

Walking Alongside Refugees:  
Strengths and Challenges of Canadian Private Sponsorship

by

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Bachelor of Science (Honours), University of Victoria, 2016

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We acknowledge and respect the ləkʷəŋən peoples on whose traditional territory  
the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt and WSÁNEĆ peoples  
whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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## Abstract

As the global refugee crisis grows increasingly dire, the Canadian government has raised quotas for refugee resettlement through the Privately Sponsored Refugees Program. Private sponsors provide emotional, financial, and practical support to refugees throughout the sponsorship agreement. The limited research on private sponsorship consists mainly of region-specific samples in response to the Syrian refugee crisis, which may not be representative of day-to-day private sponsorship across Canada. This research draws on Intergroup Contact Theory to situate how private sponsors can approach sponsorship in ways that support or hinder refugee autonomy. In the current study, Canadian private sponsors (N = 155, 73% female) completed an online survey containing vignettes and various ratings to assess values, attitudes, behavioural intentions, and sponsorship group process. Together, findings indicated that both autonomy supportive and restrictive approaches are occurring in private sponsorship. Reflective thematic analysis results outlined the constraints of sponsorship (i.e., budget, scope, timeline), sponsorship group process, and the breadth of relationship quality between refugees and private sponsors. Quantitative results demonstrated a link between higher Social Dominance values and lower attitudes of Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity, and higher attitudes of Paternalism. Higher Power values were associated with lower attitudes of Reciprocity and higher attitudes of Colour Blindness. Moreover, higher Power values predicted private sponsors' behavioural intentions to communicate with refugees and support their autonomy. As the Canadian Privately Sponsored Refugees Program is the largest sponsorship stream in Canada and has been adopted worldwide, implications, recommendations, and future research directions are discussed.

*Keywords:* refugees, private sponsorship, resettlement, Canada

## Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee .....	ii
Abstract .....	iii
Table of Contents .....	iv
List of Tables .....	viii
List of Figures .....	ix
Acknowledgments .....	x
Dedication .....	xi
Exploring Strengths and Challenges of Canadian Private Sponsorship .....	1
A Note on Terminology .....	2
Sponsorship Streams in Canada .....	4
Research Objectives .....	9
Private Sponsorship in Canada .....	11
Responsibilities and Demographics of Private Sponsors .....	11
Intergroup Contact Theory .....	12
Equal Status .....	13
Common Goals and Intergroup Cooperation .....	15
Support of Authorities .....	17
Intergroup Contact Theory and The Current Study .....	18
Key Constructs .....	20
Private Sponsor Values .....	21
Social Justice Orientation .....	23
Social Dominance Orientation .....	25

Power .....	26
Private Sponsor Attitudes .....	29
Ethnocultural Empathy .....	30
Reciprocity and Paternalism .....	31
Colour Blindness.....	35
Behavioural Intentions.....	36
The Current Study.....	40
Research Self Location .....	43
Methodology.....	45
Participants.....	45
Procedures.....	45
Measures .....	46
Demographic Information.....	46
Private Sponsor Activities.....	46
Private Sponsor Values .....	46
Private Sponsor Attitudes .....	49
Private Sponsor Behavioural Intentions.....	51
Analytical Approach.....	52
Qualitative Analysis.....	52
Reflexive Thematic Analysis of Open-Ended Responses .....	52
Coding Reliability Thematic Analysis to Measure Behavioral Intentions .....	53
Quantitative Analyses.....	56
Missing Data .....	56

Dating Cleaning and Preparation .....	56
Results.....	59
Sponsorship Specific Demographics .....	61
Private Sponsorship Activities.....	64
Qualitative Results: Reflective Thematic Analysis .....	69
Relationship Quality Between Refugees and Private Sponsors.....	70
Sponsorship Constraints .....	77
Sponsorship Group Process .....	84
Quantitative Results.....	90
Descriptive Statistics.....	90
Preliminary Analyses .....	92
Correlations.....	94
Parallel Multiple Mediation .....	97
Discussion.....	120
Autonomy Supporting Approaches to Private Sponsorship .....	120
Autonomy Restricting Approaches to Private Sponsorship.....	122
Drivers of Autonomy Supporting and Restricting Approaches to Private Sponsorship.....	124
Financial Constraints .....	124
Age of Private Sponsors.....	127
Sponsorship Group Process .....	128
Recommendations for Improvement of the PSR Program .....	128
Incorporate Evidence-Based Strategies to Lessen Power Differentials.....	130
Diversify Private Sponsorship Groups.....	132

Promote Refugee Financial Independence.....	135
Novel Methodological Contributions of the Current Study.....	136
Challenges of Conducting Research on Private Sponsors .....	139
Limitations and Future Research Directions.....	142
Conclusions.....	145
References.....	147
Appendix A.....	175
Appendix B.....	178
Appendix C.....	179
Appendix D.....	180
Appendix E.....	182
Appendix F.....	183
Appendix G.....	186
Appendix H.....	187
Appendix I.....	189
Appendix J.....	190
Appendix K.....	191

**List of Tables**

Table 1: Summary of Identified Outliers in Main Study Variables.....	57
Table 2: Summary of Participant Attributes .....	59
Table 3: Summary of Sponsorship Specific Demographics .....	63
Table 4: Supplemental Sponsorship Activities .....	68
Table 5: Means, Standard Deviations, and Possible Ranges of Study Variables .....	91
Table 6: Fixed Effects ANOVA using Autonomy Support as the Criterion .....	93
Table 7: Summary of Significant Correlations Between Main Study Variables .....	96
Table 8: Results of Path Analysis of Model 1 .....	101
Table 9: Results of Path Analysis of Model 2 .....	103
Table 10: Results of Path Analysis of Model 3 .....	106
Table 11: Results of Path Analysis of Model 4 .....	108
Table 12: Results of Path Analysis of Model 5 .....	111
Table 13: Results of Path Analysis of Model 6 .....	113
Table 14: Results of Path Analysis of Model 7 .....	115
Table 15: Results of Path Analysis of Model 8 .....	117

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Conceptual Model of Study Constructs.....	21
Figure 2: Theory of Planned Behaviour.....	37
Figure 3: Testing and Refining the Codebook Guidelines.....	55
Figure 4: Alluvial Plot of Sponsorship Activities Organized by Category .....	65
Figure 5: Reflective Thematic Analysis Themes and Subthemes .....	70
Figure 6: Continuum of Relationship Quality between Refugees and Private Sponsors .....	71
Figure 7: Hypothesized Path Analysis Model for Relationships Amongst Study Variables.....	98
Figure 8: Path Diagram for Model 1.....	100
Figure 9: Path Diagram for Model 2.....	102
Figure 10: Path Diagram for Model 3.....	105
Figure 11: Path Diagram for Model 4.....	107
Figure 12: Path Diagram for Model 5.....	110
Figure 13: Path Diagram for Model 6.....	112
Figure 14: Path Diagram for Model 7.....	114
Figure 15: Path Diagram for Model 8.....	116

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## Dedication

For my Aunt Audrey—

Thank you for being a trailblazer,

For loving us, and

For always being unapologetically yourself.

## **Exploring Strengths and Challenges of Canadian Private Sponsorship**

The landscape of who is Canadian has changed and shifted with time and continues to transform today. Currently, one in five Canadians are foreign-born (Statistics Canada, 2016). The scale of global displacement is massive, with the numbers of displaced individuals worldwide equaling almost twice the total population of Canada (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2018). Refugees alone make up 25.9 million of this group (UNHCR, 2018). Canada has recently amplified resettling efforts to coincide with the present-day refugee crises (Government of Canada [GC], 2021a).

Throughout history, Canada has accepted different groups of persecuted individuals as needs arise (GC, 2021a). In 1976, Canada introduced the Immigration Act, detailing four distinct classes of immigrants, including refugees (GC, 2019c). Refugees are distinct from other classes of migrants in a fundamental way—lack of choice. Those seeking refuge have experienced legitimate threats to their safety and have been forced to flee due to circumstances beyond their control (GC, 2019c). Despite private sponsorship existing in some capacity since the 1970s, research focusing on the relations between private sponsors and refugees, and within private sponsorship groups themselves, requires further refinement and exploration. The current study aims to expand knowledge of Canadian sponsorship by exploring the overarching values private sponsors hold, how these values predict sponsor attitudes, and how sponsors believe they would act in challenging situations that arise during resettlement (i.e., behavioural intentions).

### A Note on Terminology

Before a family or individual can resettle in Canada as refugees, they need to meet strict entry requirements. First, they need to qualify as refugees per the legal definition: an inability to remain in their country of origin due to legitimate threats to safety (e.g., religious persecution; GC, 2019c). Furthermore, refugees must pass medical, security, and criminality checks (GC, 2019c). Individuals and families regularly reside in refugee camps for years before they are eligible for resettlement in Canada (GC, 2019b; Mendonca, 2018). Refugee camps typically have limited resources and heightened exposure to aggression and violence, often marking a drastic departure from previous quality of life (Kyriakides et al., 2018).

Only after navigating the long process of proceeding through all required stages can refugees be approved for sponsorship and begin amassing the necessary documentation for travel (GC, 2019b). Refugees become permanent residents upon arrival in Canada (GC, 2019c). In contrast, country of asylum applicants (more commonly referred to as asylum seekers) apply for protection while in Canada. Asylum claims are processed in an entirely separate stream from refugee claims as asylum seekers must await an eligibility hearing to determine if they can remain in Canada (GC, 2019c). Only *if* asylum seekers are permitted to remain in Canada can they apply for permanent residency. Another vital distinction between refugees and asylum seekers is that refugees do not choose their country of resettlement and thus do not choose to come to Canada (GC, 2019c).

To distinguish between different immigration streams in Canada, I will use the term *refugees* to refer to Canadians who, as a result of being forcibly displaced and persecuted, are resettling in new communities. Newcomers have vibrant and complex lives that predate their status as refugees. “Refugee” is an identity they are assigned despite their unique histories and routes of arrival, and regardless of whether or not they see themselves reflected in that label (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Kyriakides et al., 2020). A criticism of this label is that it serves to reduce a multi-faceted person within a singular title consistent with their current circumstances, without recognizing their lived

experiences that exceed the confines of the refugee identity (Kyriakides et al., 2018; Kyriakides et al., 2020). Although the term “refugee” may be a pragmatic choice for scholarly discussion, it is important to not think of refugees as “others” in the way that the term “refugee” connotes. Refugees are permanent residents of Canada upon arrival and are entitled to equivalent rights and privileges as all other Canadians.

## Sponsorship Streams in Canada

Refugees gain entry to Canada in three streams: Government-Assisted Refugees (GAR), Blended Visa Office-Referred (BVOR), and Privately-Sponsored Refugees (PSR; GC, 2019c). The GAR stream is the longest established sponsorship program and represents the ongoing federal commitment to resettlement. Refugees resettled through the GAR stream are referred by UNHCR and may have more vulnerabilities than those who are resettled in the other streams (e.g., fewer language skills; Hyndman et al., 2016). Government-funded local service provider organizations provide full financial and resettlement support for those resettled through GAR stream (GC, 2019b).

The PSR Program capitalizes on citizen motivations to contribute to newcomer settlement while also utilizing the resources (e.g., financial, time, energy) that governments supply for GAR sponsorship programs (Hyndman et al., 2016). Sponsors serve as an introduction to local and Canadian culture as individuals resettled through the private sponsorship stream join the community of their sponsors. Sponsors are legally responsible for providing financial and emotional support to refugees throughout the sponsorship agreement (GC, 2019c). Beyond the practical considerations, sponsors also introduce refugees to the subtle nuances of Canadian norms and behaviours (i.e., why Canadians say ‘sorry’ all the time; Haugen et al., 2020). Although financial responsibility for resettlement lies solely with the sponsors, the PSR Program relies heavily on established government health checks and thorough security screening of refugee claimants for its continued functioning (GC, 2019c; Macklin et al., 2018). The Canadian PSR Program can only exist in coordination with government resources, or in other words, through a marriage of public and private sectors (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019).

In addition to financial support, the PSR stream is distinct from the GAR stream because sponsors select whom they want to resettle in Canada (Macklin et al., 2018). This precise practice of selection has been dubbed “the naming principle” (Lehr & Dyck, 2020). Private sponsors typically identify an individual or family through connections with relatives, friends, or community members (GC, 2020d). When private sponsors select refugees with a familial tie to previously sponsored newcomers, this is

called the echo effect (Hyndman et al., 2016). The PSR Program is an attractive option for both parties in the sponsorship relationship: sponsored individuals receive protection through resettlement and reunite with their families, while sponsors play an essential role in making these reunions possible. Sponsor attachments to the countries refugees are fleeing from (e.g., a family lineage from Syria), or connections with the individuals and families being sponsored, contribute to the initial and continued involvement of private sponsors in the PSR Program (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Labman, 2016; Macklin et al., 2018). A critique that can be levied against this selection process are the personal biases that sponsors could impose in these decisions. Are there patterns in the types of refugees private sponsors choose to sponsor, and perhaps more importantly, who they do not choose? Questions such as these are beyond the scope of this study, but remain important avenues for future research.

Although the PSR stream can reunite families through resettlement in Canada, many requests for familial reunification are ultimately rejected due to applicants not meeting government refugee status criteria (GC, 2020d; Labman, 2016). Criticisms of the PSR Program have highlighted how family reunification for refugees can be a slow and challenging process compared to other Canadian immigration classes (Canadian Council of Refugees [CCR], 2017). To illustrate, immigrants that have resettled in Canada can sponsor partners or dependents in an expedited manner (i.e., less than 12 months) through the Family Class immigration stream. In comparison, individuals who came to Canada as refugees waited, on average, 38 months to be reunited with their families (CCR, 2017). Due to the frequent dangers that coincide with fleeing, families can become separated in the journeys before resettlement in Canada. Notably, the current departmental plan by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada seeks to increase admissions through the PSR Program to support family reunification efforts further and reduce wait times (GC, 2022a). The sobering truth is that the vast majority of refugees do not get the opportunity for resettlement, the refugees in the PSR Program represent a small minority of the dire resettlement needs worldwide (Lehr & Dyck, 2020).

In 2013, the BVOR Program was introduced (Labman & Pearlman, 2018). The BVOR stream is a combination of the government and private sponsorship programs. The fiscal responsibility of newcomer resettlement is equally distributed between private sponsors and the federal government (i.e., each party covers six months of funding; Hyndman et al., 2017). The government covers healthcare costs (GC, 2021a); however, emotional and social support solely falls on private sponsors. Through the BVOR stream, the UNHCR identifies refugees and refugee families for resettlement and matches them with private sponsorship groups in Canada (GC, 2021a; Hyndman et al., 2016). Blending government and private sponsorship reduces the amount of funding that sponsorship groups need to supply, which lessens the financial onus for citizens (GC, 2021a).

The government (GC, 2021a) emphasizes that the BVOR stream is designed to support those with higher vulnerabilities (e.g., a LGBTQ2 [lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, queer and two-spirited] person), allowing them to resettle in Canada faster than those resettled in the PSR Program. Namely, individuals resettled through the BVOR stream have already passed the necessary medical and safety screening measures and are travel ready. Despite the temporal and monetary incentives, the BVOR Program continues to be underutilized, with private sponsors critiquing the program for impeding sponsors from choosing which refugees they resettle in Canada (Hyndman et al., 2016). The department of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship aims to increase the use of the BVOR program and is currently determining ways to increase sponsor retention through this stream (GC, 2022a).

Each year Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada implements immigration targets by incoming newcomer class (i.e., economic migrants, refugees, asylum seekers). The latest multi-year immigration plan for 2022 to 2023 aims to accelerate resettlement to account for the standstills due to the COVID-19 pandemic (GC, 2022a). The current immigration plan aims to resettle over one million people in Canada as permanent residents and special initiatives to react to the needs for humanitarian aid of Afghan and Ukrainian refugees (GC, 2022a; GC, 2022c). The GAR Program has historically been the most utilized stream to resettle refugees in Canada. In 2013, for the first time in Canadian history,

government quotas for PSR exceeded GAR, reflecting a redistribution in the proportions of refugee resettlement streams (Hyndman et al., 2017). The shift in quota disruption of refugee resettlement streams has remained, as present-day resettlement occurs predominantly through the PSR Program (GC, 2019d; Hyndman et al., 2017).

In 2019, Canada accepted 30,000 refugees for resettlement, most of whom arrived through private sponsorship (GC, 2019a). Resettlement through the PSR Program maintains federal commitments to providing humanitarian aid while placing the responsibility of resettlement on private sponsors (Labman, 2016). The government seeks to continually increase newcomer resettlement in Canada by "growing the Privately Sponsored Refugee Program to respond to Canadians' generosity" (GC, 2019d). However, some researchers warn that the 'privatization' of sponsorship serves to absolve the government of financial support and responsibility (Hyndman et al., 2017). Optically, private sponsorship adheres to Canada's global peacemaking reputation while reducing federal resettlement expenses. Other researchers propose that federal favouring of the PSR Program may ultimately result in an over-reliance on private citizens (Labman, 2016; Labman & Pearlman, 2018). Regardless of the rationale for adjusting resettlement quotas, the Canadian government continues to grow the PSR Program (GC, 2019d; Hyndman et al., 2016; Labman, 2016). Still, research on private sponsorship markedly lags behind the available literature on the GAR Program (Kyriakides et al., 2018; Labman, 2016; Macklin et al., 2018).

The Canadian government routinely collects and disseminates statistics on refugees, such as where they resettle, their language capacities, employment status, country of origin, and family size (GC, 2020a; GC, 2022a). Strikingly, the Canadian government collects absolutely *no* data on the private sponsors who are resettling these refugees (O. Chetelat, personal communication, May 24, 2022). The current study will reduce the gap by obtaining perspectives on the PSR Program from the key stakeholders who are essential to the program: Private sponsors.

Reflecting on the enduring migration crisis, one must ask why people are refugees in the first place. The contemporary refugee crisis is deeply rooted in years of colonization, slavery, displacement,

capitalistic initiatives and resultant climate change that have contributed to upheaval in countries all across the globe (Macklin et al., 2021). By creating constraints and strict regulations on where people can live, society collectively gave rise to the illegalization of the movement of humans in the name of national security and border safety (Atak & Simeon, 2018; Macklin et al., 2021). Countries across the globe take different perspectives and practices on how to respond to the exceedingly complex issue of human migration. Scholars call for resettlement efforts that focus on anti-discrimination practices, justice striving, promoting diversity in society, and ultimately ways to foster genuine community and relationships (Atak & Simeon, 2018). From a social justice and equity lens, newcomers need to be seen and treated as equals in their new homes. Moreover, it is important to recognize that the PSR Program is a singular component embedded within a broader context that spans history and all levels of society.

## Research Objectives

In a pluralistic country such as Canada, national rhetoric is one of acceptance and respect for diverse cultures (GC, 2019d; Jenson, 1998; Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017). However, a persistent challenge to the PSR Program derives from the fact that not all residents see resettlement as a tenant of their Canadian identity. Media coverage detailing national security concerns, job availability, and the validity of the global refugee crisis represents an alternative stance on resettlement (Hynie, 2018a). Narratives of Islamophobia reflect the prejudice and discrimination occurring in present-day Canada. As private sponsors make up a subset of the Canadian population that willingly choose to be engaged in resettlement work, one would presume they hold positive values and attitudes regarding multiculturalism in society. Nonetheless, private sponsors are not immune to engaging in behaviours that can harm refugee social equality (Hyndman et al., 2016; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Lim, 2019). Despite its long-standing history and continued use, the present form of Canada's PSR Program has serious concerns, such as power imbalances and relationship breakdowns between sponsors and refugees (Kyriakides et al., 2018; Lim, 2019), and high proportions of refugees living in poverty (Beiser & Ho, 2016; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019).

Researchers have called for strategies for effective community welcoming as resettlement rates continue to rise (Smith, 2008). Private sponsorship groups coordinate to integrate refugees into their new communities and are often refugees' first introduction to Canadian life. Ultimately, to enhance refugee-sponsor relationships, we need to first identify strengths and areas for improvement in private sponsorship groups to foster positive refugee-sponsor relationships. The available literature focuses predominantly on the sponsorship of Syrian refugees (Agrawal, 2019; Ilcan et al., 2020; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Labman, 2016; Macklin et al., 2018) and focuses on alternative Canadian immigration streams, such as the GAR program (Kyriakides et al., 2018; Labman 2016; Macklin et al., 2018). Private sponsors engage in beliefs and behaviours that exist on a continuum from supportive and helpful, to harmful and abusive, and a large proportion likely operate in the grey area in between. The current study provides

perspectives and reflections from private sponsors on the values and attitudes they hold and subsequently bring into their sponsorship relationships, as well as how they would navigate common scenarios in the sponsorship experience.

On the one hand, there is ample evidence of private sponsorships that go well, where private sponsors are supportive and respectful of refugees throughout the resettlement process (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Lim, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018). On the other hand, there are examples of private sponsors who actively impede agency and hold harmful preconceptions regarding refugees (Kyriakides et al., 2018; Labman, 2016; Macklin et al., 2018). Conflicting perceptions of private sponsorship highlight the complexities of resettlement and a need for adjustments to the PSR Program decades after its inception. After all: “Receiving countries have an obligation not only to help refugee[s]... but also prevent additional harm” (Beiser & Hou, 2016, p. 467). Despite the Canadian government’s sustained growth of the PSR Program (Hyndman et al., 2017; Labman, 2016; GC, 2019d), there is an urgent need for further improvement and research attention. The challenges arising within private sponsorship should be addressed before importing the program to other nations and shared with countries already modelling resettlement policies based on Canada’s PSR Program (i.e., Germany, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand; Hyndman et al., 2016; Lim, 2019).

## Private Sponsorship in Canada

### Responsibilities and Demographics of Private Sponsors

Private sponsors have a legal responsibility to provide financial and emotional support to refugees throughout the sponsorship agreement. The relationships between refugees and sponsors are the basis for introducing refugees to Canadian life. Private sponsors are depended upon to assist newcomers in navigating government agencies (e.g., enrolling in provincial healthcare coverage), attending skills training in either national languages, and accessing additional resources if necessary (e.g., childcare services, transportation assistance, and counselling for trauma; GC, 2019c). In addition, private sponsorship groups coordinate efforts to supply food, clothing, housing, furniture, and necessities for children. Beyond these essentials for everyday life, private sponsors are also required to help refugees find and maintain employment and foster social connections in the community (with both long-term residents and previously resettled newcomers). However, facilitating relationships between refugees and long-term residents can be a challenge as refugee social networks are typically composed of others with recent migration histories (Dandy & Pu-Pua, 2013).

Private sponsors may remain with their sponsorship group long-term and participate in the resettlement of multiple refugee families. Repeat sponsorship groups can utilize the lessons learned from previous resettlement experiences to inform and improve future sponsor-sponsored relationships (Macklin et al., 2018). From an efficiency standpoint, these groups become familiar with navigating the federal program and local resources, effectively streamlining required duties. Experienced sponsorship groups likely provide more informed support to refugees, as first-time sponsors are more likely to fall prey to misinformed stereotypes about refugees (e.g., the false notion that all refugees are unfamiliar with technology; Kyriakides et al., 2018).

Residents who offer their time, support, and finances by becoming private sponsors are the cornerstone of the PSR Program in Canada. A distinctive feature of the private sponsor sample in Macklin and colleagues' (2018) research was their sweeping demographic similarities. Sponsors were

mostly white (84% European heritage) older women (74% of the sample respectively) with high household income and education attainment (54% over \$100,000; 84% BA or higher). The authors note that although the sponsorship sample was distinctly homogeneous, a large proportion of their sample was from Toronto—the most ethnically diverse city in Canada. The juxtaposition of metropolitan diversity to sample uniformity exemplifies a contrast between those who willing and able to sponsor and those who do not. Moreover, a third of Macklin and associates' (2018) sample was retired. These findings are not isolated; the most common age of private sponsors in the Mennonite Central Committee interviewed by Good Gingrich and Enns (2019) was 65 years old ( $n = 49$ ). Private sponsors appear to be individuals at the “age and stage” of their lives where they have the time and money to dedicate to resettlement (Macklin et al., 2018, p. 46).

Volunteering appears to be a component of the Canadian ethos, as estimates indicate that nearly half (47%) of the population is involved in volunteer work in some capacity throughout their lives (Vézina & Crompton, 2012). The Canada Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating was a large scale study (i.e.,  $N = 15,482$  in 2010;  $N = 21,827$  in 2007) assessing Canadian volunteer demographics and behaviour (Vézina & Crompton, 2012). Of interest to the current study's sample, findings indicated that 41% of Canadians aged 55 to 64 and 36% of Canadians 65 and older volunteer. In line with research on private sponsors (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018), Vézina and Crompton's (2012) findings consistently show that as household education and income levels rise, so does household volunteer activity. Engaging in social activities (such as membership in a sponsorship group) promotes a sense of belonging in older adults (Inoue et al., 2020). Furthermore, a meta-analysis by Talò and associates (2014) demonstrated that a sense of community is strongly associated with civic and political participation.

### **Intergroup Contact Theory**

While the PSR Program requires the efforts of private sponsors, sponsorship also requires a governmental framework and, of course, the participation of refugees. Thus, it is important to understand

the program from a relational perspective. Intergroup Contact Theory provides guidance on the qualities and experiences that promote positive relationship among people from diverse backgrounds and therefore it may be a framework for analyzing the relationships amongst the different parties in the PSR Program. Specifically, Intergroup Contact Theory is a framework that stipulates the nature of contact between majority and minority groups that is associated with improved relationships, altered attitudes, and reduced prejudice (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). As the relationships between refugees and private sponsors are the foundation of the PSR Program, applying the longstanding Intergroup Contact Theory to the resettlement context can provide valuable insight into what conditions facilitate positive intergroup attitudes and effective sponsored-sponsor relationships. In particular, Intergroup Contact Theory provides an evidence-based explanation for why some refugee/sponsor relationships may be more successful than others. Respectful and reciprocal relationships between sponsors and refugees aid in providing a transition to Canadian life and sets up refugees for success. Further, applying Intergroup Contact Theory to research on private sponsors in the Canadian PSR Program provides a basis to contextualize findings and can result in practical recommendations for action that are situated in science.

