantaged groups come in many forms such as access to consistent and clear information, open or rolling application windows, government expenditures and the ability to assert their agency in the application process. I will explain the policy burdens and benefits further in the following paragraphs starting with economic migrants.

Social Construction of Economic Migrants

To review, my analysis on how temporal governance is used in the policy design of economic migration reveals that time creates permissive and restrictive policies. As a result, the policies that show up in the form of eligibility criteria are reflective of the differential policy treatments immigration groups receive which distribute policy burdens and benefits. In the case of economic migration, time is applied to the eligibility criteria that qualifies candidates based on their skills and work experience. Therefore, time is applied to the policy design based on age, years of work experience, years of education, years of language experience. As a part of the advantaged category, they experience open, positive, and permissive policy design that results in the oversubscription of policy benefits in the form of more information about programs, investment and attention from the state, alternative pathways to apply, and agency in the results of their application. This is due to their permissive policy design that favors immigrants who are single, educated, highly skilled and possess Canadian work experience among all immigration categories, thereby classifying the CEC applicant who possesses Canadian work experience, the most "deserving by design" among permanent immigration categories.

To ground my findings within Schneider and Ingram's framework, I conclude that economic migrants are rewarded with positive policy treatment in the form of time-based eligibility criteria that allow further access to immigration goods and services through permanent residency. The economic applicants receive oversubscribed benefits because they are given

precise and detailed information needed in the eligibility criteria to be considered an ideal

applicant that has a high chance of gaining permanent residency through this pathway.

Compared to FSWP and FSTP applicants, the CEC applicants are given more information on the

state of their program with consistent updates that allow them to adjust their strategy in

continuing their process to apply for permanent residency. At the same time, they are given more

points in the CRS due to their Canadian work experience which maximizes their chance of

resettlement in Canada. Moreover, all three applicants are given the agency to rectify their

situation and reapply the next year if they do not meet the conditions for the current application

year. They do not experience closed or small application deadlines, but instead they are provided

with information that allows them to redirect or improve their application. Such as having

language tests that are valid for two years or being able to choose which years of work

experience, they want to include in their application, as is the case with the FSTP. This means

that if their application gets rejected, they can apply with the same language test. This portrays a

leniency and openness in the policy treatment towards economic migrants that does not exist for

family sponsorship or the refugee sponsorship category due to the agentic nature of the economic

migration pathway.

In the table below, I show the areas of temporal governance and some exceptions that occur

between the CEC, FSWP, and FSTP (Table 2). In the second chapter, I have argued that time

applies primarily to work experience in the eligibility criteria for applicants applying to the CEC,

FSWP and FSTP. Age, years of education, expiration of language tests, and number of days to

submit applications are also markers of temporal governance, but the emphasis of economic

migration considers work experience as a primary factor because it is the main reason for

resettlement. This is largely due all applicants having the option to apply though the CRS which

distributes more points to single applicants between the ages of 20 to 29 who have at least one year of Canadian experience and have obtained a post-secondary degree. All three categories are allotted the same number of points for age, work experience and education in the CRS, with single applicants between ages 20 to 29 scoring 110 points. They have 60 days to submit applications, language tests are valid for 2 years and the years of education are ranked based on points-system. The main point of difference between the three categories pertains to work experience in minimum requirements that give them eligibility to apply to the program.

Temporal Governance in Eligibility Criteria for EE in the CRS – Table 2

Category	Age	Education	Work Experience	Days to submit	Language test	Exceptions/Differences
CEC	Same in CRS	No education requirement but can improve CRS ranking	12 months (within the last three years)	60 days	Valid for 2 years	As of **April 25, 2023:** Temporary public policy for physicians as it pertains to work experience: self-employment does count if they did work for Canada.
FSWP	Same in CRS	No education requirement but can improve CRS ranking	12 months (within the last 10 years), can only work a maximum of 30 hours a week	60 days	Valid for 2 years	Having Canadian experience is not mandatory
FSTP	Same in CRS	No education requirement but can improve CRS ranking	2 years full time work experience (within the 5 years of application)	60 days	Valid for 2 years	Must have a valid job offer for a total period of a year before coming to Canada