Intergroup Contact Theory became popularized nearly 70 years ago in the seminal publication by Gordon Allport: *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954). Allport's student Pettigrew (2021) synthesized his theory and specified that attitude and relationship improvement would occur if four conditions were met: equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support of authorities. According to this theory, the relationships between refugees and private sponsors should improve with ongoing contact over the sponsorship year as long as the four conditions are upheld.

### ***Equal Status***

Despite seemingly different life trajectories, some refugees and private sponsors have commonalities in their migration histories. In the survey of over 500 sponsors, largely from Toronto, Macklin and colleagues (2018) found that three-quarters of their sample reported that a personal or family history of migration was an important motivator for their involvement in sponsorship. However,

research also indicates that sponsors are a privileged subset of the Canadian population (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018). To facilitate positive intergroup relations and reciprocal relationships with refugees, sponsors would need to be aware of their position of privilege and navigate their positionality mindfully. Lim (2019) argues that the PSR Program's current format in Canada exacerbates power imbalances as there are no enforced guidelines for how private sponsors engage with refugees. Sponsors being in a position of control is inherent in the framework of private sponsorship and illustrates that power is enacted in relationships (Macklin et al., 2021). Imbedded power differentials run counter to one of the tenants of Intergroup Contact Theory, equal status. The principle of equal status requires that both groups engage equally in the relationship and that inequity between the groups regarding power and privilege be minimized (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). In the Intergroup Contact Theory research, equal status can be achieved by ensuring that groups have similar characteristics and backgrounds. Although private sponsors and refugees may differ in many aspects, research indicates that a large proportion of private sponsors have personal or familial migration histories, which may be a starting point to promote shared understanding, strengthen connections, and minimize power differentials (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018).

The Intergroup Contact Theory condition of equal status highlights the importance of reciprocity between refugees and private sponsors (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). Respectful and warm guidance from private sponsors is invaluable in facilitating a smooth introduction and transition to life in Canada (Lim, 2019). In contrast, relationship ruptures between private sponsors and refugees can directly jeopardize refugee capacity and autonomy to build a new life (e.g., private sponsorship groups spreading rumours about sponsored refugees; Kyriakides et al., 2018). Private sponsorship has been hailed a success by many (UNHCR, 2017) but also criticized for producing inequities in power dynamics that negatively impact resettlement (such as private sponsors determining how refugees may spend their money; Hyndman et al., 2016; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Lim, 2019). Moreover, studies have highlighted the problematic 'infantilization' of refugees by private sponsors and the media, portraying refugees as

incapable of having agency in their own lives (Kyriakides et al., 2018; Lim, 2019). Thus, when equal status is not achieved in refugee/sponsor relationships, breakdowns can occur, which disrupt refugees' ability to resettle in Canada smoothly.

### ***Common Goals and Intergroup Cooperation***

Ultimately, the goal of sponsorship groups is the successful resettlement of refugee individuals and families into the receiving community. Successful resettlement by PSR Program standards is when refugees become financially self-sufficient and develop a sense of belonging to the new community (GC, 2020d; Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019). Successful resettlement in the new society requires accepting public attitudes and scaffolding of the newcomer-sponsor relationship throughout the sponsorship year (Esses et al., 2017). Private sponsors and refugees need to do more than merely coexist with one another; they are required to coordinate and collaborate to attain their shared goal: to best support newcomers resettling in Canada. Two interrelated tenets of Intergroup Contact theory that apply to the resettlement process are *common goals* and the *cooperation of group members towards common goals* (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). The condition of common goals the optimal fostering of positive relationships occurs when two groups work towards a shared goal (e.g., successful resettlement). Similarly, the condition of intergroup cooperation specifics that the goal can only be attained by coordination and cooperation between the two groups (e.g., refugee families and sponsorship groups).

As private sponsors are bound by their sponsorship agreements, they embark on facilitating the goal of resettlement of sponsored individuals or families by month thirteen (GC, 2020d; Lenard, 2019). Research conducted by Lenard (2019) aimed to nuance the reality of reaching the end of sponsorship with the ideal government timeline. By interviewing a sample of fifty-six private sponsors in Ontario, Lenard concluded that attaining independence by the completion of sponsorship is challenging. Refugees may achieve independence slowly and to varying degrees over time. Through the interviews, private sponsors identified two salient aspects of refugee independence: attaining skills and holding positive attitudes towards integration.

One essential skill for resettlement is learning the language (Beiser, 2003; Beiser, 2009; Lenard, 2019). To illustrate, in Lenard's (2019) study, private sponsors highlighted that learning and comprehending the language allows refugees to attain work, which is essential to achieving economic independence. However, not all refugees prioritize language learning and are eager to begin work that does not require language proficiency (e.g., general labour positions). Private sponsors shared that refugees were eager to begin work upon arrival to not feel like burdens to their new country. Many private sponsors spoke of the time constraints of learning a new language within a year and often provided additional support to refugees in the form of at-home tutoring. Thus, language is an essential gatekeeper to attaining independence and active participation in Canadian life.

Similarly, how refugees envision their lives in Canada appears to influence their successful resettlement (at least from the point of view of private sponsors). In Lenard's (2019) study, private sponsors shared that refugees demonstrated great strength and resilience in transitioning to life in Canada. Private sponsors in Lenard's (2019) study highlighted refugees' resilience and strength in navigating the arduous journey to Canada. These sponsors noted that refugees did not *need* sponsors; they could navigate through dangerous and trying times independently; instead, sponsors' roles were to *support* refugees through their new Canadian chapter. In other words, these sponsors recognized refugee agency and capacity. In contrast, other sponsors interviewed felt that refugees approached life in Canada with the wrong attitude. A common area of tension between sponsors and refugees was the proportion of refugees enrolling in social assistance programs after sponsorship (i.e., approximately 30%). Ensuring refugees understand the importance of budgeting and living within their means is a salient concern to some private sponsors (Haugen et al., 2020; Lenard, 2019). These sponsors expressed that they wanted to ensure that refugees would be successful following the sponsorship year when the support of the sponsorship group was no longer around.

From Lenard's (2019) interviews, a minority of private sponsors continue to support refugees past the sponsorship. Accomplishing the resettlement goals within a year can be challenging for refugees, as

they may be processing trauma while adapting to an entirely new culture. Beiser (2003) distilled successful resettlement into three components: employment, English language fluency, and general health. Across three waves of data collection over ten years, Beiser concluded that 86% of the sample (N = 608) were deemed successful. In contrast, at the beginning of their lives in Canada, only 15% of the sample met the three criteria for success. Together these findings indicate that successful resettlement takes time, and attaining success within the confines of the sponsorship year may be a tall ask (Beiser, 2003; Lenard, 2019). As demonstrated in the reviewed literature (Beiser, 2003; Beiser, 2009; Haugen et al., 2020; Lenard, 2019), private sponsors and refugees may be approaching the goal of resettlement with different conceptions of what resettlement ultimately means. As postulated in Intergroup Contact Theory, if refugees and sponsors can develop a shared understanding of the goals of resettlement, then refugees and private sponsors can coordinate and cooperate to achieve resettlement tasks accordingly (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021).

### ***Support of Authorities***

There are many higher-order frameworks in private sponsorship that support the relationships between refugees and private sponsors, the most notable being the Government of Canada itself. Private sponsorship groups, or their overarching Sponsorship Agreement Holders, are responsible for terms outlined in the 32-page federal Sponsorship Agreement (typically referred to as “the Agreement”; GC, 2018). On the international stage, the UNHCR first needs to designate an individual as a refugee in order for them to be eligible for resettlement through the PSR Program (GC, 2020d). At the local level, settlement agencies or churches provide training, support, and guidance throughout the sponsorship process. Beyond the global, national, and local institutions of the PSR Program, refugees are also adapting to the laws, customs, and cultures of their receiving communities and to the country of Canada itself.

Acculturation is a term that encompasses the practice of newcomers trying to feel “at home” in their new communities and is accomplished by both adapting to the new context and cultivating existing

ties to the heritage culture (Berry & Hou, 2016). In the case of refugees (compared to immigrants), their previous ties to their heritage countries were abruptly severed, making nurturing this connection challenging. Also, refugees do not get to choose their country or community of resettlement, as placements are based on where private sponsorship groups are located (GC, 2020d). As outlined in Berry's seminal paper on acculturation strategies (1997), newcomers and the receiving society co-create the conditions that facilitate or prevent newcomers from adapting to their new lives. Berry's four acculturation strategies are:

- integration (mutual adaptation of heritage and host culture),
- assimilation (one-sided adaption to the host culture by newcomers),
- separation (maintaining heritage culture but not engaging in host culture), and
- marginalization (excluded from both heritage and host culture).

The goals of Canada's PSR Program most align with integration, as refugees are encouraged to maintain their ties to their heritage while adapting to Canada (GC, 2020d); however, other acculturation strategies can occur as well (i.e., assimilation, separation, or marginalization).

A condition of Intergroup Contact Theory that applies to the framework of the PSR Program is *the support of authorities, law, or customs* by the groups in contact (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). Simply, relationships between groups can be strengthened when the two groups recognize an overarching authority that oversees and supports group interactions. In practice, private sponsors are responsible for fulfilling their sponsorship contract, which stipulates and outlines the various ways they are to support refugees throughout resettlement (GC, 2018). Thus, the entire PSR Program relies on both refugees and private sponsors working within the governmental systems that facilitate sponsorship.

### ***Intergroup Contact Theory and The Current Study***

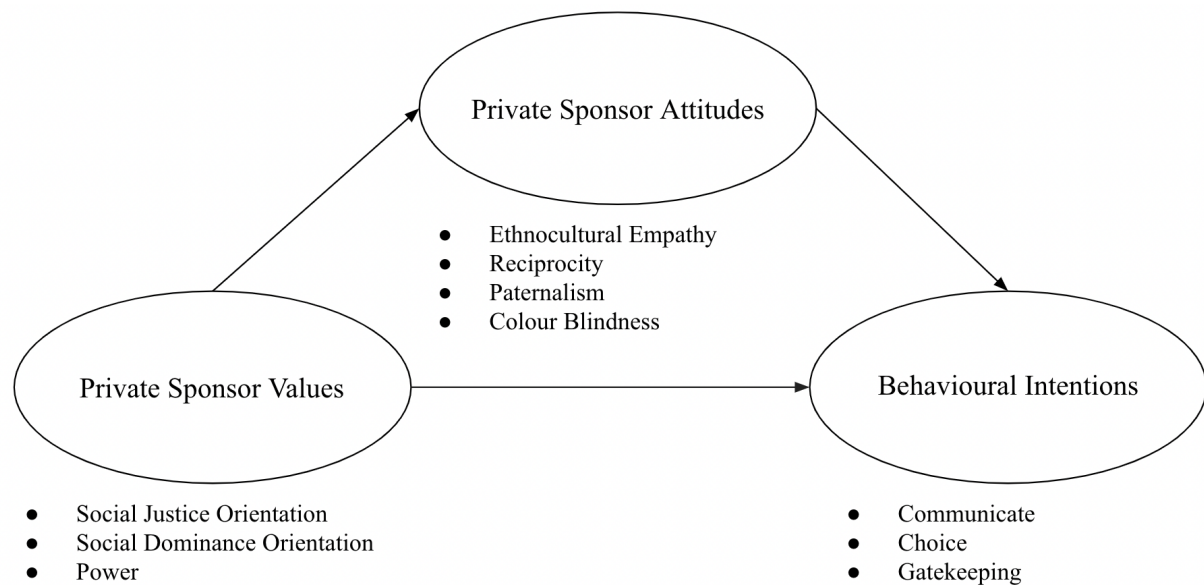
Research has consistently demonstrated that relationships between a majority group and a marginalized group can be improved by ongoing contact and communication (Allport, 1954; Gronholm et al., 2017; Pettigrew, 2021; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). To illustrate, a meta-analysis conducted in 2006

analyzing over 490 studies investigating Intergroup Contact Theory concluded a  $-0.21$  magnitude (Cohen's  $d = 7.41$ ) relationship between intergroup contact and harmful prejudices and attitudes towards "outgroups" (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Another recent literature review concluded that interventions to reduce stigma and discrimination against individuals with mental health by facilitating interpersonal contact had small to moderate positive improvements on knowledge, attitudes, and behavioural intentions towards target groups (Gronholm et al., 2017). Overall, these findings suggest that beneficial outcomes associated with intergroup contact (e.g., knowledge, attitudes, behavioural intentions) could facilitate safer and more harmonious communities for refugees and long-term residents alike. Gronholm and colleagues (2017) recommend assessing intergroup contact over long periods to further the scholarly basis and understanding of Intergroup Contact Theory (Gronholm et al., 2017). The relationships between refugees and private sponsors can answer this call, albeit outside of a traditional research setting, by both the longevity and closeness of the relationships.

## Key Constructs

Intergroup Contact theory directs our attention to the importance of the attitudes that people hold towards people from different social groups. Values, beliefs, and attitudes are all interrelated concepts that explain why people do the things they do. However, each concept differs in scope, with values being the broadest, reflecting overarching principles, and attitudes being the most distinct and discrete in focus (Schwartz, 2012). Values cut across situations and are considered constant across all areas of an individual's life. To illustrate, a person who highly values honesty will enact this value in their relationships, workplace dynamics, or while interacting with strangers. In the context of the current research, private sponsors who endorse the value of Social Dominance Orientation (i.e., maintaining social hierarchies) likely exemplify this value in their relationships with refugees but also with others in their sponsorship groups and their social networks.

In everyday language, values, beliefs, and attitudes are typically used interchangeably. However, in social psychology, these constructs represent related yet distinct constructs (Reeve, 2018). Research in psychology, especially research by those outside social psychology, can fall prey to using these terms as synonyms. In my research, I will be focusing on private sponsors' values, attitudes, and behavioural intentions and use each term in a deliberate and specific way. See Figure 1 for a conceptual model of the predicted relationships between values, attitudes, and behavioural intentions in the current study.

**Figure 1***Conceptual Model of Study Constructs*

*Note.* Conceptual model of the associations among private sponsor values, attitudes, and behavioural intentions.

### Private Sponsor Values

Values are overarching ideals in which individuals consciously or unconsciously approach their life (Schwartz, 2012). Depending on life experiences and personal preferences, individuals will endorse different values. A person's values are central to their personality and sense of self and have downstream consequences on their attitudes and behaviours (Schwartz, 1992). People do not have to have shared values to coexist peacefully (Brewer & Yuki, 2014). Of course, private sponsors and refugees need to do more than merely coexist with one another; they are required to coordinate and collaborate to best support newcomers resettling into Canada. When various personal values align, making decisions can be perceived as easier and more streamlined (Schwartz, 1992). However, the effectiveness of sponsorship groups can be hampered when disputes arise among members. To illustrate, in a qualitative study on private sponsors conducted by Kyriakides and associates (n = 47), a former private sponsor cited that

they left their sponsorship group due to a dispute with other sponsors regarding the refugee's ability to decide for themselves where they would live (Kyriakides et al., 2018). Reflecting on their decision, the former sponsor concluded: Well, I'm sorry, but the [sponsor group] board shouldn't decide whether the refugee will be living with one of them. The refugee has to be involved... You can't operate like that. So I resigned" (Kyriakides et al., 2018, p. 69). Disagreements, such as the example above, demonstrate that when sponsorship group members cannot navigate value differences regarding refugee autonomy, individuals may exit the group permanently.

Effective groups can navigate group differences by adhering to the group's underlying values (Brewer & Yuki, 2014). When sponsorship group members are unable to navigate value differences, individuals may exit the group permanently. Leaving before the completion of the sponsorship year redistributes sponsor responsibilities to other group members and, in effect, results in less support for the sponsored newcomer. Not all ruptures are futile, as breakdowns in sponsorship groups can allow for learning opportunities. The same sponsorship group later sponsored a Syrian couple and encouraged them to choose their own living arrangements (Kyriakides et al., 2018).

I selected three values that private sponsors may hold and that could influence their attitudes and behaviours towards refugees. Namely, Social Justice Orientation, Social Dominance Orientation, and Power. These values were selected for their presumably facilitate (i.e., Social Justice Orientation) or detrimental (Social Dominance Orientation) influence on the relationships between refugees and private sponsors. Moreover, as a power differential is embedded within refugee/sponsor relationships (Allport, 1954; Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Hyndman et al., 2016; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Lim, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018; Pettigrew, 2021), the value of Power was chosen to determine whether private sponsors value the power that their position affords. Some values are congruent with one another (Schwartz, 1992), such as Social Dominance Orientation and Power, whereas other values are in conflict with one another, such as Social Justice and Power. Next, I will discuss the values of interest for my study, Social Justice Orientation, Social Dominance Orientation, and Power.

### ***Social Justice Orientation***

*Social Justice Orientation* refers to an individual who highly values social justice ideals. Social justice, as defined by Torres-Harding and colleagues (2012), is a value that is contingent on people having “equitable access to resources and protection of human rights” (p. 78). When one approaches life with a social justice orientation, one develops a *critical consciousness* and concern for inequities occurring in society (Lee & Cunningham, 2019; Moeschberger et al., 2006; Torres-Harding et al., 2012). Having an awareness that inequities exist due to strategic historical and contemporary oppression of groups at the societal level is a vital component of social justice (Macklin et al., 2021; Moeschberger et al., 2006; Torres-Harding et al., 2012). Those who value and strive for social justice want to make the world a better place by advocating for more equitable treatment of those with less power (Moeschberger et al., 2006).

In private sponsorship, sponsors presumably hold values of social justice as they are resettling refugees who have experienced injustices that forced them to flee. Values of social justice arrive in response to injustice, where one group holds a disparity of power that puts another group at a disadvantage (Moeschberger et al., 2006). Injustice can be based on age, religion, nationality, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation (Lee & Cunningham, 2019), and as is typical for refugees, experiences of injustice due to an intersection of the multiple identities one holds (GC, 2019c; GC, 2021b). Social justice is having an awareness of the position one holds and using it to the advantage of others, which can be those in the same group or those in another group (e.g., sponsoring a refugee while having no personal migrant history; Moeschberger et al., 2006).

Individuals who value social justice typically strive to engage in civic participation and activism to benefit marginalized groups (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). The relationship between values and volunteering is bidirectional, as a salient motivation for volunteering is a way to enact one’s values, whereas one initially volunteers because of their values (Clary et al., 1998; Schwartz, 2012). Individuals endorse many motivations for volunteering, such as altruism, equality, benevolence, and reciprocity

(Dekker & Halman, 2003). In a study examining why people get involved in social justice advocacy (Lee & Cunningham, 2019), participants shared how indirect experiences, such as relationships with friends and family, influenced them to get involved in activism and increased their awareness of the ample injustices occurring. Similarly, new and repeat sponsors have endorsed various motivations for becoming involved in sponsorship, including media coverage, adherence to a national identity, belief in doing good, family migration histories, and desire to belong to a group (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Hyndman et al., 2016; Hynie, 2018a; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Labman, 2016; Macklin et al., 2018; Macklin et al., 2021). Those who highly value social justice see themselves as a part of the larger social fabric; although they may not directly experience injustice themselves, they seek to reduce inequities in society (Moeschberger et al., 2006).

Social justice has long-established roots in the faith community, as church groups engage in service acts (e.g., fundraising, volunteering, raising awareness) to enact their spiritual beliefs of morality (Houston & Todd, 2013; Watts & Hodgson, 2019). In a path analysis of 500 White Christian university students, Todd and associates (2014) found that individuals who were willing to confront the advantages they hold in society, such as White privilege, were more likely to endorse behavioural intentions of social justice. The study also demonstrated an association between social justice and religious beliefs. Students endorsed 'the sanctification of social justice,' signifying that those who engage in this work associate social justice values with spirituality. Previous studies have demonstrated a high level of involvement of religious groups in the resettlement process (GC, 2019d; Hyndman et al., 2017; Macklin et al., 2018), indicating that private sponsors may link their social justice values to their spiritual beliefs. Across the literature, Social Justice Orientation has been associated with *increased* cultural sensitivity, awareness of White privilege, cross-cultural experiences (e.g., travel, volunteering), prosocial behaviours, the pursuit of careers in helping professions, and incorporation of multicultural perspectives in coursework (Brown, 2004; Mena & Rogers, 2017; Pettus & Allain, 1999; Todd et al., 2014). Social Justice Orientation has

been associated with endorsing spirituality (Houston & Todd, 2013) and lower attitudes toward religious conservatism (Todd et al., 2014).

Those with a Social Justice Orientation can leverage their privilege to advocate for institutional and structural changes that benefit marginalized groups (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014). Social justice has been applied to various rights movements for those with disabilities, Indigenous peoples, women, and workers (Watts & Hodgson, 2019). Valuing social justice benefits everyone, as well-supported communities (e.g., affordable access to recreation, quality schools and hospitals, economic and housing security) contribute to safer and more equitable lives for everyone (Prilleltensky, 2001). As private sponsors are engaged in social justice action through refugee resettlement, participants in the current study were expected to endorse high levels of Social Justice Orientation.

### ***Social Dominance Orientation***

*Social Dominance Orientation* is a value system that endorses the maintenance of social hierarchies in society, with some groups belonging at the top and others remaining at the bottom (Ho et al., 2015). Social Dominance Orientation recognizes society as a social system and endorses that people deserve to remain in the social strata ascribed to them, assuming that those at the top of the hierarchy are superior (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). Upon arrival in Canada, refugees are placed in a lower social stratum, which puts them at a heightened risk of experiencing lower levels of health than other Canadians (such as private sponsors) enjoy (Braveman & Gottlieb, 2014; GC, 2020e). Social determinants of health signal the privilege someone holds in society and the associated risk factors to their health their position posits (i.e., level of education, income, employment opportunities). Personal health is influenced by a myriad of factors, such as childhood experiences, health care access, the safety of the physical environment, coping skills, and social networks (GC, 2020e).

Although not explicitly investigated within the sponsorship context, the value of Social Dominance Orientation has been consistently associated with harmful outcomes such as discrimination, prejudice, and low empathy (Ho et al., 2015; Pelletier-Dumas et al., 2017; Pratto et al., 1994; Sibley &

Duckitt, 2008; Sidanius et al., 2013). Refugees who resettle in Canada may be members of visible minorities (Beiser & Hou, 2016). Visible minorities are at risk of experiencing prejudice, microaggressions, racism, which can negatively impact their health and well-being in Canada (Beiser & Hou, 2016; Stewart et al., 2015; Walker & Zuberi, 2020). Social Dominance Orientation has also been associated with certain personality traits, such as low levels of agreeableness and openness to experience. Applying these findings to private sponsorship, sponsors who have low levels of agreeableness would likely be challenging to coordinate with as a sponsorship group and may have disagreements with fellow sponsors and refugees. Further, sponsors with low levels of openness may be less innovative in their sponsorships, less open-minded to different ways of life, and less interested in how refugees want to live their lives in Canada. Values of social dominance have also been associated with right-wing authoritarianism, a value system surmised by political conservatism, authoritarian actions, and conventionalism (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). Overall, valuing social dominance is contrary to the equity endorsed by the PSR program (GC, 2020d). As private sponsors volunteer their time and efforts to resettlement and refugee integration, I predicted that private sponsors would report low levels of Social Dominance Orientation.

### ***Power***

In Schwartz's (1992) seminal theory of values, he defines *Power* as the "attainment of social status and prestige, and control or dominance over people and resources" (p. 9). Schwartz's conceptualization of Power lends well to private sponsorship as research indicates sponsors are typically of a higher social status (e.g., highly educated and wealthy; Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018) and are responsible for delegation of resettlement funds and providing resources (e.g., housing, language learning, clothing) to refugees (GC, 2019c; Macklin et al., 2018; Stock, 2019). Many refugees were highly educated and accomplished in their own countries before they were forced to flee (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Macklin et al., 2018). Starting over in a new foreign country leaves refugees in a lower status position, at least initially. In contrast to the social-level values

of Social Justice Orientation and Social Dominance Orientation, Power is considered a self-serving value. When one endorses the value of Power, one typically seeks personal enhancement in prestige, wealth, respect, control and maintaining a reputation (Schwartz, 1992).

Inherent to the structure of PSR and BVOR resettlement streams is the position of power availed to private sponsors. The gaps between different groups' power are called social distance (Magee & Smith, 2013), which corresponds with the tenant of equal status in Intergroup Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). Research has demonstrated that those in high power positions are less susceptible to social influence than those in lower power positions (Magee & Smith, 2013). High levels of power have also been associated with aggressive and dominant behaviours (e.g., yelling or using humiliation tactics). Those with less power may not have a robust cushion of support and resources to fall back on if they challenge existing power structures and could face dire consequences for their actions. As private sponsors are in a higher power position than refugees, these findings indicate that reciprocal relationships between refugees and private sponsors may be undermined by the social distance between the two groups.

A recent review of the power literature by Magee (2020) summarized key themes and repercussions of having differential power in relationships. Magee states that in relationships with a high power discrepancy, the goals of those with the higher power prevail over those with less power. In private sponsorship, this would mean that the goals of private sponsors would take precedence over the goals of refugees. As previously outlined in Intergroup Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021), having common goals allows for positive relationships between groups, while differing views on goals could contribute to relationship strains between sponsors and refugees. Another key theme across the literature is that individuals with high power are less attuned and pay less attention to others than individuals with low power (Magee, 2020). Schwartz (1992) considers power a self-enhancement value, which aligns with findings that those with high levels of power are less invested in the lives of others (Magee, 2020). One would hope that those that put up their hand for sponsorship are meaningfully

invested in the lives of refugees. Private sponsors who endorse high Power values may be unaware that they are less attentive to refugee needs.