CEC applicants must possess 12 months full-time Canadian work experience from the last 3 years. FSWP applicants must have already been working for 10 years prior to their application date. Normally, self-employment and student work experience does not meet the minimum requirement for work experience in Canada. However, a temporary public policy was enforced on April 25, 2023, that allowed self-employed physicians who were invited to apply on this date and have work experience in providing publicly funded medical service in Canada but normally

are not eligible because of the self-employment rule. This also means that applicants who applied before this date are ineligible for counting self-employment as work experience. Therefore, another portrayal of temporal governance is the change of policy in which requirements and qualities are changed on a date that disqualify or qualify candidates for permanent residency or access to future resources, like the tie-breaker rule. This is an example of a policy benefit since an exception has been made to create a permissive policy to allow migrants to apply through the EE program.

In the case of the FSTP, applicants must have a valid one-year job offer and 2 years full-time work experience within the past 5 years. This is another policy benefit because it shows that young applicants who apply through the FSTP applicants are given leniency in using their work experience to apply for resettlement in Canada. In the case of the CEC, there are less restrictions posed on their work, including an exemption made for medical students or workers who completed work in Canada (Table 2). Thereby allowing them the policy benefit of less restrictions in their minimum requirements to satisfies domestic labor market demands but their profile as a CEC applicant fits a positive social construction with strong political power and more benefits in terms of permissive time policies and agency to rectify their situation in the resettlement process. As a result, economic migrants have strong political power because they seek to invest in a social and cultural experience in the Canadian workplace. This is primarily true in the case of CEC applicants because one year of work experience in Canada is rewarded with more points in the CRS, therefore adding value to their application, thereby increasing their chances of obtaining permanent residency in Canada. Their ability to acquire work experience in Canada is indicative of another policy benefit that economic migrant experience as an advantaged social construction group. As a result, the CEC applicants have more information

readily available about their program, with consistent updates and more leniency in their application process as it pertains to time.

However, this does not mean that policy burdens do not exist for economic migrants. For FSWP, applicants must have already been working for the last 10 years, which means that they must have already been an adult of working age in their field of work, which can potentially disqualify from applying to the CEC. This is a policy burden that can potentially disqualify them from obtaining access to beneficial resources such as government assistance and time to complete their application. However, being in the category of economic migration, they are offered solutions and given the agency to rectify their situation which is not present in family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship. This is because economic migration relies on the individual's efforts to migrate and by design, agentic. Whereas family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship create a bond and obligation between the sponsor and the migrant, enforced by the state through its temporal policy design. This is seen primarily in the length of undertaking for both categories.

However, the preferences between the economic migration categories are emphasized when comparing the FSTP applicants to FSWP and CEC applicants. For example, FSTP applicants experience some policy burdens in the rigid policy design such as of having a mandatory year-long valid job offer in their designated field, whereas the CEC applicants and FSWP applicants are not subject to rigid temporal policies that impact their chances of being considered as valid applicants. In other words, the value assigned to each category of migrant in economic migration can be translated through restrictive or permissive policies that show up in the policy treatment of economic migrants can classify them as "deserving" or "undeserving" by design.

The differences and similarities in the economic class and between the CEC, FSWP and FSTP reveal that there is a preference in how time is distributed as a substantive policy technique, even to the to the most "deserving" migrant according to a long-lasting policy agenda that remains relevant today. This is used to meet and support the political and socio-cultural immigration narrative that seeks to recruit the model deserving migrant: young, single, educated, bilingual, Canadian work experience. Through the lens of temporal governance, there are a larger quantity of temporal policies in place to construct the pool of applicants in economic migration, but they seek to guide the selection of the ideal migrant that receives positive policy treatment as a reward in achieving Canada's priority in immigration objectives.

Social Construction of Family Sponsorship

In this section, I will use Schneider and Ingram's framework of the distribution of policy benefits and burdens to indicate that spousal and child sponsorship receive more positive policy treatment compared to parent and grandparent sponsorship and relative sponsorship. According to Schneider and Ingram's social constructions theory, the family sponsorship program falls under the "dependent" category which has positive constructions but weak political power with an oversubscription of burdens and undersubscription of benefits in its policy design. However, this is context-dependent since not all family sponsorship programs formed with permissive policies. This is because spouses and children have the potential to match the ideal migrant type that can achieve Canada's primary migration objective. Spouses and children are more likely to be younger, likely to enter the work force and pursue higher education in Canada. However, they are still considered dependents due to the primary indicator of time control in the relationship between their sponsor and the state: the length of undertaking.