Especially salient to the sponsor-refugee context are the consistent findings that having high power is associated with dehumanizing those with less power (Gwinn et al., 2013; Lammers & Diederik, 2011; Magee, 2020). Dehumanization is the practice of treating people like objects by refusing to recognize their humanity (Lammers & Diederik, 2011). A commonplace example of dehumanization occurs in media when negative portrayals perpetuate false information about newcomers (Esses & Medianu, 2013; Hynie, 2018b). In an experimental manipulation by Esses and Medianu (2013), participants were exposed to media portraying immigrants as carriers of diseases. Participants in the experimental condition reported higher dehumanization of immigrants, resulting in higher negative attitudes towards immigrants and the Canadian immigration system than in the control condition. Similarly, in Lammers and Diederik's studies (2011), those in power positions used dehumanization to aid in decision-making by allowing them to feel more distant from those impacted by their decisions. Power differentials are an embedded component of private sponsorship, as private sponsors are availed high power positions in their roles as sponsors, and are responsible for countless resettlement decisions. However, just because private sponsors occupy a high power position does not mean that they will personally endorse high Power values.

As demonstrated through interviews with private sponsors and refugees, sponsorship groups that exert control over a newcomer's life, and thereby limit refugee autonomy, contribute to conflicts and breakdowns in sponsorship relationships (Hyndman et al., 2016; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Lim, 2019; Macklin et al., 2021). Perhaps some private sponsors are drawn to sponsorship and remain involved as a behavioural manifestation of their Power value? Together, the literature demonstrates that power differentials create opportunities for those who highly value Power to hold negative attitudes and enact harmful behaviours toward those with less Power (Esses & Medianu, 2013; Gwinn et al., 2013; Lammers & Diederik, 2011; Magee, 2020; Hyndman et al., 2016; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Lim, 2019; Macklin et

al., 2021). As private sponsors are in a position of power by the sheer nature of their relationship with refugees, the current study assessed the degree to which private sponsors value Power and the associations their Power value has with attitudes and behavioural intentions.

### **Private Sponsor Attitudes**

Simply, an attitude is a personal evaluation of a person, place, thing, object, or idea (Reeve, 2018). Personal attitudes have established associations with behaviour, cognition, and affect (Perugini, 2010). The popularized implicit-explicit dichotomy in the motivation literature also applies to attitudes (Greenwald et al., 2003; Greenwald et al., 2009). Self-report measures typically assess explicit attitudes, given that individuals need to have a level of conscious awareness of these attitudes in order to endorse them (Reeve, 2018). In contrast, reaction time measures, such as the Implicit Association Test, assess the implicit attitudes an individual holds regarding a range of areas, such as gender, race, sexuality, and weight (Greenwald et al., 1998, Reeve, 2018). A series of studies by Perugini (2010) compared explicit and implicit attitudes' capability to predict different types of behaviour. Results indicated that explicit and implicit attitudes significantly predicted spontaneous and deliberate behaviours; however, explicit attitudes predicted deliberate behaviours better than spontaneous behaviours. Explicit attitudes have been consistently demonstrated to influence purposeful behaviour. In other words, behaviours are expressions of explicit attitudes. As my research will be using self-report measures, I will measure the explicit attitudes of sponsors.

In theory, what makes a pluralistic country is holding attitudes of acceptance towards diversity and differences on a national and individual level (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2013; Jenson, 1998). In practice, ideals of *who* constitutes a Canadian are contested (Haugen et al., 2020). Considering Canada's history of colonialism and continued mistreatment of Indigenous peoples, the national rhetoric of cultural acceptance at times feels paradoxical (UNHCR, 2020). The attitudes and actions that private sponsors approach resettlement with could be altruistic or self-serving (Clary et al., 1998; Haugen et al., 2020). In line with my second objective, I will measure the various attitudes that private sponsors hold regarding

reciprocity, ethnocultural empathy, colour blindness, and paternalism. Private sponsors have government outlined responsibilities in their relationships with refugees, such as aiding in the search for employment (GC, 2019c). Thus, gaining further knowledge of sponsors' attitudes will provide insight into the explicit attitudes they bring into their sponsorship relationship and how these attitudes are associated with sponsor's values, in addition to behavioural intentions that could support or hinder refugee agency.

### ***Ethnocultural Empathy***

Empathy is the practice of metaphorically putting yourself in someone else's shoes. Empathy has been investigated neurologically (e.g., mirror neurons; Decety & Lamm, 2009), in therapeutic practice (e.g., establishing rapport; Gerace et al., 2018), and as a skill that can be honed and improved upon (Cannity et al., 2021). For this study, I conceptualized empathy as an attitude where one tries to understand (to the best of their capacity) the past and present experiences of another that have led to their current functioning (Elliott et al., 2011). More specifically, due to the intersection of cultures that arise during private sponsorship, I was specifically interested in the attitude of *Ethnocultural Empathy* as it directly applies to navigating, understanding, and accepting cultural differences (Liu & Wei, 2020; Wang et al., 2003). Ethnocultural Empathy is an area that is currently garnering ample research attention as global migration and integration of cultures creates a need for individuals of various backgrounds to empathize across differences (Kim & Tausen, 2021; Tittler et al., 2021; Liu & Wei, 2020; Lu et al., 2020).

The available literature on Ethnocultural Empathy has potential implications for investigating refugee-sponsor relationships. In a series of Turkish studies (Kapıkıran, 2021), attitudes of Ethnocultural Empathy were predicted by ethnicity, religion, political orientation, and prosocial behaviours. Moreover, Ethnocultural Empathy has been positively associated with peer support and speaking up against racism (Kim & Tausen, 2021). Another study demonstrated that anxiety towards interacting with another group was negatively associated with Ethnocultural Empathy (Tittler et al., 2021). Anxiety regarding intergroup contact may be especially salient for first-time sponsors, as they may be nervous about what to expect

during the sponsorship process. Ethnocultural Empathy has also been investigated in experimental manipulation: By using films to assess empathy and prosocial behaviour across age groups, researchers concluded that both empathy and prosocial behaviour were greater in older participants than middle-aged or younger participants (60 – 80 years,  $M = 66.43$ ,  $SD = 5.40$ ; Sze et al., 2012). Sze and colleagues' findings demonstrated that having an emotional reaction to the challenging experiences of others led to greater participation in prosocial behaviours, such as donating to charities. These research findings suggest that the construct of Ethnocultural Empathy will be relevant for private sponsors, as they are typically older (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018) and are already participating in the prosocial behaviour of resettlement.

Although some private sponsors have endorsed personal and family histories of migration (Macklin et al., 2018), most sponsors will not have lived through forced migration and fled as refugees. Thus, the attitude of Ethnocultural Empathy is important to investigate in the context of sponsorship, as sponsors who strive to understand refugees in context and with open minds will likely provide more attuned and respectful resettlement. Given the often arduous road to resettlement, refugee experiences of trauma before and after resettlement creates a vulnerability to develop mental health problems, which may impede resettlement (Guruge & Butt, 2015). Further, experiences of prejudice, discrimination and racism can challenge the safety and acceptance of newcomers (Beiser & Hou, 2016; Stewart et al., 2015). COVID-19 has further heightened the experience of racism among some refugees and other marginalized groups (Elias et al., 2021; Tuyisenge & Goldenberg, 2021; Devakumar et al., 2020). Given the inherent risk factors present with refugee status, having private sponsors with attitudes of Ethnocultural Empathy would likely contribute to safer and healthier relationship processes between sponsors and refugees and a smoother transition to life in Canada for newcomers.

### ***Reciprocity and Paternalism***

When sponsors and refugees learn from one another through navigating differences, the process can be mutually transformative and provide a foundation for sustaining the relationship beyond the

sponsorship year (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019). *Reciprocity*, or mutualism, can be defined as the reciprocal gains experienced by refugees and sponsors during the sponsorship year and beyond. In contrast, *Paternalism* creates a hierarchy that places private sponsors in a position of power (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Kyriakides et al., 2018). Some researchers refer to Paternalism as overprotection (Fernández-Ballesteros et al., 2019a), to capture how one can provide care without appropriately gauging the actual needs of the person on the receiving end.

Through interviewing 56 private sponsors in Ontario, Haugen and associates (2020) organized approaches to sponsorship into three categories: paternalistic, passive paternalistic, and mutualistic. Interestingly, these authors were driven to conduct this research following their own private sponsorship experiences and navigating conflicts amongst members of sponsorship groups and between sponsors and refugees. The three approaches to sponsorship generally denote the attitudes private sponsors hold towards refugee resettlement and how sponsors navigated conflict. Paternalistic approaches were akin to parent-child relationships, with sponsors in the role of parents who ‘know what’s right’ and refugees as the children who need to be nurtured and taught. Other scholars have similarly criticized this approach as infantilizing and disregarding refugee autonomy (Kyriakides et al., 2018; Lim, 2019). The power hierarchy in paternalistic approaches firmly places private sponsors as experts and refugees as naive (Haugen et al., 2020; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Lim, 2019). The paternalistic sponsors in Haugen and colleagues’ (2020) research fundamentally believed they knew what was best for refugees. “[The refugees have] always been so grateful that they do most of everything we think they should do. Maybe that’s why we don’t have any failures” (Haugen et al., 2020, p. 8). This perspective discounts refugees’ volition and aims to create new Canadians that become carbon copies of their sponsors.

The attitudes of Paternalism can be likened to the ethos associated with assimilation. Assimilation is colloquially referred to as the cultural melting pot, where heritage culture is melted down, and national culture prevails (Beiser, 2009). The melting pot is a contrast to the federal messaging of a cultural mosaic where individuals retain their heritage cultures and come together to form a broader picture of Canada.

Besco and Tolley (2019) deem the juxtaposition of promoting acceptance with the stipulation of assimilation “conditional multiculturalism.” Their findings indicate that Canadians’ attitudes towards multiculturalism are divided. According to Besco and Tolley, a third of Canadians openly oppose it, a third adhere to conditional multiculturalism, and the remaining third support cultural diversity. A striking notion from these findings is that only a minority of the sample endorse full acceptance of diversity. Private sponsors could bring any of these attitudes towards multiculturalism into their relationships with refugees.

The second approach to private sponsorship endorsed by Haugen and colleagues (2020) study was passive paternalistic. Although one may assume this approach would be less detrimental than paternalistic, passive paternalism threads unequal power dynamics with a passive-aggressive approach to navigating disagreements. To illustrate, private sponsors interviewed enacted economic abuse by withholding further employment assistance to refugees when refugees had declined initial sponsor-found employment. Haugen and associates identified three sub-themes within the passive paternalistic approach to sponsorship: withdrawal of assistance as discipline for disobedience, condescension towards refugees’ culture and values, and prevalent expectations of continued gratitude. Overall, the passive paternalistic approach to sponsorship depicts the harmful and intolerant attitudes that some sponsors hold towards multiculturalism and resettlement.

The third approach to sponsorship in Haugen and colleagues’ (2020) study conceptualizes sponsorship as a relationship amongst equals, placing both sponsors and refugees as experts in their own cultural and lived experiences (i.e., reciprocity). Per their definition:

Mutualistic approaches are characterized by a commitment to treating newcomers as equals (rather than as children), an orientation toward learning with and from newcomers, including a willingness to be self-critical about the values, norms and assumptions that sponsors hold, and a flexible definition of what counts as a successful sponsorship. (p. 10)

The mutualistic approach stands in stark contrast to the paternalistic and passive paternalistic sponsorship approaches. Instead, mutualism champions reciprocity amongst sponsors and refugees, forming the foundation of a relationship amongst equals. Mutualism does not mean that disagreements regarding decisions do not occur. Rather, disagreements can be respectfully navigated and not taken as personal attacks. Ultimately, the final decision on all fronts lies with refugees, and private sponsors provide counsel that can be accepted or denounced. My research determined the different explicit attitudes private sponsors endorse. Similar to Haugen and colleagues' findings (2018), I assessed the degree to which private sponsors endorse the attitude of Paternalism and a similar construct to mutualism—reciprocity. However, in contrast to Haugen and associates' methodology, I assessed attitudes quantitatively and supplemented the quantitative findings with thematic qualitative analysis.

The overrepresentation of powerful and privileged private sponsors is woven into the PSR Program's sponsorship group requirements. Private sponsors need to have the finances, networks, and time to dedicate to resettlement. In effect, these highly specified requirements support and reproduce enduring white supremacist power structures in Canada that are imbued in settler colonialism (Bonds & Inwood, 2016), as White individuals are more likely to have the finances and time to contribute to sponsorship. As initial research demonstrates, a disproportionate number of these sponsors are wealthy White women (Macklin et al., 2018; Stock, 2019). White privilege and associated advantages can be invisible to those who benefit from it (McIntosh, 1988). A related concept, the white savior complex, often reflects a genuine desire to aid those with vulnerabilities (Cole, 2012; McIntosh, 1988), but that can occur simultaneously with patronizing attitudes towards newcomers (Kyriakides et al., 2018). Consequences of the white savior complex can range from failure to navigate cultural differences to refugee-sponsor relationship breakdowns (Kyriakides et al., 2018; Lim, 2019). White saviorism is enacted from individual actions to institutional structures that uphold systems of oppression and devalue BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and people of color) lived experiences (Willer, 2019).

## *Colour Blindness*

The social justice movements of the past few years, such as Black Lives Matter, have ignited conversations of the historical and contemporary injustices at institutional and individual levels towards BIPOC communities. On the surface, the ideals of Colour Blindness (i.e., wanting equivalent treatment of all individuals in a society regardless of race) may seem benevolent; however, this overarching ‘I don’t see colour’ approach blatantly ignores the inherent power structures and injustices that disproportionately affect BIPOC individuals. Racial colour blind ideology theory maintains the social hierarchy by upholding the ideal of not identifying people by ethnic group membership (Mekawi et al., 2020; Milojev et al. 2014).

Black activist and scholar Clifford Thompson uses his work to bring awareness to the sustained injustices against BIPOC individuals and communities occurring in present-day America. Thompson had proudly spent his life not focusing on race; however, as he grew older, he was forced to reckon with what being Black means in a country that favours Whiteness and criminalizes Blackness across all levels of institutions and governance. As Thompson stated:

“The thing about color-blindness? It is, as its name suggests, a form of blindness. To refuse to see a person’s color is to refuse to see what she may be experiencing because of it. I hasten to point out that judging a person as an individual is not synonymous with being color-blind. To see a person as an individual is to take into account everything about that person. Color-blindness on the other hand, is the equivalent of not see that a person standing up on the subway is pregnant—and, therefore, not even considering offering your seat.” (2019, p. 98).

Even though Thompson writes from a perspective of being Black in America, the notions of colour blindness are ubiquitous and can be applied to the PSR Program in Canada.

Explicit attitudes of colour blindness have been associated with a behavioural form of prejudice: microaggressions (Kim et al., 2019). Microaggressions are actions that communicate that one is undervalued and disrespected due to their group membership (Sue et al., 2007). Typically,

microaggressions express stereotypes, damaging falsehoods, and derogatory messages toward BIPOC individuals. An example of a microaggression demonstrating Colour Blindness is: “There is only one race, the human race” (Sue et al., 2007; p. 276). As Sue and associates outline (2007), messages like these deny BIPOC experiences based on ethnicity, promote assimilation to the dominant culture, and reject racial and cultural identity. Microaggressions are associated with a slew of harmful outcomes for the recipients, such as depressive symptoms, chronic pain, fatigue, negative affect, and lower work productivity (Kim et al., 2019; Nadal et al., 2014; Nadal et al., 2017). Individuals who hold attitudes of Colour Blindness and enact microaggressions are typically unaware (Berman et al., 2021; Sue et al., 2007; Thompson, 2019). Regardless of an *individual’s intent* (and presuming most people act from a place of goodness), holding attitudes of colour blindness can threaten personal safety and affect recipients’ mental health (Berman et al., 2021; Mullan, 2021; Sue et al., 2007).

Colour Blindness is a subtle indicator of harmful attitudes that has less face validity compared to other measures typically used to assess overt prejudice and racism (e.g., Symbolic Racism Scale; Henry & Sears, 2002). Private sponsors who demonstrate overt racism are addressed within the PSR Program policies (GC, 2020d), but covert harmful attitudes that undermine refugee agency and personhood, such as Colour Blindness, may be unchecked in relationships between private sponsors and refugees. Colour Blindness implicitly communicates inherent power structures that are enshrouded in an ethos and history of white supremacy and colonial mindset (Bonds & Inwood, 2016).

### **Behavioural Intentions**

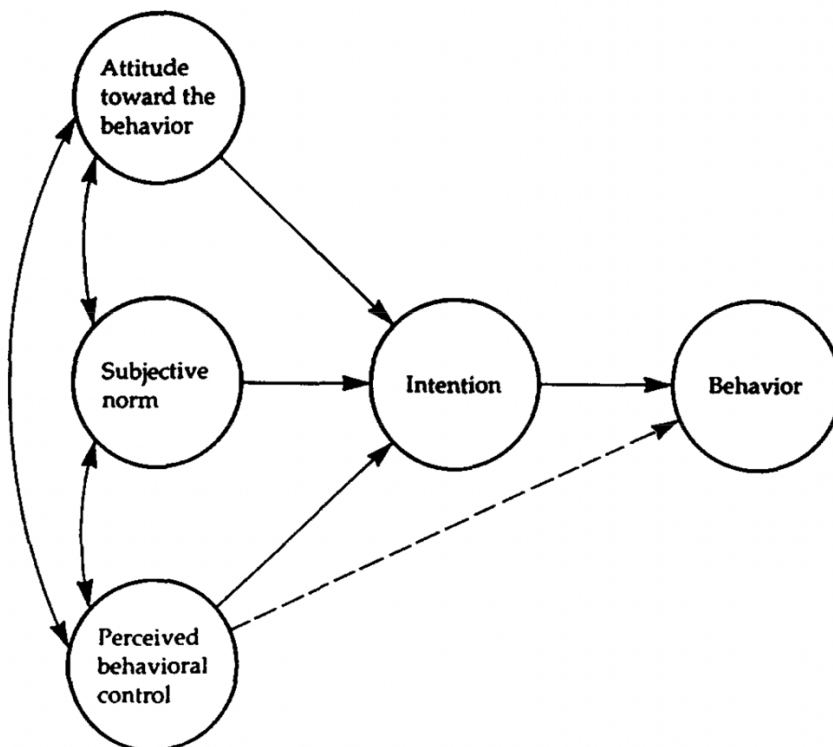
If behaviour is how one acts, then behavioural intentions are how one *says* they will act, or how they *intend* to act. Behavioural intentions predict actual behaviour (Ajzen, 1991; Armitage & Conner, 2001; Eccles et al., 2006) and can be a convenient proxy for behaviour in research where observation of actual behaviour is challenging or unfeasible. For example, the relationships between private sponsors and refugees take place over the settlement year in different locations and contexts. Thus, assessing private sponsor behavioural intentions is a way to measure how private sponsors believe they would act

without having to observe the situation. The link between the attitudes an individual holds and their intended behaviours is well established in the literature across a variety of contexts (employee retention, Dewettinck & van Ameijde, 2011; travel decisions, Kasim et al., 2019; consumer purchases, Gupta et al., 2018). In my study, I assessed if private sponsors attitudes were associated with their behavioural intentions towards common decision-making situations that arise during resettlement.

The highly influential theory of planned behaviour stipulates that behavioural intentions are predicted by one's attitude towards the behaviour, subjective norms (i.e., belief about others' perceptions regarding the behaviour), and perceived behavioural control (i.e., belief regarding one's ability to enact the behaviour). Together, attitudes, norms, and control predict intentions, which in turn predict how one will behave (Ajzen, 1991). The Theory of Planned Behaviour is visually displayed in Figure 2.

**Figure 2**

*Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 1991, p. 182).*



I have written at length already about the implications attitudes can have on behaviours, Here, I will focus on the remaining two precursors to intentions from The Theory of Planned Behaviour: subjective norms and perceived behavioural control (Ajzen, 1991). *Subjective norms* refer to whether someone feels pressured by their social context to act (or intend to act) in a specific manner. People can be differently motivated to enact behaviours that fall in line with the approval of those in their social circles (Ajzen, 1991). Relationships are fundamental to the ongoing operation of the PSR Program.

The PSR program includes relationships between private sponsors and refugees, relationships between sponsorship groups and the government, and, most salient to subjective norms in the current discussion, relationships among sponsorship group members (Langer et al., 2017). Like other groups that form across various contexts, each sponsorship group establishes norms that influence how the group acts with one another, and with those outside their group (Brewer & Yuki, 2014). Groups establish their own patterns of doing things, and members may feel social pressure to act in accordance with the group (Ajzen, 1991). Regarding group formation in the PSR Program, Macklin and colleagues (2018) found that pre-existing networks of friends, family members, and neighbours were the most common source of sponsorship group formation (43%), followed by shared faith (38%). Thus, private sponsorship groups with pre-existing connections likely have subjective norms informed by shared values and attitudes that influence how the groups act in relationship with refugees.

Private sponsors *perceived behavioural control* can be limited by the various regulations stipulated by the federal resettlement program. Private sponsors can be exasperated by the copious amounts of governmental red tape embedded in the PSR Program (Alhmidi, 2021; Bueckert, 2022; Fife, 2022). The sheer number of requirements needed to be attained by refugees makes reacting swiftly to humanitarian crises (e.g., Afghanistan and Ukraine) immensely challenging. To illustrate, a group of sponsors reluctantly ceased their attempts to bring a group of Afghan refugees to Canada due to numerous setbacks such as limited government funding and evacuation delays (Fife, 2022).

Once a refugee family arrives in Canada, private sponsorship operations remain constrained by the federal framework for the duration of the resettlement period. However, operating within sponsorship constraints can be challenging and sometimes even unfeasible. In a qualitative study on Canadian sponsorship (Hyndman et al., 2021), a long-term private sponsor shared that their group exclusively sponsors family members of previously settled refugees (i.e., the echo effect). The astronomical cost of living in the sponsor's resettlement community (i.e., Vancouver) far exceeded the PSR Program budgeted housing allowances; as a result, the sponsorship group decided they would only sponsor refugees who could live with family members upon arriving in Canada. Situations such as the ones above demonstrate that private sponsors are required to operate within the confines of the PSR Program, which can limit their actions in the resettlement process.

## The Current Study

The federal government asserts that Canada is a welcoming and safe place for all newcomers (GC, 2021b), but as previously discussed, initial research of private sponsorship outlines areas of real concern, such as unequal power dynamics (Hyndman et al., 2016; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Lim, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018). The government stance on resettlement is more of an aspirational statement than a reflection of reality, as resettlement in Canada is far more nuanced, with many positives (e.g., reciprocal and mutualistic relationships between refugees and private sponsors), but also negatives (e.g., private sponsors endorsing paternalistic attitudes towards refugees; Haugen et al., 2020).

Although researchers are contributing to an emerging scholarly base on private sponsors, there are several limitations regarding the nature of the evidence that currently exists. For one, the available literature contains samples of private sponsors predominantly from Ontario (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Haugen et al., 2020; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Lenard, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018) and may not be generalizable to private sponsors in other regions of Canada. Of the studies that included broader Canadian samples, one did not provide the proportion of private sponsors who lived in each region (Kyriakides et al., 2018), and the other constrained data collection to only five of the 13 provinces and territories that participate in private sponsorship (Hyndman et al., 2021).

Moreover, previous research on the PSR Program has focused predominantly on the private sponsors resettling Syrian refugees (Agrawal, 2019; Ilcan et al., 2020; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Labman, 2016; Macklin et al., 2018) and is reflective of a heightened moment of resettlement that is not typical of the day-to-day operation of the PSR Program. Most of the available literature focused on anecdotal case studies (e.g., Private Sponsorship of the Mennonite Central Committee; Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019) or limited sample sizes of qualitative interviews (Haugen et al., 2020). The one sizeable quantitative study (N = 530) on Canadian private sponsorship in the literature (Macklin et al., 2018) provided general demographics of sponsors but did not conduct any directional hypothesis testing. Informed by the limitations of the literature, the current project used a mixed-methods approach and sampled a wide

cross-section of private sponsors to gain a better understanding of the strengths and areas for improvement in Canadian private sponsorship.

To my knowledge, this research is the first to explore the relationships between values, attitudes, and behavioural intentions within the PSR Program. Practically, this research may help develop private sponsor screenings and implement training initiatives to support healthy relationship development between sponsors and refugees. The findings from this research may also inform recommendations for recruiting and training future sponsor groups and strategies for settlement agencies to better support these relationships. Additionally, this research can build our knowledge base on private sponsors themselves, which are a sample of people we still know little about despite their vital contributions to Canadian humanitarian efforts (Macklin et al., 2018). As natural disasters and political unrest continue to create mass displacement (UNHCR, 2020), improving private sponsorship relationships is crucial for international resettlement efforts as a whole and successful resettlement experiences for each individual. Making Canada a welcoming place is arguably everyone's responsibility but falls even more on the private sponsors who voluntarily put their hand up to aid in resettlement.

For the current study, my overarching research question is: **What values, attitudes, and behavioural intentions do private sponsors bring into their relationships with refugees, and how do sponsorships groups navigate challenging situations?** There were five main research objectives. First, using open ended responses, I explored the range of ideas private sponsors expressed on how their sponsorship group would act in response to challenging situations and how they would navigate disagreements in their groups. Second, I identified the degree to which private sponsors held Social Justice, Social Dominance, and Power values and the explicit attitudes of Ethnocultural Empathy, Reciprocity, Paternalism, and Colour Blindness. I hypothesized that the attitudes of Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity are presumably facilitative to positive relationships with refugees, and thus will be associated with other facilitative constructs (e.g., Social Justice values, autonomy supporting behavioural intentions). Similarly, I hypothesized that the attitudes of Paternalism and Colour Blindness

are potentially detrimental to positive relationships with refugees and will be associated with other detrimental constructs (e.g., Social Dominance and Power values).