The category of family sponsorship is presumed to have a policy burden by default because the sponsees lack agency in their resettlement in Canada. Instead, they are placed under the care of the sponsor which excludes the state from any involvement in their resettlement. As a result, they are less "deserving" of positive policy treatment and state-offered benefits by design.

In the case of family sponsorship, age is a decisive factor in shaping restrictive or permissive policies as they appear in each category's eligibility criteria. Although age applies similarly for all sponsors, as they must be 18 years old to be eligible for the program, it applies differently for principal applicants and dependents. There are no restrictions on the age of spousal sponsorships, but the child sponsorship and parent and grandparent sponsorship eligibility criteria highlight age as an important factor that marks "deservingness" and the allocation of policy benefits. This is a primary example where temporal governance creates differences in policy treatment based on age. For child sponsorship and PGP, age of the sponsee is the key determinant of the length of undertaking, and distribution of restrictive and permissive policies. However, in the case of child sponsorship, temporal governance enforces changes in the eligibility criteria that is classified as a policy benefit: increasing the age of a child from 18 to 25 to extend the length of the undertaking. Meanwhile for PGP, the age of the parent and grandparent immediately disqualifies them from any policy benefit since they do not fit the model of the single, working, educated migrant, thereby resulting in a lack of government involvement to create or amend policies that will support the resettlement of aging immigrants, as is done with child sponsorship. Instead, all financial and social responsibility is placed on the sponsor for 20 years, rather than the state. At the same time, because the young, single, skilled, educated individuals who are raised in Canadian society are the target population for positive immigration criteria, a great deal of government involvement and investment is given to child

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sponsorship in the form of access to education and resources through the policy amendment which extended the age of the sponsored child in 2017. Child sponsorship's length of undertaking allows children of migrants until the age of 25 to work, live, and educate themselves in a Canadian environment without having to contribute economically. Since the length of undertaking is 10 years, or until the child turns 25 years old, they are afforded the benefits of living and studying in Canada as a naturalized Canadian through its policy design. In other words, by allowing children of immigrants to be financially bound to their parents, the Canadian immigration eligibility criteria invests more in the future of dependents than spouses or elderly parents and grandparents. In the case of PGP sponsorship, the length of undertaking is equivalent to financial support for the rest of their years in Canada by the sponsors, not the state. At the same time, sponsors can only invite their parents and grandparents if they prove their minimum income over a three-year tax period based on the family unit size. Therefore, showing that the policy change which extends the length of undertaking for is policy benefit, but the two-decade length of undertaking for parents and grandparents is a burden rather than a benefit. This shows that similar policy frameworks of policy design can be beneficial for one immigrant group, while being detrimental for another.

However, the distribution of a policy burdens is enforced in the case of PGP, since the restrictions placed on the older immigrant population are directly tied to their age, including the small window of application time and a prolonged length of undertaking. For example, the PGP sponsorship program is only open for four months out of a year, for every four years, as seen in Table 3. This means that the window to express interest in sponsoring a parent or grandparent is the least frequent in all sponsorship categories. The lack of time allotted for PGP sponsorship is restrictive policy design and policy burden in the form of the lack of access to resettlement

services in Canada. As a result, this reveals that PGP is less "deserving by design" compared to the spouse and child sponsorship in two areas: the length of undertaking and the small window of application.

The limited window of application reveals that the policy design discourages sponsors from resettling their aging parents and grandparents in Canada, because does not achieve the objective of the Plan. However, since family reunification is one of Canada's embodied immigration ideals, they are still categorized with positive social constructions, but as dependents they have weak political power which appears in the form of the oversubscription of policy burdens in their eligibility criteria.

Whereas, spousal sponsorship, child sponsorship and relative sponsorship have fewer temporal restrictions in their eligibility criteria because they have the potential to meet the requirements for an ideal candidate: young, educated, skilled migrant because they are more likely to acclimate to Canadian culture and continue in the workforce, unlike parents and grandparents who are less likely to actively participate in the workforce upon entry. Thereby revealing that the Canadian immigration policy structure views parents and grandparents as less "deserving" of permissive policies.