Third, I explored private sponsors' behavioural intentions in response to common situations that occur within sponsorship relationships. Fourth, I determined the extent that private sponsor values predicted behavioural intentions, and assessed whether private sponsors' attitudes mediated the relations between values and behavioural intentions. Specifically, I hypothesised that higher Social Justice Orientation would be associated with higher autonomy-supportive behavioural intentions, via higher Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity, and lower Paternalism and Colour Blindness. Moreover, I hypothesized that higher Social Dominance Orientation and Power values, would each be indirectly associated with lower autonomy-supportive behavioural intentions through lower Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity, and higher Paternalism and Colour Blindness. Lastly, I explored if sponsorship stream (i.e., PSR Program or BVOR) and sponsorship experience (i.e., number of completed sponsorships) altered the associations between values and attitudes.

The PSR Program and BVOR sponsorship streams are distinct in that private sponsorship groups *select* the refugee(s) they sponsor, whereas in the BVOR stream refugees are *selected for* a sponsorship group. Despite rigorous promotion of the BVOR stream by the federal government (GC, 2019d), it appears that sponsors remain reluctant to use this stream as settlement quotas in the BVOR stream are consistently not met (Hyndman et al., 2016), and resettlement through this stream was put on a two-year hiatus due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic (GC, 2020c; Refugee Sponsorship Training Program [RTSP], 2022). Given the emerging state of the literature on sponsorship streams, I make no directional hypotheses for the relation between sponsorship streams and the main study variables.

The PSR Program is an amalgamation of new and repeat sponsors (GC, 2020d; Ilcan et al., 2020; Macklin et al., 2018). As expected, research demonstrates that repeat sponsors better understand the role expectations, time commitments, and demands of private sponsorship (Ilcan et al., 2020; Macklin et al., 2018). By reflecting on the resettlement experience, private sponsorship groups gain insight into

improving and upholding refugee agency over time (Kyriakides et al., 2018; Macklin et al., 2021).

Repeat sponsors have more experience getting to know refugees as complex individuals, and they have had ample opportunities to dispel preconceived notions and myths regarding refugees (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Macklin et al., 2021). Experienced sponsors can bring the knowledge they gained from past sponsorships into future sponsorships and share their acquired learnings with their sponsorship group. Therefore, I predict that the more sponsorships a private sponsor has completed, the more they will endorse presumably facilitative values and attitudes (i.e., Social Justice Orientation, Reciprocity, Ethnocultural Empathy) and the less they will endorse likely detrimental values and attitudes (i.e., Social Dominance Orientation, Power, Paternalism, and Colour Blindness).

My intention with this research is to present a realistic representation of the individuals who engage in private sponsorship of refugees, and contribute to the knowledge base on private sponsors, as the government does not collect demographic data on this group. Given that private sponsorship is a less than perfect response to a complicated and global migration crisis (Macklin et al., 2021), I aimed to reflect the complexities of sponsorship relationships accurately. In accordance with the literature, I expected private sponsors to endorse positive and beneficial values, attitudes, and behavioural intentions, while I simultaneously explored the potentially harmful ways that private sponsors may approach to their relationships with refugees.

### **Research Self Location**

In an effort to engage in open dialogue regarding investigating both the benefits and harms of the PSR Program, I feel a responsibility to situate myself in relation to the research. My parents were raised in the Francophone majority province of Quebec in Canada. My father's family was Anglophone and my mother's were Francophone, two groups which have experienced a history of cultural animosity, segregation, and violence (Pilote et al., 2011). My parents were able to find commonalities despite enduring subtle and overt objections to their union on the basis of culture. From their shared experience,

my parents imbued my childhood with narratives of bridging differences and upholding what is right despite barriers.

I was born in Australia, a country that alongside Canada, is an active member of the British Commonwealth. The British Commonwealth's historical and contemporary permanent colonization perpetuates violence that is deeply steeped white supremacy (Bonds & Inwood, 2016). My ancestors and immediate family have continuously occupied the stolen lands of Indigenous peoples, namely the lands of the Abinaki, Coast Salish, Eora, Hamalco, Wabinaki, Wei Wai Kum, and Wei Wai Kai (Native Lands, 2021). Upon my family's return to Canada, I was raised in a small coastal community that was predominantly White and endorsed values of homogeneity and conformity. In my upbringing, I bore witness to and was complicit in racism, discrimination, and bigotry towards BIPOC individuals and groups. Together these experiences ignited a personal drive for engaging in activism and striving for justice.

I am conducting this research as part of the requirements of my degree in Clinical Psychology at the University of Victoria. My university continues to benefit from colonial displacement and stands on the unceded and unsundered lands of the lək'wəŋəns peoples. Although my various personal and educational experiences have led me to conduct this research, I acknowledge the many privileges I benefit from being a White woman in academia, and the subsequent limits to my lived-experience and ethnocentric lens. I hope through this work I can bring to light the various strengths in the PSR Program that we can uphold and highlight, while also drawing attention to the concerns and challenges that need addressing.

## Methodology

### Participants

Private sponsors ( $N = 160$ ) age 18 and above were recruited through flyer advertisements and online platforms. Inclusion criteria required participants to be residents of Canada and have the ability to read and write in English. Participants must have completed at least one full sponsorship of a refugee/refugee family. Participants must have sponsored either through the PSR or BVOR refugee resettlement streams. I chose to include the sponsors in the BVOR resettlement stream as they provide the same social and emotional support as the PSR Program, but differ in that they share resettlement costs with the government (GC, 2021a). Of the 316 individuals who opened the survey link, 57 did not meet the prerequisites for participation (e.g., resided outside of Canada, had not completed one full sponsorship). Of the 259 that met the study prerequisites, 160 participated in the survey, demonstrating a 62% survey completion rate.

### Procedures

Participants were private sponsors from across Canada. I sent sample recruitment to national networks for sponsors (i.e., Canadian Refugee Sponsorship Agreement Holder Association), sponsorship-relevant Listservs (e.g., Canadian Council for Refugees), settlement agencies, religious organizations, and publicly available email addresses. I also advertised recruitment on physical bulletin boards in University of Victoria buildings and local community centres. In addition, I posted online advertisements on social media platforms (i.e., Facebook, Instagram, twitter, Reddit). Study postings contained a link for participants to complete the online survey.

To ensure participants took the survey only once, I assessed IP (Internet Protocol) addresses for duplicates. An IP address is an identification number on the internet and is unique to each device. I found that one IP address was a duplicate, where a participant had started the survey two separate times, so I amalgamated the two responses. All participants who began the study were invited to be entered to win one of two \$100 gift cards. This study received approval from the University of Victoria Ethics Board.

## **Measures**

To assess private sponsor values, attitudes and behaviour intentions, private sponsors were provided with an array of Likert-type measures, in addition to open-ended questions (e.g., two vignettes) to allow private sponsors to express their behavioural intentions using their own words. Quantitative measures can be viewed in Appendices C through I and vignettes and corresponding questions can be viewed in Appendix J.

### ***Demographic Information***

Demographic variables, such as age, current gender identity, sexual orientation, ethnicity, place of birth, religious affiliation, education level, annual household income, employment status and marital status were collected. Additional demographic variables specific to private sponsors, such as type of private sponsorship stream (i.e., PSR Program or BVOR), sponsorship type (e.g., co-sponsor of a Sponsorship Agreement Holder, Groups of Five, Community Sponsors), group size and stability, recency of sponsorship experience, and first-time or repeat sponsors were collected. See Appendix A for demographic questions.

### ***Private Sponsor Activities***

To gain a better understanding on the day-to-day tasks of sponsorship, a checklist was provided for private sponsors to endorse the variety of activities they complete in their roles. Sample items include recruiting other sponsors, providing transport, introducing newcomers to potential friends, providing rent, and selecting a dentist (see Appendix B for full list). The list was created using federal outlines of sponsorship group responsibilities (GC, 2019c). An additional open-ended item was included to capture the full breadth of tasks private sponsors engage in.

### ***Private Sponsor Values***

For the current study, private sponsor values were assessed using the quantitative measures of social justice orientation, Social Dominance Orientation, and power (Appendices C, D, and E, respectively).

**Social Justice Orientation.** Social Justice Orientation was measured using the first subscale from the Social Justice Scale (SJS; Torres-Harding et al., 2012; See Appendix C). The SJS was developed to measure a variety of social-justice related constructs, such as attitudes, behavioural control, subjective norms, and behavioural intentions. As is an unfortunately common practice in psychology, Torres-Harding and associates used the terms values, attitudes, and beliefs interchangeably in the development of this measure, despite them being distinct yet related constructs (Reeve, 2018; Schwartz, 2012). In the literature, social justice refers to the overarching values related to upholding equity and acknowledging the disparities across social groups that guide individuals' approach to life (Fietzer & Ponterotto, 2015; Moeschberger et al., 2006; Torres-Harding et al., 2012). For this reason, I consider the Social Justice Attitudes scale a measure of private sponsors' social justice orientation values.

The SJS subscale contains 11 items containing statements about social justice values (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). A sample item is: "I believe that it is important to make sure that all individuals and groups have a chance to speak and be heard, especially those from traditionally ignored or marginalized groups." Participants rate their agreement with the statements on a Likert-type scale from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). In the original undergraduate standardization sample, the SJS value subscale demonstrated acceptable reliability ( $\alpha = .95$ ). The SJS has demonstrated convergent and discriminant validity, with the SJS demonstrating a positive correlation with motivation to engage in public service and a negative correlation with symbolic racism. The SJS was deemed appropriate for use with diverse genders, ethnicities, and abilities. Across a variety of samples (e.g., students, nurses, social workers) and language translations (e.g., Chinese, Korean), the SJS has shown consistent reliability ( $\alpha = .88-.93$ ; Chen & Tang, 2021; Scheffer et al., 2019; Sebastianelli et al., 2021). Alpha in the current study was .82.

**Social Dominance Orientation .** Private sponsors completed the latest version of the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO7; Appendix D; Ho et al., 2015). The SDO Scale was created in 1994 by Pratto and colleagues to assess overarching values and personal preferences for maintaining

hierarchies in society. The SDO Scale is well-validated and researched and has demonstrated discriminate reliability with the concepts of conservatism and authoritarianism. Research has also demonstrated convergent validity in the expected directions with the Schwartz Value Scale of universalism, security, power, and achievement (Feather & McKee, 2008). High scores on the SDO are negatively correlated with empathy and altruism (Pratto et al., 1994). Those high on the SDO Scale are more likely to endorse discriminatory policies (Pratto et al., 1994; Ho et al., 2015).

Items on the SDO Scale are endorsed using a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly oppose*) to 8 (*strongly favour*). Higher scores represent a high orientation towards social dominance, attitudes of superiority regarding other groups, and preference for one's group. An item representing low social dominance is "we should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed" and an example of an item representing high social dominance is "some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups." Items correspond to sub-dimensions of social dominance, namely, intergroup dominance (overt oppressive and harmful attitudes) and intergroup anti-egalitarianism (subtle hierarchy attitudes that perpetuate existing social structures). Researchers standardized the SDO7 on a variety of samples that share key demographic characteristics with private sponsors (predominantly White, high levels of household income and education). Alphas in the standardization samples ranged from .88 to .91; alpha in the current study was .87.

**Power.** To assess the extent that private sponsors value power, I used a portion of the Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz, 1992; Appendix E). The original measure contains 10 values with 57 items. For my study, I included the 5 items that corresponded to the overarching value of power; namely, social power (*control over others, dominance*); wealth (*material possessions, money*); authority (*the right to lead or command*); serving my public image (*protecting my "face"*); and social recognition (*respect, approval by others*). For each item, sponsors selected the extent that each facet of power is a guiding principle in their life. In the original measure, the scale ranges from -1 (*opposed to my values*) to 7 (*of supreme importance*). Consistent with other researchers (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005), I used a scale

without negative values ranging from 0 to 8 to simplify scoring calculations. The Schwartz Value Survey has been widely used and validated across populations and contexts (Bilsky et al., 2011; Schwartz, 1992; Spini, 2003). In the original standardization samples in Australia, Holland, Israel, and Japan, internal consistencies averaged from .60 to .71 (Schwartz, 1992). Alpha in the current study was .76.

### ***Private Sponsor Attitudes***

To quantitatively assess private sponsor attitudes towards refugees, the current study assessed the constructs of reciprocity, ethnocultural empathy, colour blindness, and paternalism.

**Ethnocultural Empathy.** The Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE) is a measure created by Wang and associates (2003) to assess empathy towards others with different racial and ethnic backgrounds from the respondent (see Appendix F). The SEE assesses the attitudes individuals hold regarding multiculturalism and diversity. Across the original validation studies, the finalized measure of SEE demonstrated good reliability ( $\alpha = .92$ ). The SEE has demonstrated convergent validity with measures of general empathy and prejudice in the expected directions. Since development, the SEE has demonstrated appropriate internal consistency in other samples and cultures ( $\alpha = .92$ ; Albiero & Matricardi, 2013). A recent study using the measure to predict ethnocultural empathy change in undergraduate students reported internal consistencies ranging from .68-.90 across the four SEE factors (Lu et al., 2020). In the current study alpha was .89.

The full SEE scale consists of thirty-one items. Sample items that correspond to each of four factors include: “When I hear people make racist jokes, I tell them I am offended even though they are not referring to my racial or ethnic group” (*empathetic feeling and expression*); “I know what it feels like to be the only person of a certain race or ethnicity in a group of people” (*empathetic perspective taking*); “I feel irritated when people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds speak their language around me” (*acceptance of cultural differences*); “I can see how other racial or ethnic groups are systematically oppressed in our society” (*empathetic awareness*).

**Reciprocity.** The reciprocal nature of the relationships amongst sponsors and refugees was measured using the Mutual Recognition Respect Scale (see Appendix G). The scale was developed by Clarke and Mahadi (2017a) and has been used in predominantly organizational settings to assess supervisor and employee perspectives. Eight items assess how individuals endorse recognition in their sponsorship relationships, such as “we demonstrate sensitivity to each others’ personal or moral beliefs” and “we respect each others’ differences.” Items are endorsed using a Likert scale from 1 representing *strongly disagree* to 7 representing *strongly agree*. Clarke and Mahadi have assessed the scale in Malaysian and Saudi Arabian employment contexts and demonstrated excellent internal consistency within various samples (e.g.,  $\alpha \geq .90$ ; Clarke & Mahadi, 2017a; Clarke & Mahadi, 2017b; Clarke et al., 2019). Alpha in this study was .93.

**Paternalism.** To measure the degree in which private sponsors hold paternalistic attitudes, private sponsors completed The Paternalist/Autonomist Care Assessment (PACA; see Appendix H; Fernández-Ballesteros et al., 2019). The PACA was recently developed to measure paternalism and autonomy support in health care settings for older adults. The scale can be applied to the behaviour witnessed in health care settings (i.e., PACA-Occurrence) or to assess caregiver’s perceptions of the autonomy of older adults (i.e., PACA-Appraisal). Items on the PACA-Appraisal scale were adapted to fit the context of refugee-sponsor relationships from the original measure (e.g., replacing older person with refugee and caregiver with sponsor). Four items from the original measure were removed as they corresponded to the autonomy construct, and nine additional items were removed as they were not applicable in the adapted context (i.e., medication monitoring and visiting hours). Seventeen items from the original measure that corresponded to the Paternalism construct were retained. An example of an adapted item: “Refugees should be able to choose where they want to work.” In the original measure, alphas for Paternalism items ranged from .91-.93; in the current study, alpha was .84.

**Colour Blindness.** To assess attitudes of colour blindness in private sponsors, I adapted a six item measure from Levin and colleagues (2012; See Appendix I). Items were reworded to fit the

Canadian context (e.g., “I do not want Canadians to be identified by their race, national origin, or religion”). Participants' responses range from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Responses are averaged with higher scores indicating greater levels of Colour Blindness. In the original study, the measure demonstrated adequate reliability in a sample of White American college students (N=299;  $\alpha = .77$ ). Alpha in the current study was .82.

### ***Private Sponsor Behavioural Intentions***

In addition to the various standardized measures, I presented sponsors with open-ended questions to gain insight on how they approached their relationships with refugees. Sponsors were provided with two short vignettes and asked to write in detail how they would act in the given situations and why. Sponsors were also asked how they would navigate disagreements within their own sponsorship group (see Appendix J for vignettes and questions). Both vignettes captured a situation that could occur in refugee-sponsor relationships and where refugee agency could be fostered or hindered. One vignette centered on a refugee family wanting to purchase a vehicle:

*A refugee family has been resettled in the city for 5 months. After being trained by a member of the sponsorship group on how to use public transport, the family expresses that they would prefer to drive. The family asks the sponsorship group for the money to purchase a vehicle.*

Whereas the other vignette focused on furnishing the refugee's home:

*A sponsorship group has been preparing for a refugee family's arrival. The sponsorship group has found the family an affordable rental apartment and has furnished the apartment with donations from the community. Upon arrival, one of the parents expresses disappointment at some of the furniture pieces and asks if they can be exchanged for something that better suits their preference.*

These areas of content were selected because they arose in my lab's previous research with sponsors and refugees, and they reflect themes presented by experts in the field (Macklin et al., 2021) and across the literature (Kyriakides et al., 2018; Labman, 2016; Lim, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018).

## **Analytical Approach**

The following section provides an overview of the analyses performed in the current study, broadly organized by qualitative and quantitative approaches. In the qualitative section, I cover reflexive thematic analysis and coding reliability thematic analysis. In the quantitative section, I outline the strategies used to manage missing data and prepare the data for statistical analyses. This section is followed by a presentation of the findings themselves.

### **Qualitative Analysis**

One hundred and fifty participants answered all four questions regarding behavioural intentions and navigating disagreements in response to two vignettes of frequently experienced sponsorship situations. Vignettes can be useful to probe for worldviews (e.g., values, attitudes) and for seeing how people believe they would react in complex situations (Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000). The open-ended nature of vignettes allows participants to respond in ways that may not be captured in other standardized measures (Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000). Participant responses to the vignette questions were thematically coded following Braun and Clarke's most recent guide for thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2021).

Braun and Clarke's 2021 guide outlines a framework to consider while conducting thematic analysis, as well as the misconceptions and common pitfalls researchers face when working with qualitative data. The authors outline the different approaches and underlying epistemologies of the varying approaches to thematic analyses. As my research employs a mixed-methods approach integrating quantitative and qualitative data methodology, I used two versions of thematic analysis: reflexive and coding reliability. Reflexive thematic analysis was used for the qualitative portion of my study to generate codes and construct themes of the data. Coding reliability thematic analysis was used for a portion of my quantitative analyses and is discussed in detail in the follow section.

### ***Reflexive Thematic Analysis of Open-Ended Responses***

In accordance with Braun and Clarke's (2021) guidelines for reflexive thematic analysis, my research team (two research assistants and the principal researcher) first read through the responses to be

coded and created shared familiarization notes to remain in view of the coding computer (i.e., data familiarization and writing familiarization notes). Using qualitative analysis software MAXQDA, our team maintained shared memos to one another while coding, to highlight potential themes and areas for further discussion. Two research assistants and I created an initial set of codes (i.e., systematic data coding). Coding was approached from the ‘ground up’ and remained as close as possible to the original words of participants. If a team member was uncertain on how to code a segment, the code was flagged for further discussion until a consensus was reached. Coding was completed through independent and concurrent coding between the research assistants and myself. In other words, each team member took a segment of the participant responses to code. After a member was finished coding a segment, they would notify the team, who would then read over the same segment and code anything that was missed or flag a code for further discussion.

After the initial coding of participant responses was completed, the research team met and began to nest codes and generate themes (i.e., generating initial themes from coded and collated data). The research team then met again to further develop and nest the overarching themes (i.e., developing and reviewing themes). Furthermore, individual codes and themes were presented to a larger research team for subsequent member checking, feedback, and discussion. Qualitative coding was undertaken over a period of months to allow the principal researcher to revisit the data, and to allow time for ample discussion, creation, refinement, and naming of themes with research assistants, lab members, and the director of the research lab (i.e., refining, defining and naming themes). Finally, by sharing the findings of the reflexive thematic analysis process, I have completed the last step in Braun and Clarke’s guidelines (i.e., writing the report).

### ***Coding Reliability Thematic Analysis to Measure Behavioral Intentions***

Coding reliability thematic analysis was conducted on open-ended responses to generate an index of behavioural intentions for use in statistical analyses. After completing the reflective thematic analysis, a codebook was developed by the principal researcher and the research lab’s director (See Appendix K).

The codebook was informed both by the themes across the scholarly literature and the themes constructed in my qualitative analysis (e.g., if sponsors' responses support or hinder refugee agency; Hynie, 2018a; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Macklin et al., 2018). Each vignette response pertaining to how sponsors would resolve a situation regarding the attainment of furniture or a vehicle, and why they would resolve it in that manner (i.e., Question 1 in Appendix K), received a score on three dimensions. Specifically, each response was coded dichotomously (i.e., yes or no) for the presence of the codes: "Speaking with Family," "Family as Decision-Maker," and "Gatekeeping."

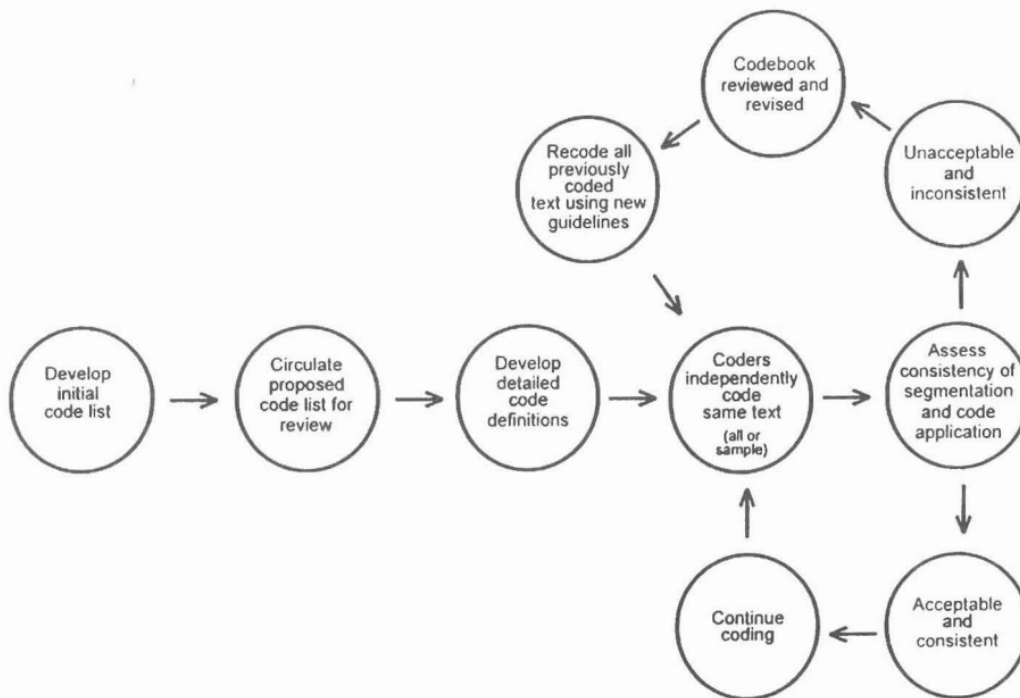
For the code Speaking with Family, responses were coded (i.e., 1.1 for yes, 1.2 for no) depending on if they mentioned wanting or needing to speak with sponsored refugees regarding the decision-making process. The code Speaking with Family indicated a behavioural intention to communicate with refugees. For the code Family as Decision-Maker, responses were coded (i.e., 2.1 for yes, 2.2 for no) based on whether sponsors explicitly stated that the refugee family was the ultimate decision-maker. Private sponsors can provide information and opinion, but the ultimate choice belongs to the refugees. The final code Gatekeeping (i.e., 3.1 for yes, 3.2 for no) indicated if assistance was contingent on whether the private sponsors determined the refugee request as a want or a need. In vignettes that contained Gatekeeping, private sponsors determined that refugee preference was not a sufficient reason to provide assistance. Of note, the responses regarding group process were not included in statistical analyses as they pertain to sponsorship groups and not individual sponsor behavioural intentions (i.e., Question 2 in Appendix K). In the rare cases that the response did not capture one of the three codes, the response was given a NA (Not Applicable). Following the coding of the three dimensions, "yes" codes were scored as 1, and "no" codes were scored as 0 to create an overall score on each dimension for each participant. In total, each participant received three scores per vignette, for a total of six scores per private sponsor (combining codes across vehicle and furniture vignettes).

The research team tested and refined the codebook in alignment with MacQueen and colleague's guidelines (1998; Figure 3). To assess the utility of the codebook, the research team independently coded

a subset of responses and then discussed what scores were chosen and why. Through this process, the codebook was refined to make deciding which score to assign more straightforward (e.g., including additional examples and samples of coded responses). The final codebook contained the score names and labels, definition, description, qualifications or exceptions, and an example. The research team referred to the codebook throughout the coding process.

### Figure 3

*Testing and Refining the Codebook Guidelines from MacQueen and Colleagues (1998).*



Once coding was completed, scores were imputed to a central document to statistically assess interrater reliability using Fleiss kappa. Fleiss kappa is a standard for calculating interrater agreement beyond chance for more than two coders (Fleiss, 1971; Fleiss et al., 2003). The magnitude of Fleiss

kappa can be interpreted in the same manner as Cohen's kappa. For the vehicle vignette, there was excellent agreement between the coders,  $\kappa = .77, p < .001$ . For the furniture vignette, there was good agreement amongst the research team,  $\kappa = .72, p < .001$ . Discrepancies in the scoring of each code were discussed amongst the three raters until an agreement was made. As the codes of Family as Decision-Maker and Gatekeeping both captured whether sponsors supported refugee autonomy, they were combined to create the variable Autonomy Support. Final scores were summed across vignettes to create the variables of Communicate (i.e., private sponsors intentions to talk with refugees) and Autonomy Support (i.e., family as decision-maker and gatekeeping codes). As each code was dichotomously scored, the Communicate variable ranged from 0 to 2 and the Autonomy Support variable ranged from 0 to 4.