Spouses, conjugal partners, and common-law partners must support their partner for a maximum of three years, the shortest of all four categories. This indicates that after the length of undertaking has terminated, both spouses are no longer financially bound to each other, and the principal applicant is afforded their agency. However, to earn complete political and economic agency in Canada, they must participate in work to create a double-income household and eventually earn their status as a deserving migrant.

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Family Sponsorship Category	Age (Sponsor)	Age (Dependent/sponssee/principal applicant)	Length of Undertaking	Areas of time application	Exceptions
Spousal Sponsrship (marriage, congujal partner, common-law parner)	18 years old	No minimum age requirement	3 years	Age, Length of relationship, years of undertaking Application deadlines	Applications accepted on rolling basis. Time-based proof required for conjugal or common-law relationship, meanwhile time does not apply for married couples in validating their relationship.
Child Sponsorship (biological or adopted)	18 years old	Until 25 years old	10 years or until dependent turns 25 years old, whichever comes first.	Age, years of undertaking	Years of undertaking changed in 2019 since the age of a dependent has increased from 18 to 25.
Parent/ Grandparent sponsorship (biological or adopted)	18 years old	No minimum age requirement	20 years	Age, Years of undertaking, application deadlines, tax year	Time applied to minimum income requirements for past three tax years, limited window to express interest and apply for sponsorship.
Other Relative	18 years old	Principal applicant's child must be under the age of 22.	10 years	Age, length of undertaking, Tax year	Time applied to minimum income requirements.

The case of the temporal governance in PGP sponsorship is the most disadvantageous as the eligibility criteria itself has long periods of waiting and delays built into it, while bounding the sponsor to the applicant until the end of parent or grandparent's life. But how does this compare to refugee sponsorship? Are old age migrants considering the least deserving of beneficial policies while more permissive policies are distributed to refugees? The next section will address how rewarding and punitive policy treatments are allocated in PRSP and what this means about the dependent categories of "deservingness" in refugee sponsorship.

Social Construction of Private Refugee Sponsorship

To understand the elements of policy design that have shaped private refugee sponsorship, I have conducted a thorough analysis on the use of time in the eligibility criteria of

the three private refugee sponsorship categories. The table below illustrates the differences in time application between SAH, G5, and CS (Table 4). Temporal governance applies in age, the addition of the principal applicant's dependents, the age of the dependents, date of assessments, policy updates, association with an organization and the windows of open application times.

I will be discussing the policy burdens and benefits that are distributed in the PRSP category to the sponsors and principal applicants in the areas where temporal governance is enacted. By acknowledging that private sponsorship assigns the responsibility of the resettlement experience to the sponsor, we can affirm that the state places temporal controls on the sponsors who will support refugees financially and socially. This is the first example of a policy burden which takes away the responsibility and involvement of the state in the support and resettlement of refugees and places it on the sponsors. According to Schneider and Ingram's theory, when the state does not take active involvement in the support of its citizens, and takes away the agency of immigrants, which is classified as a policy burden (1993). Instead, it allows chosen sponsors who are engaged in public-private partnerships with the state to support incoming refugees. This is a fundamental form of immigration control as the state will assign the value of the "deserving sponsor" to the "deserving migrant" by association and resocialization in their host country instead of analyzing their skills, assets, and contributions to Canada. The idea of the young, skilled, educated, single and working migrant does not apply to the incoming applicant, but to the sponsor who can teach the applicant to become like them and fit the standard as a working Canadian. The sponsorship process itself takes away the agency of migrants and sponsors alike because the limits of their relationship, including their responsibility to one another is controlled by the length of undertaking that is enforced through temporal governance. This is a primary indicator of the oversubscription of burdens and undersubscription of benefits.

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Another indicator of restrictive policy treatment is shown in the eligibility criteria of SAH. These sponsors are the only category that has designated windows of application every year, an organizational assessment every 5 years, and a requirement of being associated active organization for the last 2 years. I infer that the SAH have more temporal controls than the latter two categories because the state seeks to give the title of SAH to citizens who are fit for the role. This is the Canadian immigration system's method of maintaining rapport with the sponsors while providing support, which could be considered a policy benefit. However, I argue that it is a method of surveillance as they place tighter temporal controls on the eligibility criteria of potential SAHs to ensure the success of willing applicants who are dedicated to sponsoring refugees in the future in accordance with their standards. By placing limits on age, length of undertaking, and windows of application, the PRSP sponsors experience restrictive policy treatment and some policy burdens, which help the state achieve their goal in eliminating candidates who do not want to fully commit to the lengthy process of being a sponsor.