### **Quantitative Analyses**

All analyses were conducted using R statistical language and environment software (Version 4.2.0; R Core Team, 2022).

### ***Missing Data***

Participants that did not complete any of the quantitative measures were removed from the data set (i.e., 5 participants). Of the participants that completed at least one of the quantitative measures, the data set was found to have 6% missingness. As over 5% of the dataset was missing (Schafer, 1997), multiple imputation was used to accurately reflect the variation due to missing data points and preserve the pre-existing relationships amongst main study variable data (i.e., values, attitudes, behavioural intentions; van Buuren & Groothuis-Oudshoorn, 2011). Diagnostic checking of variables confirmed imputations were plausible values within the ranges of study variables (van Buuren & Groothuis-Oudshoorn, 2011). All analyses were conducted on the imputed dataset.

### ***Dating Cleaning and Preparation***

Table 1 presents a summary of the outliers identified and the decision to keep or remove the outliers in the dataset. To determine that the normality assumptions essential for appropriate statistical analyses were upheld in my data, I conducted visual inspections (e.g., boxplots and histograms) and

examined descriptives and statistical tests (e.g., Shapiro Wilk). In line with the recommendations of Leys and colleagues (2013; 2019), the robust method of median absolute deviation (MAD) was used a posteriori to indicate univariate outliers. For the main variables, each outlier was assessed and subjected to exclusion rules: each data point had to be of a plausible value and be a realistic representation of the participant's pattern of responses. Winsorization was completed for outliers that severely violated normalcy (i.e., more than 2.5 standard deviations away from the mean) and could influence the validity of statistical methods. Winsorization was completed with the calculated values of MAD. Calculated MAD values were used to recode outliers in order preserve data and reduce outlier influence (Leys et al., 2019). Whenever possible, the original data were preserved unaltered. Of the main study variables (excluding Social Justice, detailed below), 8 outliers were identified: 3 were kept unaltered and 4 were removed.

**Table 1**

*Summary of Identified Outliers in Main Study Variables*

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Outliers</b>	<b>Decision</b>	<b>Reason</b>
Social Dominance	1	Kept	Accurate of participant's other responses
Power	1	Kept	Shapiro Wilk ND
Reciprocity	2	Removed	Inconsistent with participant's other responses; Removal made more ND
Ethnocultural Empathy	1	Kept	Shapiro Wilk ND
Colour Blindness	3	Removed	Removal made more ND
Paternalism	0	NA	NA

*Note: ND = Normally Distributed; NA = Not Applicable; The main study variable Social Justice Orientation was excluded from statistical analyses due to a severe skew that severely violated normality assumptions.*

The visual and statistical normalcy assumptions of the variables of Power, Ethnocultural Empathy, Paternalism, and Colour Blindness were satisfactory. The measure of Social Dominance Orientation had a negative skew, whereas Reciprocity had a positive skew. In line with recommendations (Osborne, 2002), modest transformations were used first (i.e., square root), and when a normal distribution was still not attained, a stronger technique ( $\log_{10}$ ) was used. Preliminary and main analyses were run using the transformed and untransformed variables of Social Dominance Orientation ( $\log$  transformed) and Reciprocity (square root transformed). There were no differences in statistical significance between transformed and untransformed variables, and thus results from the untransformed variables were reported to ease interpretation. The behavioural intentions variables of Communicate and Autonomy Support were created by summing participants codes on vignettes (discussed previously in Coding Reliability Thematic Analysis section). Communicate had a positive skew, while Autonomy Support had a negative skew. As Communicate and Autonomy Support had limited ranges (0-2 and 0-4, respectively), they were not appropriate for transformations.

The normalcy assumptions of the value Social Justice Orientation were violated. Private sponsors endorsed high levels of Social Justice Orientation in a truncated range of the scale ( $M = 6.70$ ,  $SD = .46$ ; *Range* 1-7). The distribution was positively skewed (-2.92) and kurtosis was 11.80, indicating a heavy-tailed distributed. Despite the use of transformations (i.e., square root and  $\log$ ), the distribution of the Social Justice variable remained highly skewed and was not sufficiently normally distributed for use in further analyses. Overall, it appears that private sponsors endorse high values of Social Justice Orientation, and that this measure is not sensitive enough to differentiate sponsors on this value. To assess multivariate normality, Mardia's skewness and kurtosis was calculated (Mardia, 1970). The sample demonstrated multivariate normality for kurtosis, but not for skewness. As overall multivariate normality was not satisfied, and not all variables attained univariate normality, main analyses were conducted using robust statistic methods and estimation of standard errors (i.e., path analysis using weighted least squares estimation; Cain et al., 2017; McKinnon et al., 2019; Rosseel, 2012).

## Results

### General Demographics

One hundred fifty-five private sponsors completed the survey. Participant ages ranged from 24 to 86 years, with an average age of 59 years ( $SD = 13.76$ ), demonstrating that sponsors appear to be older than the average Canadian ( $M = 41.9$ ,  $Mdn = 41.6$ ; Statistics Canada, 2022a). Approximately three quarters of the sample identified as female (73%; male = 27%; no other genders were reported). Private sponsors reported their sexual orientation as bisexual (1%), gay (1%), straight (97%), and queer (1%). Three quarters of sponsors had children (76%). Six percent of sponsors identified as being a person with a disability. Private sponsors reported various involvement in occupations (e.g., student, homemaker, working full-time), with the highest proportion being retired (44%; See Table 2). Likewise, 43% of Macklin and colleagues' (2018) sample of private sponsors were retired or semi-retired. Seventy-nine percent of private sponsors identified with an Abrahamic religion (e.g., Christian denominations, Judaism, Islam), which is congruent with the prevalent involvement of religious groups in resettlement (GC, 2019d; Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Hyndman et al., 2017; Macklin et al., 2018).

Consistent with previous studies (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018), private sponsors in the current sample appear to make up a privileged subset of the Canadian population. Sponsors were highly educated, with 84% endorsing having a bachelor's degree or higher. Approximately 70% of the sample endorsed a yearly household income that met or exceeded the median Canadian after-tax income of \$62,900 (Statistics Canada, 2021a). Of note, 28% of the sample reported a yearly household income of more than \$110,000. Comprehensive information regarding relationship status, occupational status, education level, and annual household income are presented in Table 2.

**Table 2***Summary of Participant Attributes*

<b>Participant Category</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Relationship Status</b>		
Single	15	11
In a committed relationship	8	6
Married	104	74
Living common law	8	6
Divorced	4	3
<b>Occupational Status</b>		
Unemployed	2	1
Self-employed	12	9
Part-time	20	14
Full-time	34	24
Homemaker	7	5
Retired	62	44
Disability	1	1
Student	3	2
<b>Education Level</b>		
High school	3	2
Some post-secondary	14	10
Associates degree or diploma	6	4
Bachelor's degree	47	33
Master's degree	54	38
Ph.D. or higher	18	13
<b>Household Yearly Income</b>		
Don't know/ Prefer not to answer	18	13
Less than \$35,000	3	2
\$35,000 - \$59,999	21	15
\$60,000 - \$84,999	28	20
\$85,000 - \$110,000	31	22
More than \$110,000	39	28

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Three quarters of the sample were born in Canada. The remainder of the sample reported they were born in Saudi Arabia, Israel, Jamaica, the United States, Argentina, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Poland, Laos, Syria, and Friesland. The average age of arrival to Canada was 22 years old ( $SD = 16.51$ ) with foreign-born sponsors reporting they arrived in infancy to 64 years old. Eight percent of the sample identified as a visible minority. When reflecting on their racial or ethnic background, 40% reported being of European descent (e.g., British Isles, Estonian, German, Russian Mennonite, Spanish), Canadian, or White, while 43% did not strongly identify with any background. The remaining 17% of participants identified with a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds, such as African (5%), Hebrew (1%), Indigenous (1%), Jewish (4%), Latino (1%), Metis (1%), Middle Eastern (3%), and West Indian (1%). For additional characteristics of study participants refer to Table 2.

### **Sponsorship Specific Demographics**

The PSR Program is delineated into the following sponsorship types: Groups of Five, Community Sponsors, Sponsorship Agreement Holder groups, and Constituent Groups (which operate under a Sponsorship Agreement Holder; Cameron & Labman, 2020; GC, 2020d; GC, 2021b). Sponsorship Agreement Holders hold agreements with the federal government and act as a go-between the government and private sponsorship groups (GC, 2019d; Macklin et al., 2018). Constituent Groups are a new categorization of sponsorship introduced in 2020 implemented through Sponsorship Agreement Holder's and typically operate through local congregations of national churches (GC, 2021b). When asked what type of sponsorship group they belonged to (not mutually exclusive) private sponsors

endorsed being a part of a Sponsorship Agreement Holder (57%), Group of Five (29%), Community Sponsor (32%), and Constituent Group (4%).

Only four percent of the sample reported sponsoring through the BVOR stream, and thus comparative statistical analyses of sponsorship through the PSR Program and BVOR streams (Hypothesis 5) could not be conducted. Conversely, in Macklin and colleagues 2018 study, 56% of their sample sponsored through private sponsorship, whereas 44% percent sponsored through BVOR. As this study's data were collected during the COVID-19 pandemic, and BVOR sponsorship was halted for two years due to global health concerns (GC, 2020c; RSTP, 2022), this sample may be an underrepresentation of the number of individuals who typically sponsor through the BVOR stream. Consistent with Macklin and associates' findings (2018), 5% of the sample did know what type of sponsorship they were a part of. The remainder of the sample (5%) reported sponsoring through an overarching charity organization or church, which likely belong to a Sponsorship Agreement Holder. Lastly, one participant reported sponsoring through family.

Table 3 presents a summary of additional sponsorship specific demographics. There was a balanced representation of private sponsors who were currently sponsoring and those that had sponsored previously (44% and 56%, respectively). On average, private sponsors had been part of three sponsorship groups ( $SD = 2.83$ ), with participants reporting a wide range of sponsorship experience, from being in one to twenty sponsorship groups. A third of participants reported remaining in the same sponsorship group, whereas over half reported sponsoring with different groups over time. The remainder of the sample (12%) reported their group evolved, with core members remaining and supplementary members changing between sponsorships. Similarly, others reported sponsoring through the same overarching organization (e.g., Sponsorship Agreement Holder), but having different sponsorship groups each time a new sponsorship was undertaken.

**Table 3***Summary of Sponsorship Specific Demographics*

<b>Participant Category</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Province</b>		
Alberta	8	6
British Columbia	35	25
Manitoba	10	7
New Brunswick	6	4
Nova Scotia	7	5
Ontario	70	50
Prince Edward Island	3	2
Quebec	1	1
<b>Most Recent Sponsorship</b>		
Actively sponsoring	62	44
1-3 months ago	1	<1
4-6 months ago	2	1
6-8 months ago	1	<1
10-12 months ago	7	5
2 years ago	30	21
3 years ago	16	11
4 years ago	5	4
5 years ago	12	9
6 or more years ago	4	3
<b>Sponsor Group Longevity</b>		
Same Group	36	34
Different Group	57	54
Group Evolved	13	12
<b>Number of Sponsorship Groups</b>		
One	34	25
Two	34	25
Three	24	17
Four	17	12
Five	13	9
Six	5	4
Seven	4	3
Eight	2	1
Ten or More	5	4

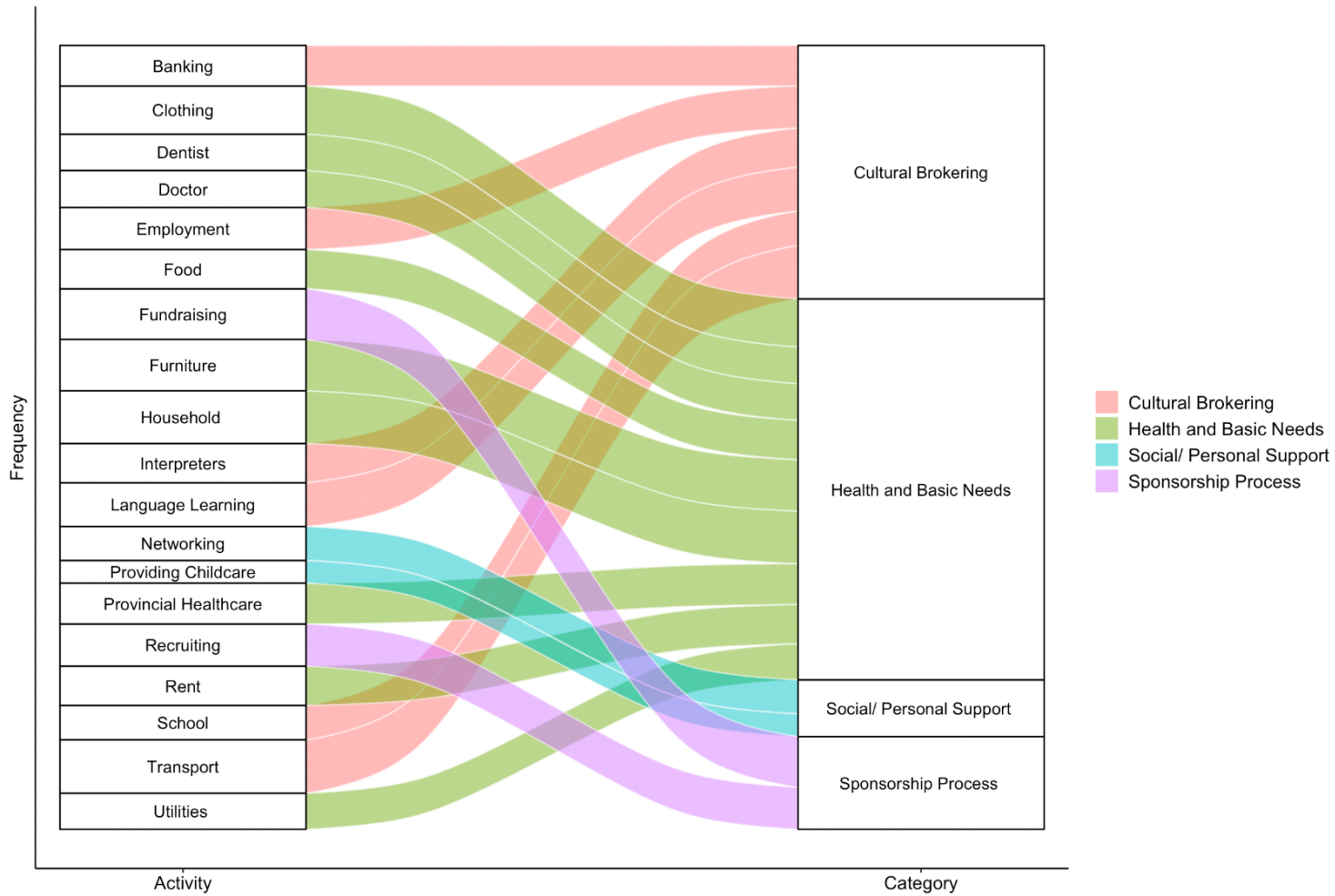
Private sponsors were in four main regions of Canada: The West Coast (i.e., British Columbia), Prairies (i.e., Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta), Central (i.e., Ontario, Quebec), and Atlantic (i.e., Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick). No private sponsors from the Northern territories participated. The sample mostly consisted of private sponsors from Ontario (50%) and British Columbia (25%). In comparison, of the 130 Sponsorship Agreement Holders across Canada, 45% are in Ontario and 14% are in British Columbia (GC, 2022c). Moreover, in a longitudinal study of refugee resettlement in Canada, 41% privately sponsored refugees arrived and remained in the ‘gateway cities’ of Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal (Kaida et al., 2020). Private sponsorship in Quebec is managed by the provincial government (Quebec, 2022) and may partially account for why only one participant in the sample was from Quebec (in addition to the survey only being available in English).

### **Private Sponsorship Activities**

Through consultation with my research lab, sponsorship activities from the checklist (Appendix B; GC, 2019c) and open-ended responses were organized into four overarching categories: Cultural Brokering, Everyday Needs, Social and Personal Support, and Sponsorship Processes. Figure 4 presents an alluvial plot displaying the frequencies of private sponsors activities organized by category

**Figure 4**

*Alluvial Plot of Sponsorship Activities Organized by Category*



*Note: The width of the bands corresponds to the frequency of private sponsors that endorsed completing that activity during sponsorship*

*Cultural Brokering* incorporates activities of practical assistance, such as providing an orientation to the community and explaining Canadian cultural nuances. Simply, cultural brokering is providing guidance on how things work in Canada. Further examples of cultural brokering are providing orientations to banking services, locating translators, enrolling refugees in language classes, and helping locate culturally relevant grocery stores. *Everyday Needs* are activities in which sponsors support access to health services (e.g., locating doctors taking new patients) and essentials of daily living (e.g., providing rent, clothing, utilities, and furniture). *Social and Personal Support* captures activities that require a sense of familiarity and closeness, such as providing childcare, introducing newcomers to potential friends, and organizing social events. Lastly, *Sponsorship Processes* are activities needed to facilitate resettlement, such as processing paperwork, fundraising, recruiting sponsors, and budgeting.

The categories endorsed most by private sponsors were Everyday Needs, Cultural Brokering, Sponsorship Processes, and Social and Personal Support, respectively. In the category of Everyday Needs, the majority of private sponsors reported providing household goods (83%) furniture (81%), clothing (76%), cost of food (62%), rent (62%), and utilities (57%). Private sponsors also frequently reported assisting refugees in selecting a dentist (58%) and family physician (58%). For the category of Cultural Brokering, private sponsors reported providing transport (85%), enrolling adults in language training (69%), helping in the search for employment (67%), and applying for provincial health-care coverage (65%). Private sponsors reported providing orientation to banking services (64%), locating interpreters (62%), and enrolling children in school (54%). In the category of Sponsorship Processes, 80% of sponsors reporting assisting in fundraising and 67% reported recruiting other sponsors to their group. Lastly, in the category and Personal and Social Support, 54% of private sponsors reported

introducing newcomers to potential friends and 36% have provided child care to refugee families.

Private sponsors had the opportunity to write in additional activities that were not captured in the government checklist. These responses are listed in Table 4, organized into the same overarching four categories (in order of frequency) Cultural Brokering, Social and Personal Support, Everyday Needs, and Sponsorship Processes. The different representation of activities from the overarching categories in open-ended responses imply that the sponsorship activities outlined by the federal guidelines are only a portion of full breadth of resettlement tasks private sponsors engage in and do not fully capture the nuances of the sponsorship tasks involved in resettlement. To illustrate, multiple private sponsors shared they supported refugees in COVID-19 related tasks, such as finding locations to quarantine upon arrival in Canada and dropping off groceries. Several other sponsors wrote that they remain involved in refugees' lives for many years. It appears that some sponsors remain in touch as friends or supporters long after the termination of the sponsorship agreement.

**Table 4***Supplemental Sponsorship Activities*

<b>Category</b>	<b>Response</b>
<b>Cultural Brokering</b>	Academic support (e.g., applying and enrolling adults in post-secondary institutions, liaising with the school and teachers, help with homework, tutoring)
	Assisting with purchasing insurance
	Connecting families with appropriate community and social services (e.g., settlement agencies, child tax benefits, old age security)
	COVID-19 related support (e.g., finding locations to quarantine)
	Finding extracurricular activities for children (e.g., sports)
	Finding specialists (e.g., surgeons, cardiologists, counselling)
	Making phone calls on behalf of refugees
	Navigating the rental market (i.e., moving, suing a landlord, affordability)
	Orientation to community (e.g., locating parks, public transportation, culturally appropriate groceries stores)
	Supplementing language learning (e.g., teaching, practicing)
Technology support (e.g., set up, software skills, social media)	
<b>Social/Personal Support</b>	Attending events together (e.g., cultural events, performances)
	Being friends and mentors
	Having refugees live with sponsors
	Organizing social events (e.g., potlucks)
	Providing social support and interaction (e.g., visiting)
	Providing spiritual support
	Sharing meals and teaching one another how to cook
Teaching special skills (e.g., sewing)	
<b>Everyday Needs</b>	Arranging household repairs
	Funding for orthodontics
	Painting a new home
	Teaching how to use household appliances
<b>Sponsorship Processes</b>	Budgeting
	Creating a settlement plan
	Ensuring roles are covered by others in sponsorship group
	Family reunification (e.g., bringing children to Canada under the One Year Window program)
	Setting monthly allocation of funds from the sponsor account

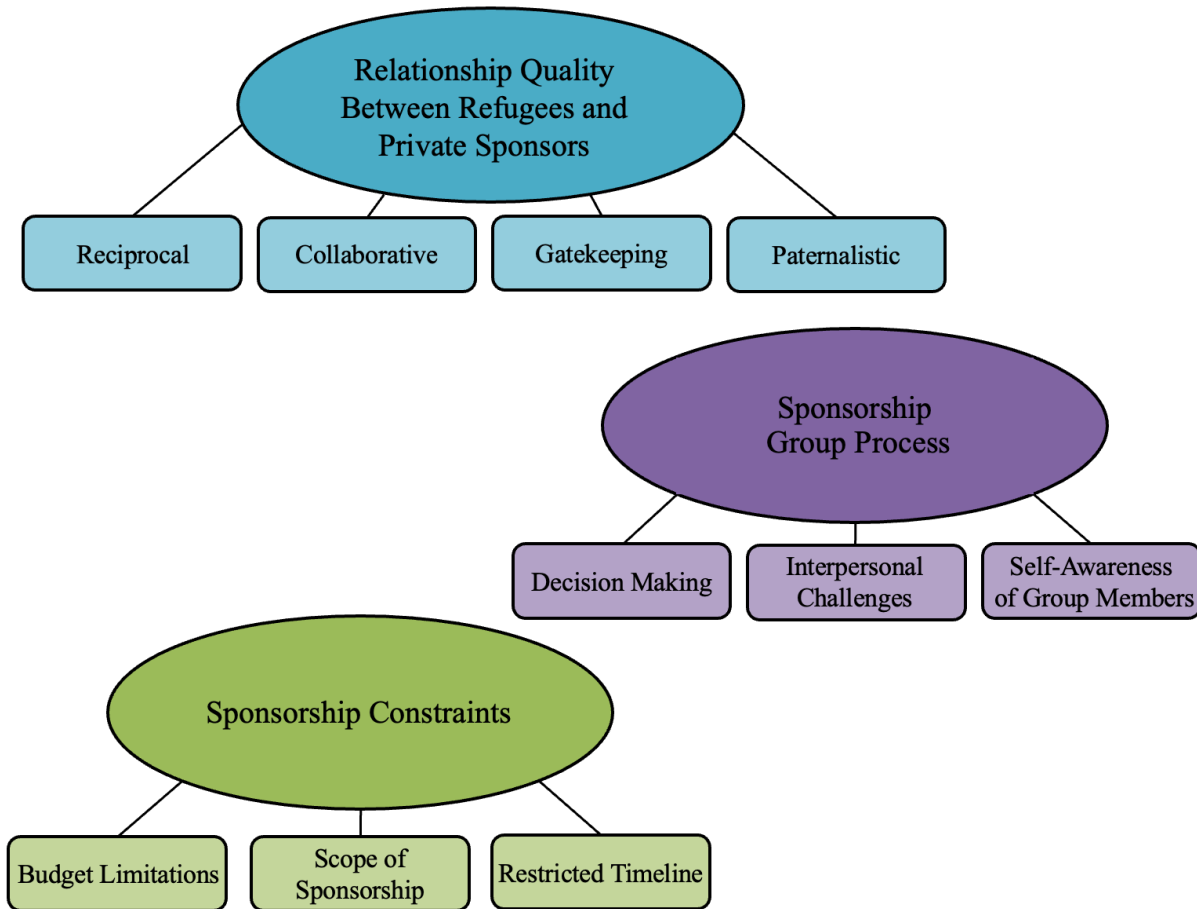
### **Qualitative Results: Reflective Thematic Analysis**

Coding of participants' open-ended responses to the two vignettes resulted in the creation of three overarching themes. Created themes provide insight into how private sponsors believe they would behave in common situations that arise in the sponsorship experience (i.e., behavioural intentions), as well as the relationships amongst sponsorship group members. The two vignettes that were presented to participants appeared to have captured typical tasks of resettlement, as a majority of the sample reported involvement in providing transportation and furniture to refugees (85% and 81%, respectively). Often, private sponsors used previous sponsorship experiences to inform how they would act in response to the vignettes (See Appendix J for vignettes).

Three main themes were created to capture the spirit of the responses. These were "Relationship Quality of Refugee and Private Sponsors," "Sponsorship Group Process," and "Sponsorship Constraints." These themes are discussed below, along with their corresponding sub-themes. Themes and subthemes are presented visually in Figure 5. When available, key private sponsor demographics are presented alongside quotations.

**Figure 5**

*Reflective Thematic Analysis Themes and Subthemes*



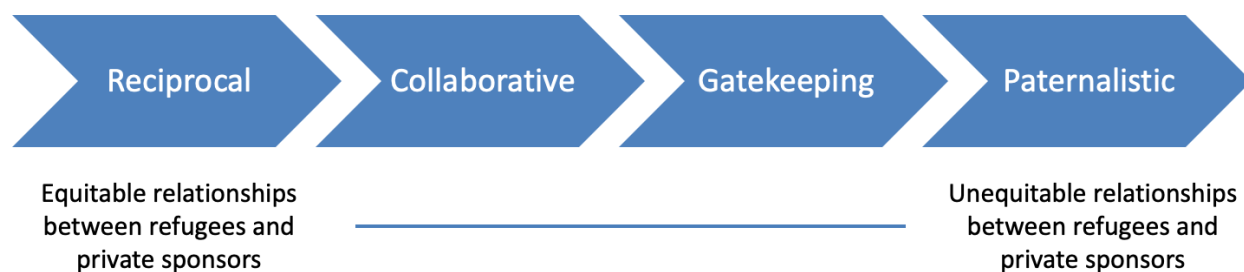
### ***Relationship Quality Between Refugees and Private Sponsors***

Participants' responses to the two vignettes revealed variation in the nature of the relationship between sponsorship groups and refugees. The following subthemes, "Reciprocal," "Collaborative," "Gatekeeping," and "Paternalistic" capture the relationship qualities that participants described between refugees and private sponsors throughout the resettlement agreement. Typically, sponsors' responses were captured best within one relationship quality, but categories are not mutually exclusive. Relationship qualities can be visualized along a continuum

(as shown in Figure 6), ranging from qualities that reflect equitable relationships on one extreme and inequitable relationships on the other side.