However, this does not mean that sponsors do not experience any policy benefits. A remarkable policy benefit that is seen in the private sponsorship category is that all three categories are given the same benefits that come with being a sponsor: the agency to select the refugee they wish to sponsor. The naming principle is the freedom of choice/selection given to sponsors as a "reward" for assuming responsibility for refugees. Although this is not quantified in time, it is important to note that it is a central element of "deservingness" in the case of PRSP program that reflects the structure of Canada's merit-based immigration system.

Temporal Governance in Eligibility Criteria for Private Refugee Sponsorship - Table 4

Private Refugee Sponsorship Category	Age (Sponsor)	Age (refugee/principal applicant)	Additional Family members	Length of Undertaking	Areas of time application	Exceptions
Sponsorship Agreement Holders (SAH)	18 years old	No minimum age requirement	30 days to submit additional family members, if a dependent, age restrictions apply	12 months	Age, Length of relationship, years of undertaking, window of open application, submission timeline	Applications accepted for 4/12 months, every year. Organizational assessment every 5 years Associated organization must be active for at least 2 years.
Group of 5 (G5)	18 years old	No minimum age requirement	30 days to submit additional family members, if a dependent, age restrictions apply	12 months	Age, years of undertaking, application submission timeline	Applications accepted on a rolling basis. No associated organization required. No assessment required
Community Sponsors	Not Applicable (18 years old if applied to co-sponsor)	No minimum age requirement	30 days to submit additional family members, if a dependent, age restrictions apply	12 months	Years of undertaking, application submission timeline	Applications accepted on a rolling basis. No minimum age requirement.

All have the same positive, advantaged constructions with high political power, such as the naming principle and the shortest length of undertaking in all sponsorship categories and consistent rapport and support from the state in achieving their sponsorship duties. They receive some policy benefits and some low burdens because they are engaged in a private-public partnership with the Canadian immigration system as active sponsors. However, this does not mean that the PRSP is not a valued and important part in achieving the success of the third immigration objective: maintaining humanitarian efforts in supporting refugees and asylum seekers.

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Before 2015, majority of refugee sponsorships were government-assisted. However, the social and political relationship between the state and its sponsors became stronger after the Syrian refugee crisis in 2015, when the PRSP became the primary pathway for refugees to resettle in Canada. This is because private sponsorship can provide consistent and stable social contact between the refugee and sponsor, which allows refugees to visualize how they can settle in Canada within a community that welcomes them and provides for them. In turn, providing them with greater social and economic success, as refugees can find continuous, long-term work, pursue education, and build long-term relationships within their first year of resettlement.