**Figure 6**

*Continuum of Relationship Quality between Refugees and Private Sponsors*



**Reciprocal.** Reciprocal relationships encapsulated connections between refugees and private sponsors where there were mutual gains. Private sponsors learned as much from refugees, or the sponsorship experience, as refugees learned from them. A commonality in reciprocal relationships was familiarity and depth; when refugees and private sponsors took the time to get to know one another's cultures and as individuals, their relationships deepened. Some sponsorship groups facilitated relationship development by communicating with sponsored families a year before they arrived in Canada:

*In our case we've also been in communication with the families for at least a year before they arrive in Canada... So were we to face the challenges you identify [i.e., request for vehicle or furniture exchange] we would do so in the context of a relationship that has some depth despite the potential power imbalance. (No demographics provided).*

Digitally facilitated contact enabled refugees to arrive with pre-established relationships and diminished power differentials with sponsorship group members.

Many private sponsors reflected that they had approached resettlement in the past with an ethnocentric lens:

*We realized that we furnished the apartment according to Western standards... We learned that we were foolish not to be more informed about how this family might like their living accommodation. (78-year-old female from Ontario).*

Upon acknowledging their knowledge gaps (akin to the subtheme of Self-Awareness of Group Members discussed below), private sponsors committed to educating themselves on refugees' cultures. Some private sponsors employed conversation aids (e.g., translators) to facilitate reciprocal understanding and communication with refugees:

*"We tried to listen to our translators who knew more of their customs to try to support their requests. It is a two-way learning pathway." (66-year-old female from Ontario).*

Thus, some private sponsors recognize that they can expand their understanding of refugees and their culture by engaging in equal exchanges. This acknowledgement upends the narrative that refugees are vulnerable individuals that are the sole benefactors of resettlement. Rather, reciprocity highlights that both refugees and private sponsors have knowledge to share and that both gain from the sponsorship experience.

One sponsor elaborated on how sponsorship can make it challenging to attain true reciprocity as power dynamics with refugees can remain following the end of the formal sponsorship:

*We are trying to move beyond a "sponsorship" relationship to a more equal relationship but the family likes to keep us somewhat on a different "level". In order to make sense of*

*it in my head, I see it as being their parent/grandparent. Just like my adult children will continue to ask for my input into their lives where they find their decision too large to make on their own, our refugee family will also ask for our input when they would like it or need it. (52-year-old female from Manitoba).*

As power differentials are embedded within the private sponsorship framework (Lim, 2019; Macklin et al., 2021), sponsors who intentionally approach their relationships with refugees in a reciprocal manner strive to diminish discrepancies and complete the sponsorship term on equitable terms.

**Collaborative.** Many private sponsors shared stories of collaborating with refugees to support them in attaining the life they desire in Canada. These private sponsors believed their role was to provide information to refugees about accessing services, navigating the local community and living in Canada (i.e., cultural brokering), but ultimately recognized that the agency and decision-making rest solely with the refugee families. Private sponsors acknowledged that they have a wealth of information due to living in their communities for a long time, but that they strive to balance providing information and respecting individual choice:

*It is very important for sponsors to not try to take control of the refugees. Our role is to educate/inform but the refugees have the right to make their own decisions. Even if we do not agree, it is our role to continue to walk alongside of them in the decisions that they make. (51-year-old female from New Brunswick).*

Collaborative relationships encapsulated private sponsors trying to work *with* refugees to achieve their goals but lack the two-way learning and equity-striving of reciprocal relationships.

Collaboration could look different depending on the situation but typically began with private sponsors having a conversation with refugees and learning the reasons behind a request. In

response to the request for a vehicle vignette, one sponsor outlined the course of action they would take:

*I would make sure to understand the reasons behind this request. Is it because transit is unreliable? Is it because transit doesn't run during off hours, and they need to get to their night shift at work? Is it because they feel unsafe? Once I understood where the request is coming from, I would work out a realistic plan with the family. I would explain that as sponsors, we do not have the means to pay for a vehicle... but we can help them budget and fundraise towards the purchase of a vehicle. (50-year-old woman from Ontario).*

Collaboration strategies included brainstorming potential solutions, providing concrete assistance, and working together to accomplish requests.

**Gatekeeping.** Gatekeeping was evident in responses where private sponsors decided what requests from refugees were wants and what requests were needs. Gatekeeping occurred when assistance was contingent on whether the sponsorship group deemed the request was a need and thus worthy of support. Many refugees expressed that they would entertain assisting a refugee with their request *if* it were reasonable. Gatekeeping is in stark contrast to the reciprocal and collaborative relationship qualities discussed previously. The gatekeeping of needs has overtones of unequal power differentials and strips agency from refugees by unilaterally imposing choices. As one private sponsor outlined, purchasing a car was made possible only after their group deemed a need:

*Because it was a family of 11 and the children were attending private school, which would have required a long bus ride with multiple transfers, the Refugee Committee did purchase a car for them. We did NOT hand them money to buy it themselves. (72-year-old female from British Columbia).*

The sponsorship group, in this instance, used economic control of resources to exert their power and made it clear that refugees were not to have control of sponsorship funds. Many private sponsors detailed their thought processes in deciding whether to help. Relationships that expressed gatekeeping had the commonality that refugee preferences were not a sufficient reason to engage with a request. To illustrate, here is a private sponsor discussing the vignette where a refugee requests to exchange furniture:

*It would depend on the furniture in question. If it was a bed for a child or adult that did not meet their needs, it could be a reasonable request. However, if it was just a style preference, it would be doubtful the request would be granted. (Female from British Columbia).*

Similarly, another sponsor outlined how decisions to help were contingent on sponsors passing judgement on determining a want from a need:

*If there were legitimate reasons (medical, work, school) for this family to need a vehicle, we would see if we could raise the funds so that this could happen. If it was determined that this was more a "want", rather than a "need", we would most likely suggest that car ownership would be something they could work towards in the future, once they were more settled. (No demographics provided).*

Responses such as these ignored that refugees, just like everyone else, have tastes and preferences for their homes and lifestyles. Further, the responses insinuated that private sponsors know refugees better than they know themselves, which is simply not true.

Overtone of gatekeeping are present in requisite documents for resettlement, such as provincial Resettlement Assistance Program rates, which specify the costs supplied are to cover basic needs and that “special allowances may be added based on need” (p. 1; RTSP, 2022).

Participant responses demonstrated that some private sponsors echo gatekeeping language from government resettlement documents and demonstrate that the gatekeeping of refugee needs are embedded at a federal level in the PSR Program

**Paternalistic.** Paternalistic relationships between refugees and sponsors demonstrated a pattern of interactions where sponsors believed they knew what is best for refugees. Paternalistic relationships favoured the opinions and decisions of private sponsors and actively belittled and diminished the voices of refugees as equal partners in resettlement. In comparison to gatekeeping responses, where private sponsors discussed and differentiated wants from needs, paternalistic relationships detailed imposing decisions without input from refugees. Moreover, paternalistic relationships are opposite to reciprocal relationships (Figure 6), as reciprocal relationships strive for equity whereas paternalistic relationships reinforce inequity.

Responses from sponsors who engaged in paternalistic relationships with refugees expressed negative connotations and in extreme cases, conveyed patronizing and demeaning sentiments:

*Beggars can't be choosers. I would help them get a job and remind them to count their blessings like I do. (41-year-old from Ontario).*

In response to the vignette of refugees requesting different furniture, a private sponsor shared:

*An ungrateful refugee is terrible. We might give them a wheelbarrow of lumber and nails and a rock ...then they can build their own (60-year-old from British Columbia).*

This subtheme also included private sponsors that became defensive when refugees refused advice or asserted agency. Responding to the furniture vignette, another private sponsor was offended:

*To be honest, this would be disappointing though as much work goes into preparing for an apartment. Maybe once that is explained to them, they would be more appreciative of what they have received. (33-year-old female from British Columbia).*

Many sponsors expected refugees to be grateful and accept assistance without input or feedback. Expectations that refugees become obedient to private sponsors upon arrival in Canada demonstrated that some private sponsors are not treating newcomers as equal citizens, and rather, are actively impeding refugee autonomy. Private sponsors are expected to respect and support refugees during resettlement, and responses such as these are a waving a red flag that the fundamental sentiments of mutualism in the PSR Program are not being upheld by all sponsors.

### ***Sponsorship Constraints***

Sponsors shared that they felt constrained in their actions by the private sponsorship program, captured in the subthemes “Budget Limitations,” “Scope of Sponsorship,” and “Restricted Timeline.” Many sponsors expressed wishing they could help more, but ultimately felt as though their hands were tied by the government’s sponsorship program regulations.

**Budget Limitations.** Many private sponsors outlined that one of the most significant challenges was remaining within the pre-established budget throughout the sponsorship year. Upon refugees’ arrival, private sponsors provide start-up costs to cover initial resettlement expenses (e.g., basic and winter clothing, furniture, linens). The start-up costs framework is consistent across all provinces (excluding Quebec) and varies depending on family size and household composition, ranging from \$3065 for a single adult, and increases by \$1015 per each additional dependent (RSTP, 2022). Following initial costs, private sponsorship groups provide monthly funding as specified by provincial Resettlement Assistance Program rates. To illustrate, in British Columbia, private sponsors previously provided \$790 a month for a single adult and

\$1451 for a couple with five children. The Resettlement Assistance Program rates were raised in January 2022 to coincide with provincial social assistance stipends (e.g., \$1010 a month to a single adult and \$1846 for a couple with five children).

Funds raised are meant to cover daily living expenses (e.g., food, rent, clothing) for “12 months or until the refugees become self-sufficient, whichever comes first” (p. 12, GC, 2018). Some private sponsors reported raising extra funds for incidentals that may arise during sponsorship, such as expensive dental bills or medical equipment. As outlined in the Sponsorship Agreement (GC, 2018), Sponsorship Agreement Holder’s may choose to provide a higher level of financial support than is specified by the Resettlement Assistance Program rates.

Many sponsors reported that the budget was so tight that there is simply no room for extras. In response to the vignette regarding a refugee family requesting money to purchase a vehicle, one private sponsor outlined the financial constraints and additional resettlement costs that would make fulfilling this request unfeasible for their group:

*As such, resolution would be rather simple...we cannot help. This might or might not become a source of friction but we would try to limit that risk by reviewing the sponsorship group's financial obligations and practical limitations, namely our ability to raise funds. Sponsoring a family of four easily requires \$45,000 and that is without fully considering repayment of the family's travel loan (\$5,000+) or dental expenses (easily \$10,000+). (No demographics provided).*

As additional resettlement costs surpass the amount raised (e.g., at minimum, the required amount needed for sponsorship approval), for some groups there is simply no additional revenue to support the purchase of a car. Other private sponsors highlighted the efforts their groups took in raising the necessary funds for resettlement and are apprehensive about using these funds

outside of set plans or raising more funds post-arrival. For these sponsors, encouraging refugees to live within the allotted budget and dissuading extra purchases (e.g., a vehicle, smartphone, furniture) is an attempt to set up the family for success following the end of the sponsorship:

*There's less likely to be divergent opinions when it comes to spending finite resources (that in our case, our group has toiled long and hard to raise). Either a car is affordable or not. I can't imagine a group member pushing for something that would leave our family short rent money during say months 10, 11 and 12... There's real unanimity of focus as far as successfully settling the families. (65-year-old female from Ontario).*

Sponsorship groups differ in their level of fiscal conservativeness. Some sponsors reported that their groups almost always operated on the side of caution and were strict with resource allocation. In comparison, other groups favoured transitioning financial control of resources to refugees as soon as possible with diminishing oversight as the settlement year progresses. Other groups sponsored in partnership with broader organizations—effectively detaching the sponsorship group from handling money directly and improving sponsor-refugee relations in the process:

*Our group co-sponsored the family with a settlement agency, and it was the agency that sent them the monthly cheques. This arm's length relationship regarding money was really important, as it helped to distance us as individuals from the money, which helped to reduce the perceived power imbalance. (51-year-old female from Ontario).*

The sponsorship agreement states that refugees, where practical, should have the responsibility to manage their own finances (GC, 2018). However, the wording 'where practical' relies on sponsors to decide when managing finances becomes a refugee family's responsibility.

Many sponsors reported that one workaround for navigating the tight budget was to accept donations from individual members of the sponsorship groups who are willing to provide extra funds or items to the refugee family. Accepting "in-kind" donations (e.g., lodging, furniture, clothing) to reduce sponsorship costs is mentioned explicitly in the Sponsorship Agreement (GC, 2018). For several groups, fostering member donations appeared to be a regular strategy to circumvent budgetary restraints:

*If individual members of the group were in a position to purchase or provide a replacement piece of furniture, they would be encouraged to do so. But as a group, we would not do this if it were to negatively impact on our monthly support budget. (65-year-old woman from Ontario).*

A number of private sponsors expressed that refugees desire a standard of living akin to other Canadians. Private sponsors expressed difficulty navigating refugees' credit card purchases without having sufficient funds to pay off the balance. Some private sponsors outlined dilemmas they faced when refugees lived outside the means of the sponsorship budget (i.e., deciding between assisting to pay off debt versus allowing refugees to be accountable for their spending). As one sponsor outlined, media representations may contribute to expectations refugees have about life in Canada:

*Refugees have to realize that they cannot expect to step into the North American lifestyle they may have seen on media from afar... Showing the newcomers the cost of new items and the cost of housing in urban centres like Toronto and Vancouver may help them understand the financial constraints under which the sponsors are operating and which they will face in the future. (63-year-old female from Ontario).*

Other private sponsors reported that refugees who enjoyed a high quality of life in their home country were not used to being on the low socioeconomic tier. Unexpected circumstances forced refugee families to flee and leave behind the comforts they were accustomed to.

On the whole, private sponsors shared that operating within the set sponsorship budget is challenging. Groups expressed variability in how they chose to manage their finances, and the access sponsored refugees had to sponsorship funds.

**Scope of Sponsorship.** Private sponsors expressed differences in what they felt was within their purview to accomplish as sponsors. Many participants reported following the sponsorship agreement to the letter and operating only within federal guidelines:

*The group signed the sponsorship undertaking. The group is responsible only to fully implement the pre-agreed settlement plan. (44-year-old female from Alberta).*

As some sponsors outlined, remaining within government rules and guidelines protects the charitable status of their overarching organizations. When sponsors such as these are faced with requests from refugees that they feel go beyond the scope of sponsorship, they remind refugees of the agreement and refuse further assistance on the matter. Intricately intertwined within the scope of sponsorships are the expectations of the resettlement year. Expectations are the preconceived notions about how private sponsors and refugees should be behaving in these roles and what requests are feasible given the constraints of the sponsorship program guidelines and budget. Sponsors shared that the level of financial provision they provide should coincide with what refugees will be able to earn independently following the sponsorship period.

Sponsors expressed that refugees should have clear expectations of the sponsorship roles and limitations, ideally before they arrive in Canada or soon after landing:

*When refugees arrive, it is crucial that they understand the full relationship parameters as to what the responsibilities of the sponsors are and what they are not responsible for and what the expectations are of the refugees. In my extensive experience, this is often sufficient to prevent serious conflict. (73-year-old male from British Columbia).*

In contrast, other private sponsors see their role as empowering and upholding refugee autonomy as they settle in their new home. These sponsors expressed that requests outside of the prearranged agreement were possible (e.g., purchasing a vehicle), but require creative solutions and collaboration:

*If there is a qualified driver [in the refugee family], I would canvass the local area for a good used car donation. If none were available, the group could explore the idea of a co-op car with a willing participant. (71-year-old female from British Columbia).*

Further, these sponsors emphasized that although sponsors' actions are governed by the settlement contract, refugees have a right to make the decisions that impact their lives. Private sponsors expressed the importance of supporting refugees to make informed decisions:

*We'd talk to the family about the running costs of a vehicle and insurance and help them consider how it'd affect their budget in month 13 and beyond. Having a car might help them with securing employment. [There are] costs of buying a car, costs and logistics of getting a licence, and so on. Basically, we'd talk to them about the pros and cons of car ownership, try to understand why they want a vehicle, and then use that information to come up with a plan. We would not buy them a car, but we'd help them make a plan to buy one if that's what they really wanted. (46-year-old female from Nova Scotia).*

Overall, participants endorsed differing perspectives on the scope of sponsorship and varying comfort in supporting refugee requests outside of the pre-established sponsorship agreement.

**Restricted Timeline.** Participants reported that operating within the sponsorship timeline of the resettlement year was extremely challenging and often unrealistic given the number of tasks to accomplish to allow for successful resettlement. Further, many sponsors reported feeling uneasy leaving refugees without support following the sponsorship. As one sponsor stated, the timeline of the sponsorship year was not feasible for full family independence:

*Individuals that we sponsored 2 years ago still require considerable support due to special needs. The public resources are inadequate to support the family and so our ethical and moral imperative has kept us involved in almost every aspect of their lives (childcare, medical, translation, language learning, system navigation, emotional support). (41-year-old female from Alberta).*

Private sponsors prioritize tasks earlier in the resettlement year to set the family up for success later. For example, language learning typically needs to occur before finding employment. However, refugee family members differ in their pre-arrival familiarity with the language (i.e., English or French), which can speed or slow acquisition. To illustrate, in a longitudinal study of privately sponsored refugees in Canada, 53% had no knowledge of either official language upon arrival (Kaida et al., 2020). Moreover, some refugees take longer to learn the language and become comfortable speaking with others. Some sponsorship groups report having a checklist of tasks to accomplish, which helps the group prioritize while staying organized and engaged:

*The group should reiterate the tasks at hand that they need to prioritize and remind [refugees] that any fundraised dollars are needed for the monthly allowance...The focus should be on empowering them to do these things for themselves in the future (purchasing a car) and focusing on settlement tasks in the moment. (41-year-old female from Alberta).*

Additional factors, such as mental health vulnerabilities (e.g., post-traumatic stress disorder), may limit the resettlement tasks that refugees can engage in and make accomplishing resettlement ‘on time’ nearly impossible. Also, certain private sponsorship groups are committed to future sponsorship groups in addition to the family they are currently sponsoring. For these groups, providing support into month 13 and beyond creates logistical and financial challenges when the next sponsored family arrives. In conclusion, having refugees be wholly self-sufficient within the settlement year is an ongoing challenge for private sponsorship groups.

### ***Sponsorship Group Process***

A second theme centered on how sponsorship group members resolve common sponsorship issues and navigate disagreements within the sponsorship group. This theme included three sub-themes: “Decision-making,” “Interpersonal Challenges,” and “Awareness of Group.” Group processes provide insight into how people behave towards one another and are essential in understanding how private sponsorship groups form and operate. The Canadian PSR Program is often thought of as a relationship between private sponsors and refugees. However, the successful coordination of private sponsors *groups* is essential to a smooth resettlement experience. Besides securing the necessary funding for resettlement costs, there are no prerequisites to becoming a sponsor. In the agreement that all private sponsors must sign, sponsors voluntarily commit to resettle and integrate refugees into Canada through financial, personal, and emotional means (GC, 2018). The terms of the agreement are broad and allow each sponsorship group to adapt how they accomplish the guidelines. Private citizens who join sponsorship groups bring their motivations, world views, value systems, opinions, and outlooks that shape who they are and how they interact *in relationships* with others.

**Decision-making.** Private sponsors outlined the various strategies their groups used to make decisions. Most private sponsors reported making decisions via group consensus whenever possible. Sponsors described conversations where members share their perspectives, reflect on potential solutions, and weigh the benefits and drawbacks of different courses of action. Private sponsors acknowledged that consensus on a plan does not always equate with all members personally agreeing on the decision, rather, that all members agree on proceeding according to the overarching group's choice. When discussions become stagnated due to differences of opinion, groups typically used majority rules to vote for final decisions. Some groups reported having appointed leaders that hold final decision-making capacity, whereas other groups relied on their overarching organization (e.g., church group, settlement agency) for advice and guidance on how to proceed. Many groups use a combination of strategies for decision-making, as one private sponsor outlined:

*Our group always strived to make decisions by consensus, but we did have an assigned leader who had ultimate responsibility for the group. In the case of disagreement, the leader would determine how to proceed after hearing everyone's input. (46-year-old female from Ontario).*

Another strategy employed for decision-making was past precedent. When faced with challenging decisions, private sponsors reported using lessons learned from past sponsorships to inform current decisions. Groups with more experienced sponsors would share how their previous groups handled similar situations previously. In one group, having sponsors who were also settlement professionals provided valuable insight and consultation:

*We were fortunate to have two members of our sponsorship group who were immigration resettlement professionals, so their opinions held more weight. For instance, one*

*sponsorship member wanted to claw back child tax benefits, but he was overruled after the group heard from the more experienced settlement workers why this was illegal. (68-year-old from British Columbia).*

New private sponsors reported being grateful for the expertise that repeat sponsors contributed to group discussions, as being a first-time sponsor can feel overwhelming.

Participants reported having specific roles with outlined responsibilities to streamline decision-making and mitigate conflicts amongst private sponsors. Private sponsors reported using expertise gained through their careers (e.g., financial advisor, counsellor) to contribute to accomplishing relevant resettlement tasks. For example, across the variety of support provided (e.g., banking, transportation, clothing, housing), group members choose or were appointed to resettlement tasks pertaining to a specific area. Having clearly defined roles allowed for a member(s) to have expertise on a particular area, which enabled the group to default a member if a decision pertains to their area:

*“We have ‘committees’ headed up by people with an affinity for an area, such as housing/furnishings, medical needs, clothing, banking/finances etc.” (65-year-old sponsor from Ontario).*

Private sponsorship groups differed in the amount that they directly communicated with refugees regarding decision-making. Certain groups held a conversation amongst group members first, and then after deciding on a course of action, communicated their decision unilaterally to the refugees. Other groups highlighted the importance of speaking to the refugee family first, and then bringing the issue back to the group for larger discussion. Some participants emphasized that involving refugee families in the decision-making process respects their autonomy, as it is their lives that are ultimately impacted:

*“It is important to recognize that newcomers have often had very little choice over so many variables in their life. When they come to Canada they are looking forward to freedom. To discover that all decision-making is still being done for them can be demoralizing. The sponsors need to be coached ahead of time in this respect. If different members of the sponsorship group have a difference in opinion in how to proceed, knowing the importance of trying to accommodate the family's needs wherever possible, then someone in the group needs to have delegated authority to meet with the family and come up with a solution.” (41-year-old female from Alberta).*

No matter the chosen methods of decision-making, private sponsors emphasized that having a prearranged process reduced stress and streamlined the resettlement experience for all involved:

*“Our sponsorship group discussed these kinds of issues beforehand... We had also decided that if we ever came to an impasse that we could not resolve, we would invite an outsider to mediate and help us to resolve issues. We actually had a meeting before the family's arrival and brainstormed several examples of problems that could arise and discussed how we would handle them.” (70-year-old female from Ontario).*

However, some sponsors reported being frustrated with the decision-making process as discussions could be time-consuming and lacked resolution. One private sponsor reported that the sheer number of decisions over the resettlement year was very stressful. Many private sponsors shared that their group worked well together and rarely disagreed on how to proceed. Overall, sponsorship groups employed an array of strategies to aid in their decision-making process (e.g., consensus, majority votes, past experience, consultation) and varied in the degree to which they included refugees in the decision-making process.

**Interpersonal Challenges.** Interpersonal challenges amongst members in private sponsorship groups were expressed frequently by participants. One source of conflict came from group members contributing to the resettlement process at varying levels. Many private sponsors reported feeling frustrated that certain members' efforts petered off as the resettlement year wore on. Some respondents shared that when disagreements within groups reached extremes sponsors left the group before the arrival of refugees.

Another common area of contention amongst sponsors was individual members or smaller groups carrying out actions without the approval or knowledge of the larger group. If a decision was made that a member did not like, some individuals or subgroups would take it upon themselves to act:

*There were members of the sponsorship group that definitely took things into their own hands that they felt important without consulting the group. That made me feel sidelined and undermined. I would not engage with that person about how much they were giving [financially] as I felt it was their choice and not my responsibility. (51-year-old female from British Columbia).*

Individual sponsors working independently on resettlement tasks disrupt cohesion amongst group members. However, the private sponsors who embarked on these solitary tasks were adamant that their actions supported the refugee family and felt that dissension among the group was a reasonable price to pay. Many disagreements stemmed from fundamental differences in approaches to sponsorship. Namely, the challenge in finding a balance between providing support and promoting independence:

*People made their own choices—some advocate for independence, agency and self-sufficiency, [while] others simply override and support on [their] own—definitely divided our group. (44-year-old female from Manitoba).*

Sometimes group members who disagree remain with the group, and other times they do not:

*In prior experience, when a minority of people did not agree about money matters, they simply left the group of their own accord. (71-year-old female from Ontario).*

Private sponsors highlighted that despite disagreements between group members, it is vital for the group to present as a united front to the refugee family. Participants reported that dissension within the group needs to remain separate from their interactions with sponsored individuals in order to provide appropriate support.

**Self-Awareness of Group Members.** Private sponsors emphasized the importance of group members independently and collectively being aware of the White supremacy biases they may hold regarding refugees. One sponsor explained that being conscious of individual attitudes and personality features can improve group capability to navigate challenging situations. When private sponsors are aware of their blind spots, they can work towards improving them and, in effect, improve their interactions with group members and refugees. For example, several private sponsors were surprised by the high quality of life sponsored individuals enjoyed before becoming refugees.