Whereas refugees who become integrated into Canadian society through the GSR program do not have a relationship with an existing Canadian resident and citizen who can exemplify a successful lifestyle with strong social ties and stable income. Instead, they must learn how to navigate a foreign system with foreign public resources alone which can prolong the process of resettlement while making it difficult to build strong social connections that can motivate them to pursue long-term work, labor, and education in Canada. In other words, the temporal controls distribute both policy benefits and policy burdens to sponsors and principal applicants alike in the in the PRSP program to ensure the achievement of refugee resettlement by matching a "deserving sponsor" who is the embodiment of strong Canadian values to incoming refugees and asylum seekers who wish to resettle in Canada. By assigning policy burdens in the form of the length of undertaking and benefits in the form of the naming principle, we have seen that the "deservingness" of the refugee applicants is tied to the sponsors ability to successfully meet the requirements of the sponsors, rather than meeting the criteria as a "deserving" refugee applicant. This process ultimately creates "deserving" sponsors but seeks to guide refugees into becoming a part of the narrative that supports its policy design.
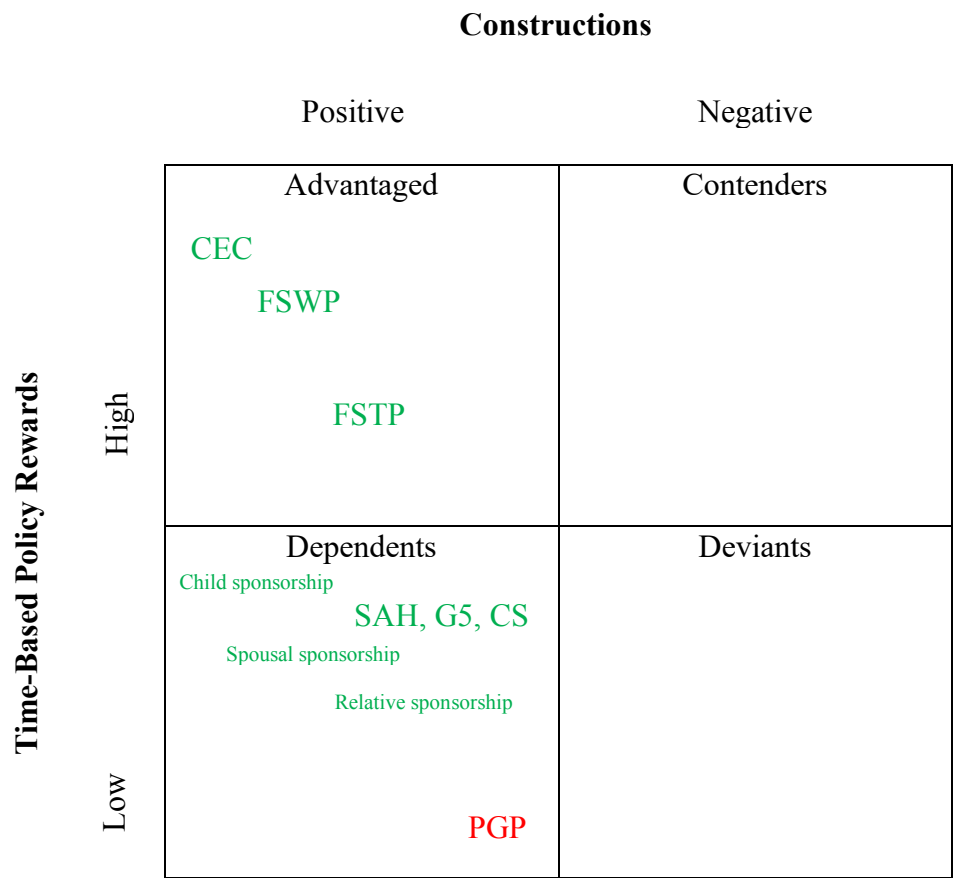
This chapter has used Schneider and Ingram's social constructions theory to answer the second research question: What does the use of time reveal in the design of Canada's permanent immigration category? I have categorized economic migrants as advantaged, with positive constructions as they receive policy benefits despite there are more temporally based policies that guide their ability to meet eligibility criteria. Ultimately, economic migrants set the standard for what is considered an ideal migrant that has to ability to meet policy objectives outlined by the Canadian immigration system. As a result, they are seen as more "deserving by design."

I have mapped family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship as dependents because the eligibility criteria fundamentally separate them economic migrants because the principal applicants and the sponsors are not engaged in an agentic process. In other words, they have less freedom and leniency in determining their trajectory of resettlement to Canada because of their length of undertaking that binds them. As a result, they are subject to more restrictive policies in the eligibility criteria, which means their relationship is highly regulated and restricted based on the length of undertaking. Although some groups such as spouses and children have some leniency in their policy design, they are ultimately tied to the sponsor during the length of undertaking which reduces the agency the experience in the immigration system. I have similarly identified refugee sponsorship with the same social construction to highlight that the relationship between the sponsor, state and the migrant is regulated by the length of undertaking. However, sponsors experience some policy benefits since they are rewarded with the naming principle and maintain close ties with the state through the public-private sponsorship, but this does not take allow them agency in the same way economic migrants experience in their permissive policy design. As a result, the "deserving sponsor" is responsible achieving the objective of supporting

refugees on a humanitarian basis as a way of embodying the core immigration Canadian values.

To visualize how rewarding and punitive policy treatments appear within the SCF, I have mapped all immigration groups on Schneider and Ingram's repurposed chart of "Social Constructions and Political Power: Types of Target Populations" below (1993). I have kept positive and negative social constructions with advantaged, dependents, contenders, and deviants as the type of target populations. Instead of political power, I have mapped the amount of time-based policy rewards from low to high, with PGP experiencing the lowest policy benefits or rewards from temporal governance with CEC experiencing the highest amount of policy awards as the most "deserving" migrant.

Figure 3: Time-Based Policy Rewards in Immigration Groups in Canada

Constructions

	Positive	Negative
	Advantaged	**Contenders**
High	CEC 　FSWP 　　FSTP	
	Dependents	**Deviants**
Low	Child sponsorship 　SAH, G5, CS Spousal sponsorship 　　Relative sponsorship 　　　PGP	

(Y-axis label: **Time-Based Policy Rewards**)

Source: Repurposed from Schneider and Ingram, 1993.

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Conclusion

This large body of work has opened an inquiry of temporal governance on the permanent immigration categories in Canada. I began with two research questions: how is temporal governance used in the design of Canadian immigration categories, and what does the use of time in the policy design of Canada's permanent immigration categories reveal about the social construction of the categories of migrants? My work has shown that temporal governance is a policy tool that allocates rewarding and punitive policy treatments to each immigration category through time-based eligibility criteria based on their usefulness in the advancement of immigration policy objectives in Canada. I argue that based on the 2022-2024 Immigration Levels Plan, the policy agenda is geared towards supporting the resettlement of economic migrants more than family reunification or refugee sponsorship. Because of this policy objective, economic migrants who fit the criteria of a young, skilled, single, educated applicant with Canadian experience receive the highest allocation of policy rewards in time-based immigration policy design compared to family sponsorship and refugee sponsorship.

However, there are exceptions. Because spouses and children are young, educated, single and possess a type of Canadian work or educational experience, they experience some policy benefits such as the amendment of policies that allow them access to resources such as funding, education, and work experience. Overall, economic migrants, primarily CEC applicants, spouses, and children experience positive policy treatment and policy benefits in terms of agency in compiling applications, open application windows, leniency and support with government resources and policy amendments that create positive conditions for resettlement. Whereas refugee applicants and aging applicants such as the parents and grandparents experience negative policy treatment such as small windows of application, lengthy and complex terms of

undertaking, in turn, a lack of agency, a lack of information and resources that can support their transition to having stronger political connections. As a result, this creates and enforces the established narrative of what is considered a" deserving" and "undeserving" migrant by design.

My goal in conducting this research, with the help of Griffith's definition of temporal governance as novel lens and Schneider and Ingram's framework was to urge readers and learners of immigration policy design in political science that this narrative is purposefully enforced to achieve Canada's immigration objectives, primarily recruiting economic migrants to contribute to immigration policy objectives in Canada's value-based immigration system.

My work has a few limitations. First, it is difficult to consistently evaluate time-based immigration policies because the nature of immigration policy is contingent on the state of migration flows both domestically and internationally. Therefore, my analysis requires multiple frameworks and definitions of how time is evaluated and used in immigration policy to remain consistent. However, this may not be possible because the policy design is not guaranteed to remain the same throughout time. Rather, it will be adjusted to the state of political, social, and economic affairs of the moment. This bleeds into the second limitation of my work: the study of immigration policy encompasses many scholarly fields such as geography, sociology, and economics. Therefore, the multiple changing perspectives in this field can greatly impact the way immigration policy design is analyzed, which may conflict with my findings in the next several years. Another limitation is that the process of immigration policy design including agenda setting, research, formulation, and decision-making is not a public process which makes it difficult to accurately infer the root of the intentions about the design, implementation, and outcome of policy. As a result, the lack of information can hinder the accuracy of my findings in the future. In other words, we can only analyze what we have access to.

However, this does not take away from the importance of my study. I was keen on conducting this study from a temporal perspective because it allows scholars and policymakers to consider the power in time-based policies that can influence immigration policy design at its inception. Moreover, the fluidity of a policy tool such as time creates the possibility for exclusionary and differential treatment of social groups and immigration groups in a way that does not allow for accountability of consequences because it is baked into the structure of the system. Instead, my work sheds light on time as a substantive policy tool that allocates punitive and rewarding policy treatment to immigration groups seeking permanent residency in Canada, ultimately categorizing each group as more or less "deserving by design".

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