Some private sponsors reported having initial defensive reactions when refugees wished to exchange furniture that did not suit their religious or cultural needs (e.g., wanting couches instead of chairs to allow for sitting close to one another). As one sponsor explained, group members may be offended at first by the “lack of gratitude for all we’ve done,” but the group should take the time to discuss and debrief their feelings with each other before taking further

action. Private sponsors described confronting preconceptions as a learning curve that develops throughout the resettlement process:

*At the end of the day, it is in the newcomer's choice and the sponsorship group is there to support in any way possible. If the group disagreed, then it would be important to sit down together and discuss exactly what our intentions are in the group and how to best realign to get on the same page. (28-year-old from British Columbia).*

Another sponsor shared that groups should learn the cultural and religious customs of the sponsored refugees' source country so provided items can be attuned to their needs. Some private sponsors reported involving refugees in the housing and furniture selection process (in-person or virtually) to ensure chosen items are appropriate:

*Our group, in retrospect, was a little naive about the refugee's life in Syria. We expected that they would be grateful for a low rent apartment and used furniture. We met with them and rounded up some furniture that was better suited for their needs and involved them in the selection of this furniture. It turns out that this can be pretty easily done as there is lots of good used furniture floating around. (70-year-old male from Ontario).*

In conclusion, when individual members and groups dismantled preconceptions, the overall self-awareness of the group improved, along with the relationship quality *between* group members and *with* refugees.

## **Quantitative Results**

### ***Descriptive Statistics***

Means, standard deviations, and internal reliability estimates for main study variables (i.e., private sponsor values, attitudes, and behavioural intentions) are presented in Table 5.

In line with my second research objective, private sponsors responses identified the degree to which they held the values of Social Justice Orientation, Social Dominance Orientation, and Power and the explicit attitudes of Ethnocultural Empathy, Reciprocity, Paternalism, and Colour Blindness. Overall, private sponsors *strongly agreed* with the values of Social Justice Orientation and *somewhat opposed* Social Dominance Orientation. Private sponsors endorsed Power values moderately (in-between *not important* and *important*). Regarding attitudes, private sponsors on average *agreed* that items of Ethnocultural Empathy described them, *strongly agreed* with Reciprocity items, *disagreed* with Paternalistic items, and *slightly agreed* with items on the Colour Blindness measure.

**Table 5**

*Means, Standard Deviations, and Possible Ranges of Study Variables*

<b>Variable</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Possible Range</b>
<b>Values</b>			
Social Justice Orientation	6.70	0.46	1 – 7
Social Dominance Orientation	1.89	0.78	1 – 7
Power	2.66	1.05	0 – 8
<b>Attitudes</b>			
Ethnocultural Empathy	4.84	0.54	1 – 6
Reciprocity	6.23	0.64	1 – 7
Paternalism	2.20	0.38	1 – 4
Colour Blindness	4.94	1.21	1 – 7
<b>Behavioural Intentions</b>			
Autonomy Support	1.30	1.19	0 – 4
Communicate	1.53	0.65	0 – 2

The quantitative behavioural intention variables of Communicate and Autonomy Support were created based on the coding reliability thematic analysis. For the Communicate variable, 62% of sponsors reported an intention to talk with refugees regarding decision-making in both the furniture and vehicle vignettes, and an additional 29% of sponsors reported an intention to speak with refugees in one vignette. Nine percent of sponsors did not report an intention to talk with refugees in either situation. For the Autonomy Support variable, 32% of private sponsors reported intentions of unilateral decision-making and gatekeeping of refugee needs across both vignettes. On the opposite end, across both vignettes, 5% of private sponsors shared that the refugee family was the ultimate decision-maker, and sponsors would assist the family whether or not they deemed the request necessary. The remainder of private sponsors reported intentions that fell between these ranges (e.g., a mixture of family as the decision maker and gatekeeping across the two vignettes).

### ***Preliminary Analyses***

To check for potential confounding or covarying variables, t-tests and analysis of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted with demographic and main study variables. Seventeen demographic variables were assessed across 9 variables. Due to the number of multiple comparisons, I used a conservative  $p$  value of 0.01 to reduce the likelihood of a false positive and to enhance reliability and reproducibility of my research findings (Thiese et al., 2016). Overall, demographic variables were generally unrelated to the main study variables. The demographic variables of disability identity, current occupational status, and education level were significantly associated with main study measures.

An independent-samples t-test compared paternalism scores for private sponsors that identified as a person with a disability ( $n = 8$ ) and those who did not ( $n = 131$ ). Private sponsors

who identified as a person with a disability ( $M = 1.86, SD = 0.28$ ) compared to private sponsors that did not identify as having a disability ( $M = 2.22, SD = 0.38$ ) demonstrated significantly lower paternalism scores,  $t(137) = -2.60, p = .010, 95\% CI [-0.63, -0.09]$ . These results suggest that private sponsors that identify as a person with a disability are less likely to hold paternalistic attitudes towards refugees than sponsors without disabilities.

A one-way ANOVA compared differences in the behavioural intention of autonomy support based on education level. To achieve equal variance, educational level was recoded into four categories: some post secondary, bachelor's degree, master's degree, and Ph.D. or higher. Visual inspections supported the assumptions of linearity, normality, and homoscedasticity. Results revealed that there was a statistically significant difference in autonomy support scores between at least two groups,  $F(3, 132) = 5.33, p = .002$  (See Table 6). A post hoc Tukey's HSD test showed that private sponsors with bachelor's degrees ( $M = 1.80, SD = 1.12$ ) were more likely to intend to support autonomy compared to sponsors with master's degrees ( $M = 1.02, SD = 1.12$ ),  $p = .005, 95\% CI [-0.78, -1.38]$ , and sponsors with some post-secondary education ( $M = 0.80, SD = 1.15$ ),  $p = .007, 95\% CI [-1.00, -1.79]$ .

**Table 6**

*Fixed Effects ANOVA Results using Autonomy Support as the Criterion*

Predictor	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$	$\eta^2$ 90% CI [LL, UL]
(Intercept)	145.80	1	145.80	113.29	.000		
Education Level	20.59	3	6.86	5.33	.002**	.11	[.03, .18]
Error	169.88	132	1.29				

*Note.* LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the  $\eta^2$  confidence interval, respectively.

\*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .

Sponsors with bachelor's degrees were not significantly different from sponsors with a Ph.D. or higher ( $M = 1.17$ ,  $SD = 1.20$ ), nor were sponsors with some post-secondary education significantly different from sponsors with master's or Ph.D. degrees. Taken together, these results suggest that private sponsors with bachelor's degree are more likely than sponsors with master's degrees and those with some post-secondary education to endorse intentions to uphold refugee autonomy (i.e., supporting the agency and choice of refugees).

### ***Correlations***

Pearson's  $r$  correlations examined associations among the main study variables (see Table 7). All correlations were in the expected directions. Correlations discussed below are all statistically significant unless otherwise stated. As expected, the values of Social Justice and Social Dominance were negatively correlated. Social Justice was positively correlated with the attitudes of Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity, and negatively correlated with the attitude of Paternalism. Conversely, Social Dominance was negatively correlated with the attitudes of Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity, and positively correlated with the attitude of Paternalism, and the behavioural intention of Communicate. The value of Power was negatively correlated with Reciprocity. Ethnocultural Empathy was positively correlated with Reciprocity and negatively correlated with Paternalism, and Paternalism was negatively correlated with the behavioural intention of Communicate. The attitude of Colour Blindness and the behavioural intention of Autonomy Support were not correlated with any of the main study variables.

Correlations between continuous demographic variables and main study variables showed that private sponsors' age was negatively correlated with the value of Power,  $r(155) = -.24$ ,  $p < .01$ , 95% CI [-.39, -.07] and the behavioural intention of Autonomy Support,  $r(155) = -.20$ ,  $p < .05$ , 95% CI [-.36, -.04]. Age was positively correlated with the attitudes of Paternalism,

$r(155) = .22, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [.06, .38]$ , and Colour Blindness,  $r(155) = .18, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [.01, .33]$ . Because age was significantly correlated with half of the main study variables, it was entered as a covariate in further analyses. The number of sponsorship groups and age of arrival in Canada were not significantly correlated with main study variables.

**Table 7***Summary of Significant Correlations Between Main Study Variables*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Social Justice Orientation								
2. Social Dominance Orientation	-.41** [-.53, -.27]							
3. Power	-.11 [-.26, .05]	.12 [-.04, .27]						
4. Reciprocity	.25** [.09, .39]	-.36** [-.49, -.21]	-.22** [-.36, -.06]					
5. Ethnocultural Empathy	.38** [.24, .51]	-.53** [-.64, -.41]	-.14 [-.29, .02]	.50** [.37, .61]				
6. Paternalism	-.17* [-.32, -.01]	.19* [.04, .34]	.05 [-.11, .20]	-.14 [-.29, .02]	-.22** [-.37, -.07]			
7. Colour Blindness	-.11 [-.26, .05]	.02 [-.14, .17]	.14 [-.02, .29]	.08 [-.08, .23]	-.01 [-.17, .14]	.15 [-.01, .30]		
8. Communicate	.07 [-.10, .22]	-.21** [-.36, -.06]	.08 [-.09, .23]	.03 [-.13, .19]	.05 [-.11, .21]	-.25** [-.40, -.10]	-.01 [-.17, .15]	
9. Autonomy Support	.01 [-.15, .17]	-.07 [-.23, .09]	-.08 [-.24, .08]	-.00 [-.16, .16]	-.04 [-.20, .13]	-.06 [-.22, .10]	-.13 [-.28, .03]	.02 [-.14, .18]

*Note.* Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation.

\* indicates  $p < .05$ . \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .

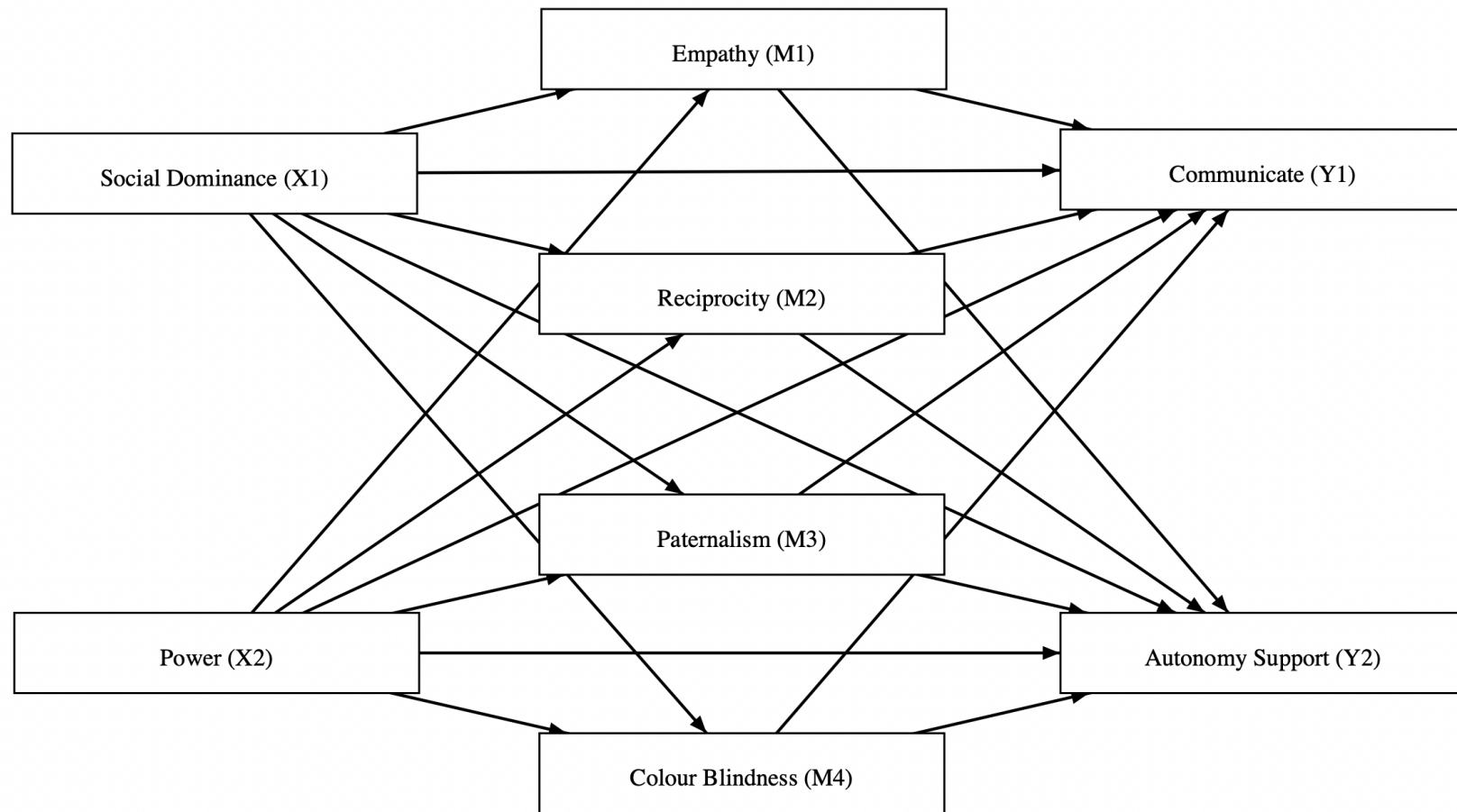
### ***Parallel Multiple Mediation***

As all variables were manifest (i.e. observed), path analysis with parallel multiple mediation was conducted using the “lavaan” package (Version 0.6-11; Rosseel, 2012). The sample size was not large enough to analyse the hypothesized model (see Fig. 7) simultaneously in its entirety. For path analysis, the recommended number of participants for each parameter estimate is ideally 20, with a common and acceptable range in the literature being 10 (Suhr, 2008). Thus, to align with sample size recommendations for path analysis, the hypothesized model was reconfigured into smaller models that were assessed independently to produce stable parameter estimates and best approximate the hypothesized model given the participants in the sample.

In total, eight path models were assessed, with each containing one exogenous variable (value), two endogenous mediation variables (attitudes), one endogenous outcome variable (behavioural intention), and age as a covariate. Adding age as a covariate reduced the available sample size for analysis as not every private sponsor reported their age (i.e., original  $N = 155$ ; with age  $n = 136$ ). In the “lavaan” R package, ordinal variables are considered categorical and not continuous (Rosseel, 2012). As main study variables were mostly derived from Likert-type scales, weighted least squares estimation with mean and variance adjusted chi-square (WLSMV) was selected over the more common maximum likelihood estimation (McKinnon et al., 2019; Rosseel, 2012). WLSMV is considered best-practice estimation of ordinal endogenous variables as it computes robust standard errors and is resilient to normality violations (Rosseel, 2012).

**Figure 7**

*Hypothesized Path Analysis Model for Relationships Amongst Study Variables*



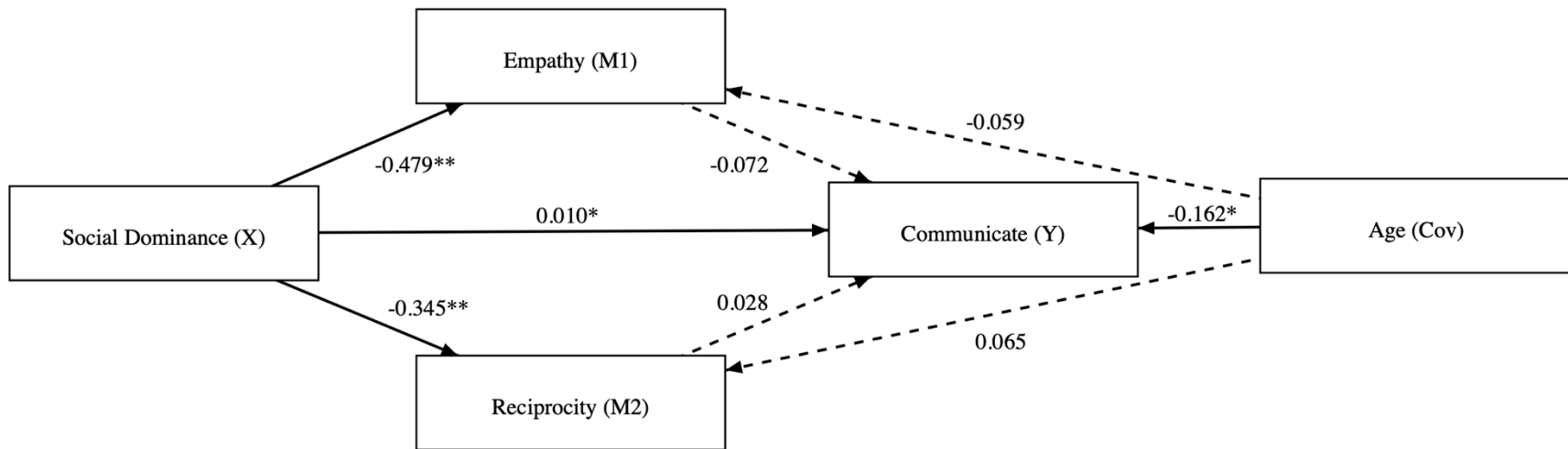
*Note:* Social Dominance = Social Dominance Orientation; Empathy = Ethnocultural Empathy; X1 & X2 = Exogenous variables; M1 = Mediator 1 (endogenous); M2 = Mediator 2 (endogenous); M3 = Mediator 3 (endogenous); M4 = Mediator 4 (endogenous); Y1 & Y2 = Endogenous variables

Each path model has a table displaying path estimates and a corresponding path diagram (See Tables 8–16 and Figures 8–16, respectively). All models ended normally after a range of 37 to 48 iterations, estimated 15 parameters, and contained 135 or 136 participants (exact model estimates presented alongside tables). Overall, none of the indirect effects (mediation analyses) were significant. Considering the limited sample size, and the complexity of the model, this is unsurprising (Schoemann et al., 2017). Thus, all results of path analyses represent direct and total effects. Regressions calculated via path analyses were largely consistent with zero order correlations across all models investigated. All results discussed are statistically significant unless otherwise stated.

**Path Models Predicting Behavioural Intentions to Communicate with Refugees.** In Model 1 (See Figure 8 for path diagram and Table 8 for estimates of direct and indirect effects), Social Dominance Orientation had a significant and negative effect on Ethnocultural Empathy, Reciprocity, and intention to communicate with refugees. Social Dominance Orientation predicted a lower intention of private sponsors to communicate with refugees. The behavioural intention of Communicate accounted for 6.6% of the variance in Social Dominance Orientation, 23.2% of Ethnocultural Empathy, and 12.4% of Reciprocity. In Model 2 (See Figure 9 and Table 9), Social Dominance Orientation had a significant and positive effect on Paternalism. Social Dominance Orientation had a negative effects on intention to communicate when the effects of Paternalism and Colour Blindness were controlled. Overall, the second path analysis accounted for 9.4% of the variance in the behavioural intention of Communicate, and 11% and 3.3 % were accounted for by the attitudes of by Paternalism and Colour Blindness, respectively.

**Figure 8**

*Path Diagram for Model 1: Social Dominance Orientation → Intention to Communicate  
with Parallel Mediators Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity*



*Note:* Significant paths are indicated by solid lines, non-significant paths by dashed lines; \* indicates  $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .  
Social Dominance = Social Dominance Orientation; Empathy = Ethnocultural Empathy; X = Exogenous variable; M1 = Mediator 1 (endogenous); M2 = Mediator 2 (endogenous); Y = Endogenous variable; Cov = Covariate  
All path estimates are standardized beta coefficients.

**Table 8***Results of Path Analysis of Model 1**Social Dominance Orientation → Intention to Communicate with Parallel Mediators Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity*

Path	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>	CI Lower 95%	CI Higher 95%	$\beta$
<b>Direct effects</b>						
SDO → Empathy (a1)**	-0.312 (0.050)	-6.238	.000	-0.410	-0.214	-0.479
SDO → Reciprocity (a2)**	-0.297 (0.081)	-3.649	.000	-0.456	-0.137	-0.345
Age → Empathy (a3)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.778	.436	-0.007	0.003	-0.059
Age → Reciprocity (a4)	0.003 (0.004)	0.832	.405	-0.004	0.010	0.065
Empathy → Communicate (b1)	-0.096 (0.137)	-0.699	.485	-0.364	0.173	-0.072
Reciprocity → Communicate (b2)	0.028 (0.100)	0.281	.779	-0.168	0.224	0.028
SDO → Communicate (c'1)*	-0.191 (0.091)	-2.102	.036	-0.369	-0.013	-0.219
Age → Communicate (c'2)*	-0.008 (0.004)	-2.071	.038	-0.015	-0.000	-0.168
<b>Indirect effects</b>						
SDO → Empathy → Communicate (a1*b1)	0.030 (0.042)	0.714	.475	-0.052	0.112	0.034
SDO → Reciprocity → Communicate (a2*b2)	-0.008 (0.030)	-0.279	.780	-0.067	0.050	-0.010
<b>Total effects</b>						
SDO → Communicate (c'1) (Controlling Empathy & Reciprocity)	-0.169 (0.088)	-1.933	.053	-0.341	0.002	-0.010
Age → Communicate (c'2)* (Controlling Empathy & Reciprocity)	-0.008 (0.004)	-2.072	.038	-0.015	-0.000	-0.162

*Note.* *b* = unstandardized path coefficient; SE = standard error; *Z* = z-statistic; CI = confidence interval;  $\beta$  = standardized path coefficient;

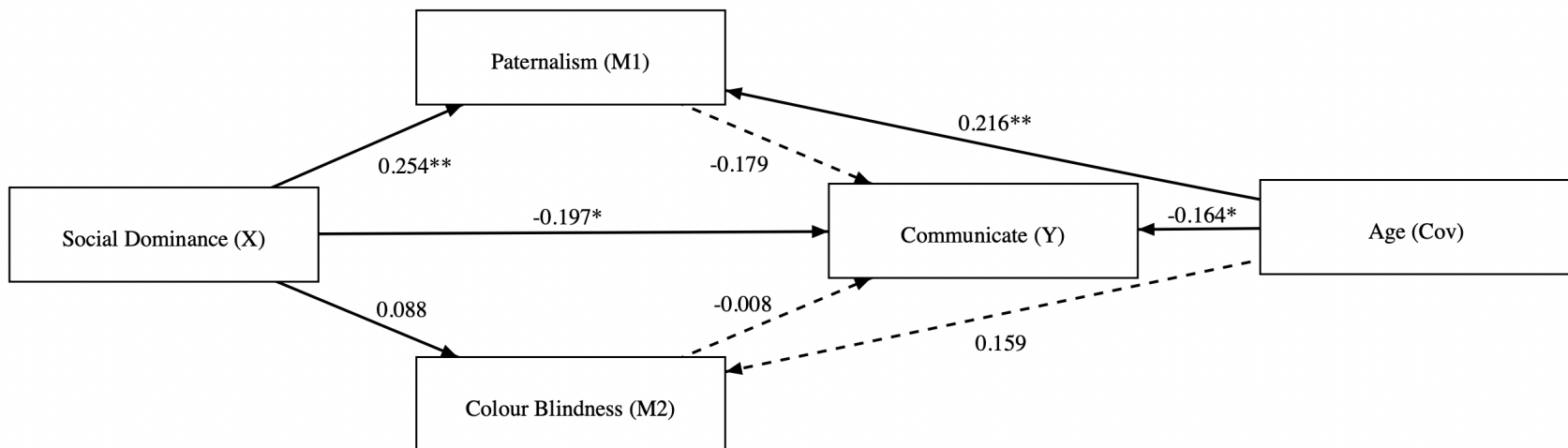
SDO = Social Dominance Orientation; Empathy = Ethnocultural Empathy

\* Indicates  $p < .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .

Path analysis using lavaan 0.6-11 in R ended normally after 45 iterations;  $n = 135$

**Figure 9**

*Path Diagram for Model 2: Social Dominance Orientation → Intention to Communicate  
with Parallel Mediators Paternalism and Colour Blindness*



*Note:* Significant paths are indicated by solid lines, non-significant paths by dashed lines; \* indicates  $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .

Social Dominance = Social Dominance Orientation; X = Exogenous variable; M1 = Mediator 1 (endogenous); M2 = Mediator 2 (endogenous); Y = Endogenous variable; Cov = Covariate

All path estimates are standardized beta coefficients.

**Table 9***Results of Path Analysis of Model 2:**Social Dominance Orientation → Intention to Communicate with Parallel Mediators Paternalism and Colour Blindness*

Path	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>	CI Lower 95%	CI Higher 95%	$\beta$
<b>Direct effects</b>						
SDO → Paternalism (a1)**	0.133 (0.049)	2.707	.007	0.037	0.230	0.254
SDO → Colour Blindness (a2)	0.143 (0.134)	1.063	.288	-0.120	0.406	0.088
Age → Paternalism (a3)**	0.006 (0.002)	2.910	.004	0.002	0.010	0.216
Age → Colour Blindness (a4)	0.014 (0.007)	1.861	.063	-0.001	0.029	0.159
Paternalism → Communicate (b1)	-0.296 (0.156)	-1.898	.058	-0.602	0.010	-0.179
Colour Blindness → Communicate (b2)	-0.004 (0.034)	-0.129	.898	-0.072	0.063	-0.008
SDO → Communicate (c1)	-0.131 (0.092)	-1.424	.155	-0.312	0.049	-0.151
Age → Communicate (c2)	-0.006 (0.004)	-1.550	.121	-0.013	0.002	-0.125
<b>Indirect effects</b>						
SDO → Paternalism → Communicate (a1*b1)	-0.040 (0.027)	-1.454	.146	-0.093	0.014	-0.045
SDO → Colour Blindness → Communicate (a2*b2)	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.126	.900	-0.010	0.009	-0.001
<b>Total effects</b>						
SDO → Communicate (c'1)* (Controlling Paternalism & Colour Blindness)	-0.171 (0.087)	-1.963	.050	-0.343	-0.000	-0.197
Age → Communicate (c'2)* (Controlling Paternalism & Colour Blindness)	-0.008 (0.004)	-2.113	.035	-0.015	-0.001	-0.164

*Note.* *b* = unstandardized path coefficient; SE = standard error; *Z* = z-statistic; CI = confidence interval;  $\beta$  = standardized path coefficient;

SDO = Social Dominance Orientation . \* Indicates  $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .

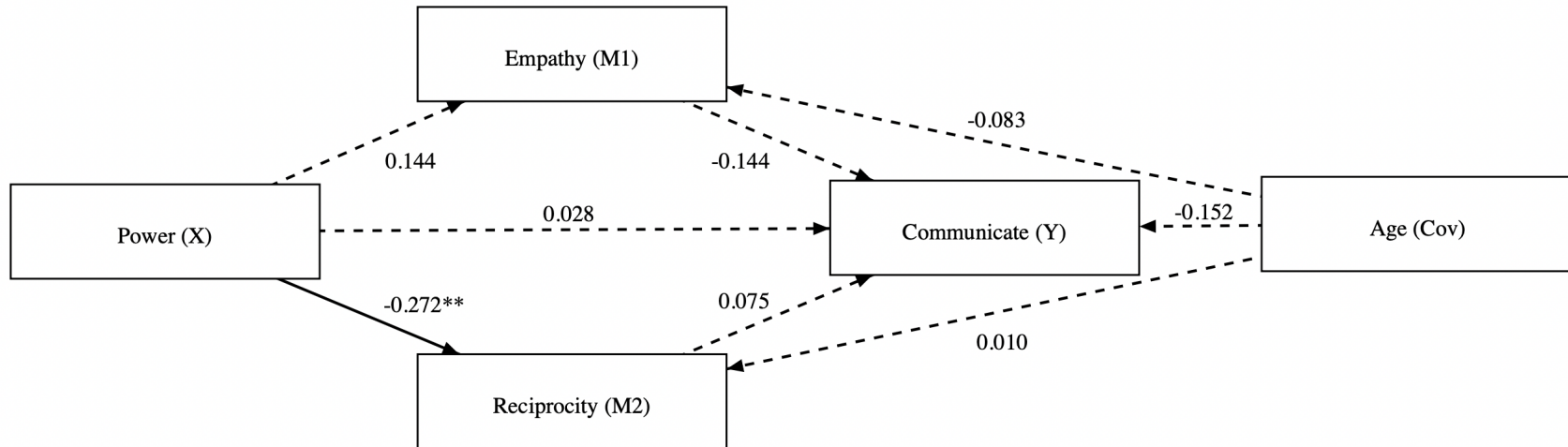
Path analysis using lavaan 0.6-11 in R ended normally after 39 iterations;  $n = 136$

Model 3 (See Figure 10 and Table 10) demonstrated that Power had a significant and negative effect on Reciprocity. The path analysis for Model 3 accounted for 3.3% of the variance in intention to Communicate, 2.2% of Ethnocultural Empathy, and 7.5% of Reciprocity. In Model 4 (See Figure 11 and Table 11), Power had a significant and positive effect on Colour Blindness. Moreover, Paternalism had a significant and negative effect on intention to communicate. Lastly, Power had a significant negative effects on intention to communicate when Paternalism and Colour Blindness were controlled. Model 4's path analysis accounted for 7.5% of the variance in intention to Communicate, 5.1% of Paternalism, and 6.6% of Reciprocity.

Across the path models predicting behavioural intentions to communicate with refugees (See Figures 8–11 and Tables 8–11, respectively), age demonstrated various effects on main study variables. In Model 1, older age had a negative effect on intention to communicate, which remained when the effects of Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity were controlled. In Model 2, older age had a significant and positive effects on Paternalism. Older age also had a negative effect on intention to communicate when the effects of Paternalism and Colour Blindness were controlled. Similarly, in Model 4, older age had a significant and negative effect on both Paternalism and Colour Blindness.

**Figure 10**

*Path Diagram for Model 3: Power → Intention to Communicate with Parallel Mediators Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity*



*Note:* Significant paths are indicated by solid lines, non-significant paths by dashed lines; \* indicates  $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .

Empathy = Ethnocultural Empathy; X = Exogenous variable; M1 = Mediator 1 (endogenous); M2 = Mediator 2 (endogenous); Y = Endogenous variable; Cov = Covariate

All path estimates are standardized beta coefficients.

**Table 10***Results of Path Analysis of Model 3**Power → Intention to Communicate with Parallel Mediators Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity*

Path	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>	CI Lower 95%	CI Higher 95%	$\beta$
<b>Direct effects</b>						
Power → Empathy (a1)	-0.069 (0.038)	-1.806	.071	-0.144	0.006	-0.144
Power → Reciprocity (a2)**	-0.172 (0.050)	-3.459	.001	-0.270	-0.075	-0.272
Age → Empathy (a3)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.942	.346	-0.009	0.003	-0.083
Age → Reciprocity (a4)	0.000 (0.004)	0.128	.898	-0.007	0.008	0.010
Empathy → Communicate (b1)	0.025 (0.130)	0.195	.845	-0.229	0.006	-0.144
Reciprocity → Communicate (b2)	0.076 (0.107)	0.712	.477	-0.133	0.286	0.075
Power → Communicate (c1)	0.033 (0.065)	0.507	.612	-0.094	0.159	0.051
Age → Communicate (c2)	-0.007 (0.004)	-1.853	.064	-0.015	0.000	-0.151
<b>Indirect effects</b>						
Power → Empathy → Communicate (a1*b1)	-0.002 (0.009)	-0.190	0.849	-0.020	0.016	-0.003
Power → Reciprocity → Communicate (a2*b2)	-0.013 (0.019)	-0.694	0.487	-0.050	0.024	-0.020
<b>Total effects</b>						
Power → Communicate (c'1) (Controlling Empathy & Reciprocity)	0.018 (0.064)	0.279	0.780	-0.108	0.143	0.028
Age → Communicate (c'2) (Controlling Empathy & Reciprocity)	-0.007 (0.004)	-1.936	0.053	-0.014	0.000	-0.152

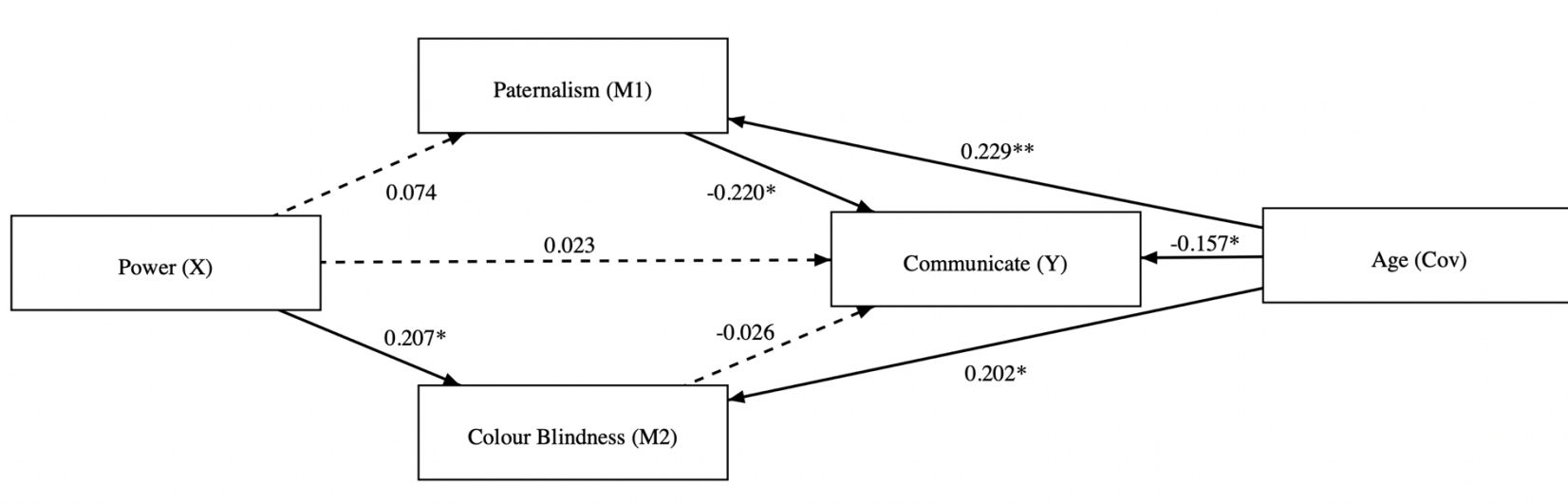
*Note.* *b* = unstandardized path coefficient; SE = standard error; *Z* = z-statistic; CI = confidence interval;  $\beta$  = standardized path coefficient;

Empathy = Ethnocultural Empathy; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .

Path analysis using lavaan 0.6-11 in R ended normally after 47 iterations;  $n = 135$

Figure 11

Path Diagram for Model 4: Power → Intention to Communicate with Parallel Mediators Paternalism and Colour Blindness



Note: Significant paths are indicated by solid lines, non-significant paths by dashed lines; \* indicates  $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ . X = Exogenous variable; M1 = Mediator 1 (endogenous); M2 = Mediator 2 (endogenous); Y = Endogenous variable; Cov = Covariate. All path estimates are standardized beta coefficients.

**Table 11***Results of Path Analysis of Model 4:**Power → Intention to Communicate with Parallel Mediators Paternalism and Colour Blindness*

Path	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>	CI Lower 95%	CI Higher 95%	$\beta$
<b>Direct effects</b>						
Power → Paternalism (a1)	0.029 (0.038)	0.753	.452	-0.046	0.104	0.074
Power → Colour Blindness (a2)*	0.249 (0.125)	1.991	.046	0.004	0.494	0.207
Age → Paternalism (a3)**	0.006 (0.002)	2.839	.005	0.002	0.011	0.229
Age → Colour Blindness (a4)*	0.018 (0.008)	2.200	.028	0.002	0.033	0.202
Paternalism → Communicate (b1)*	-0.365 (0.152)	-2.393	.017	-0.664	-0.066	-0.220
Colour Blindness → Communicate (b2)	-0.014 (0.036)	-0.379	.704	-0.085	0.058	-0.026
Power → Communicate (c1)	0.029 (0.066)	0.437	.662	-0.100	0.157	0.045
Age → Communicate (c2)	-0.005 (0.004)	-1.258	.209	-0.012	0.003	-0.102
<b>Indirect effects</b>						
Power → Paternalism → Communicate (a1*b1)	-0.011 (0.016)	0.663	0.507	-0.042	0.021	-0.016
Power → Colour Blindness → Communicate (a2*b2)	-0.003 (0.009)	-0.366	0.714	-0.022	0.015	-0.005
<b>Total effects</b>						
Power → Communicate (c'1) (Controlling Paternalism & Colour Blindness)	0.015 (0.064)	0.231	0.817	-0.110	0.139	0.023
Age → Communicate (c'2)* (Controlling Paternalism & Colour Blindness)	-0.007 (0.004)	-2.010	0.044	-0.015	-0.000	-0.157

*Note.* *b* = unstandardized path coefficient; SE = standard error; *Z* = z-statistic; CI = confidence interval;  $\beta$  = standardized path coefficient

\* Indicates  $p < .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .

Path analysis using lavaan 0.6-11 in R ended normally after 39 iterations;  $n = 136$

### **Path Models Predicting Behavioural Intentions towards Autonomy Support.**

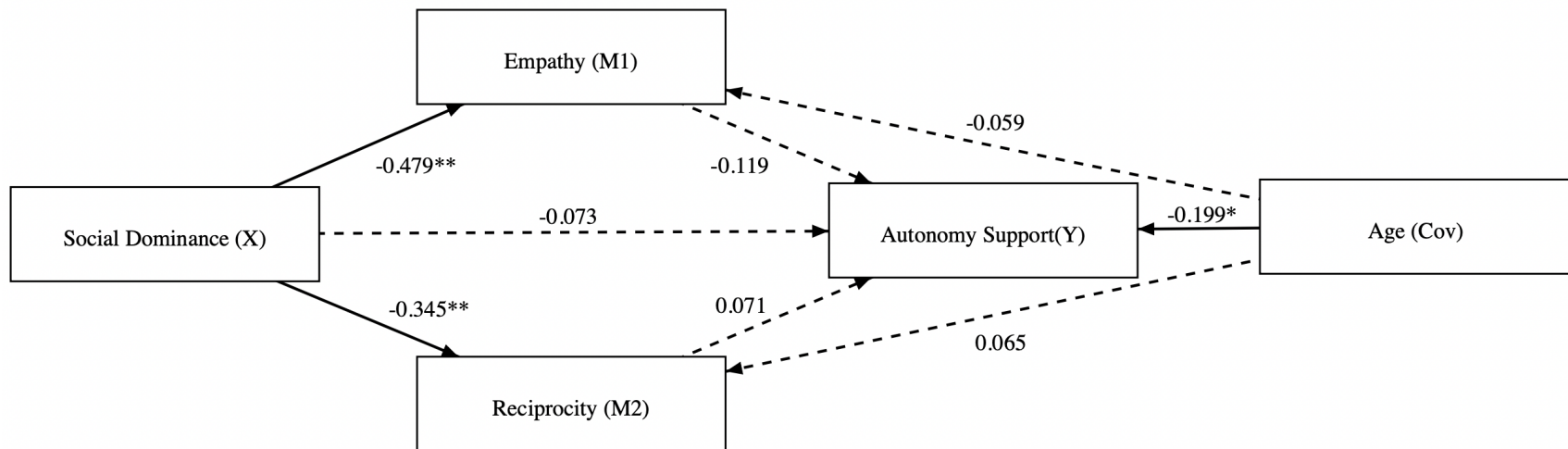
Overall, the values and attitudes did not significantly predict Autonomy Support intentions. Relations among the values and attitudes were similar to what was reported above. Consistent with Model 1, Model 5 (See Figure 12 and Table 12) demonstrated that Social Dominance Orientation had a significant and negative effect on Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity. The path analysis for Model 5 accounted for 5.5% of the variance the behavioural intention of Autonomy Support, 23.2% of Ethnocultural Empathy, and 12.4% of Reciprocity. In Model 6 (See Figure 13 and Table 12), consistent with Model 2, Social Dominance Orientation had significant and positive effects on Paternalism. Path analysis in Model 5 account for 5.4% of the variance in Autonomy Support, 11% of Paternalism, and 3.3% of Colour Blindness.

In Model 7 (See Figure 14 and Table 14), consistent with Model 2, Power had a significant and negative effect on Reciprocity. Path analysis in Model 7 account for 5.2% of Autonomy Support, 2.2% of Ethnocultural Empathy, and 7.5% of Reciprocity. Lastly, in Model 8 (See Figure 15 and Table 15), Power had a significant and positive effect on Colour Blindness. The path analysis of Model 8 accounted for 5.6% of the variance in Autonomy Support, 5.1% of Paternalism, and 6.6% of Colour Blindness.

Across the path models predicting behavioural intentions to support the autonomy of refugees (See Figures 12 – 15 and Tables 12 – 15, respectively), age demonstrated various effects on main study variables. Increased age significantly predicted lower levels of Autonomy Support across all models (Model's 5 – 8), which remained significant after the effects of attitudes (i.e., Ethnocultural Empathy, Reciprocity, Paternalism, Colour Blindness) were accounted for. In Model's 6 and 8, older age had significant and positive effects on Paternalism. Moreover, in Model 8, older age had a significant and positive effect on Colour Blindness.

**Figure 12**

*Path Diagram for Model 5: Social Dominance Orientation → Intention to Support Refugee Autonomy  
with Parallel Mediators Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity*



*Note:* Significant paths are indicated by solid lines, non-significant paths by dashed lines; \* indicates  $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .  
Social Dominance = Social Dominance Orientation; Empathy = Ethnocultural Empathy; X = Exogenous variable; M1 = Mediator 1 (endogenous); M2 = Mediator 2 (endogenous); Y = Endogenous variable; Cov = Covariate  
All path estimates are standardized beta coefficients.

**Table 12**

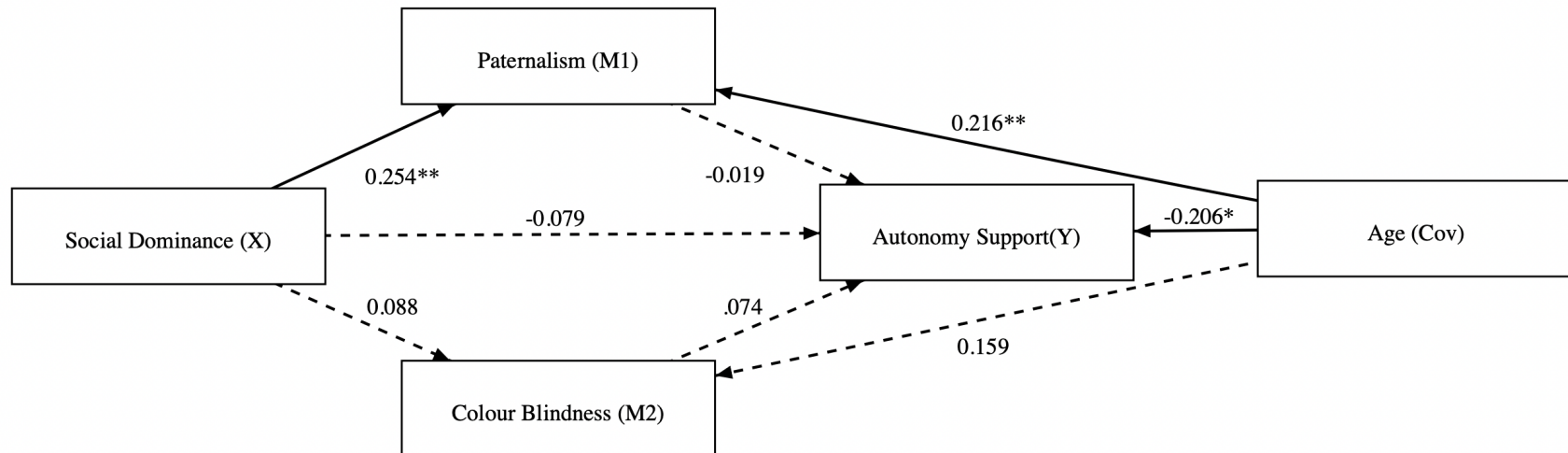
*Results of Path Analysis of Model 5: Social Dominance Orientation → Intention to Support Refugee Autonomy  
with Parallel Mediators Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity*

Path	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>	CI Lower 95%	CI Higher 95%	$\beta$
<b>Direct effects</b>						
SDO → Empathy (a1)**	-0.312 (0.050)	-6.238	.000	-0.214	-0.312	-0.479
SDO → Reciprocity (a2)**	-0.297 (0.081)	-3.649	.000	-0.456	-0.137	-0.345
Age → Empathy (a3)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.778	.436	-0.007	0.003	-0.059
Age → Reciprocity (a4)	0.003 (0.004)	0.832	.405	-0.004	0.010	0.065
Empathy → Autonomy Support (b1)	-0.299 (0.235)	-1.270	.204	-0.759	0.162	-0.119
Reciprocity → Autonomy Support (b2)	0.135 (0.161)	0.838	.402	-0.181	0.451	0.071
SDO → Autonomy Support (c1)	-0.171 (0.164)	-1.042	.298	-0.494	0.151	-0.105
Age → Autonomy Support (c2)*	-0.018 (0.008)	-2.330	.020	-0.034	-0.003	-0.210
<b>Indirect effects</b>						
SDO → Empathy → Autonomy Support (a1*b1)	0.093 (0.073)	1.270	.204	-0.051	0.237	0.057
SDO → Reciprocity → Autonomy Support (a2*b2)	-0.040 (0.049)	-0.815	.415	-0.136	0.056	-0.025
<b>Total effects</b>						
SDO → Autonomy Support (c'1) (Controlling Empathy & Reciprocity)	-0.118 (0.139)	-0.854	.393	-0.390	0.153	-0.073
Age → Autonomy Support (c'2)* (Controlling Empathy & Reciprocity)	-0.017 (0.008)	-2.234	.025	-0.033	-0.002	-0.199

*Note.* *b* = unstandardized path coefficient; SE = standard error; *Z* = z-statistic; CI = confidence interval;  $\beta$  = standardized path coefficient; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation ; Empathy = Ethnocultural Empathy; \* Indicates  $p < .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ . Path analysis using lavaan 0.6-11 in R ended normally after 48 iterations;  $n = 135$

**Figure 13**

*Path Diagram for Model 6: Social Dominance Orientation → Intention to Support Refugee Autonomy  
with Parallel Mediators Paternalism and Colour Blindness*



*Note:* Significant paths are indicated by solid lines, non-significant paths by dashed lines; \* indicates  $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .

Social Dominance = Social Dominance Orientation; X = Exogenous variable; M1 = Mediator 1 (endogenous); M2 = Mediator 2 (endogenous); Y = Endogenous variable; Cov = Covariate

All path estimates are standardized beta coefficients.

**Table 13**

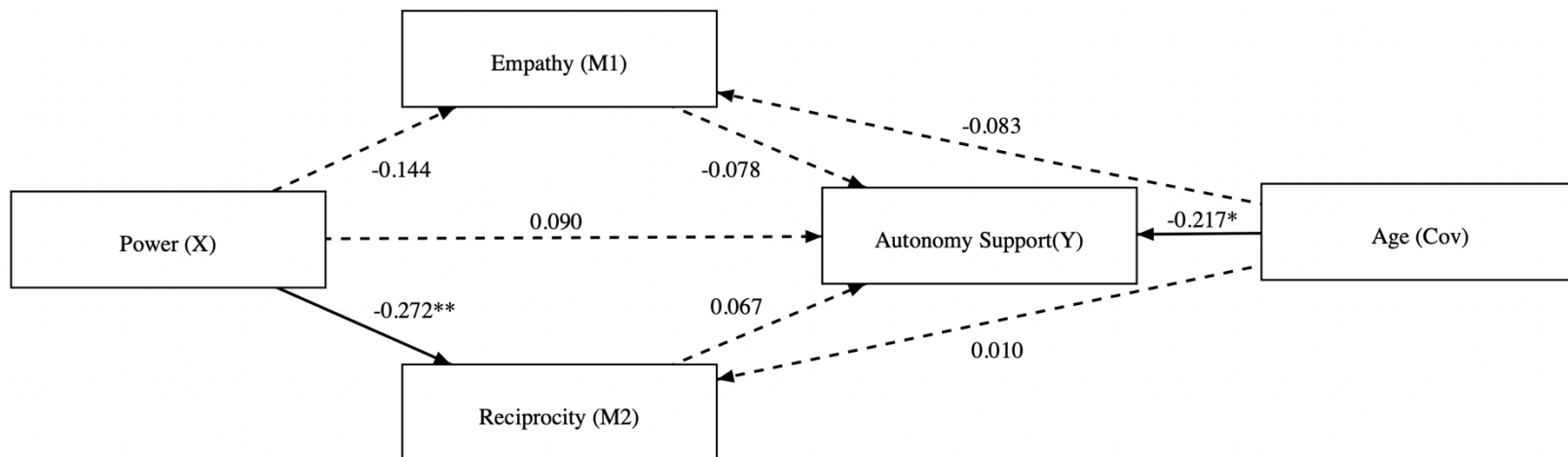
*Results of Path Analysis of Model 6: Social Dominance Orientation → Intention to Support Refugee Autonomy  
with Parallel Mediators Paternalism and Colour Blindness*

Path	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>	CI Lower 95%	CI Higher 95%	$\beta$
<b>Direct effects</b>						
SDO → Paternalism (a1)**	0.133 (0.049)	2.707	.007	-0.551	0.230	0.254
SDO → Colour Blindness (a2)	0.143 (0.134)	1.063	.288	-0.120	0.406	0.088
Age → Paternalism (a3)**	0.006 (0.002)	2.910	.004	0.002	0.010	0.216
Age → Colour Blindness (a4)	0.014 (0.007)	1.861	.063	-0.001	0.029	0.159
Paternalism → Autonomy Support (b1)	-0.058 (0.251)	-0.232	.817	-0.551	0.434	-0.019
Colour Blindness → Autonomy Support (b2)	-0.074 (0.087)	-0.857	.391	-0.245	0.096	-0.074
SDO → Autonomy Support (c1)	-0.112 (0.139)	-0.807	.420	-0.384	0.160	-0.068
Age → Autonomy Support (c2)*	-0.017 (0.008)	-2.162	.031	-0.032	-0.002	-0.190
<b>Indirect effects</b>						
SDO → Paternalism → Autonomy Support (a1*b1)	-0.008 (0.034)	-0.228	.820	-0.075	0.059	-0.005
SDO → Colour Blindness → Autonomy Support (a2*b2)	-0.011 (0.016)	-0.655	.512	-0.042	0.021	-0.006
<b>Total effects</b>						
SDO → Autonomy Support (c'1) (Controlling Paternalism & Colour Blindness)	-0.130 (0.138)	-0.942	.346	-0.401	0.141	-0.079
Age → Autonomy Support (c'2)* (Controlling Paternalism & Colour Blindness)	-0.018 (0.008)	-2.334	.020	-0.033	-0.003	-0.206

*Note.* *b* = unstandardized path coefficient; SE = standard error; *Z* = z-statistic; CI = confidence interval;  $\beta$  = standardized path coefficient; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation. \* Indicates  $p < .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ . Path analysis using lavaan 0.6-11 in R ended normally after 38 iterations;  $n = 136$

**Figure 14**

*Path Diagram for Model 7: Power → Intention to Support Refugee Autonomy  
with Parallel Mediators Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity*



*Note:* Significant paths are indicated by solid lines, non-significant paths by dashed lines; \* indicates  $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .  
Empathy = Ethnocultural Empathy; X = Exogenous variable; M1 = Mediator 1 (endogenous); M2 = Mediator 2 (endogenous); Y = Endogenous variable;  
Cov = Covariate  
All path estimates are standardized beta coefficients.

**Table 14**

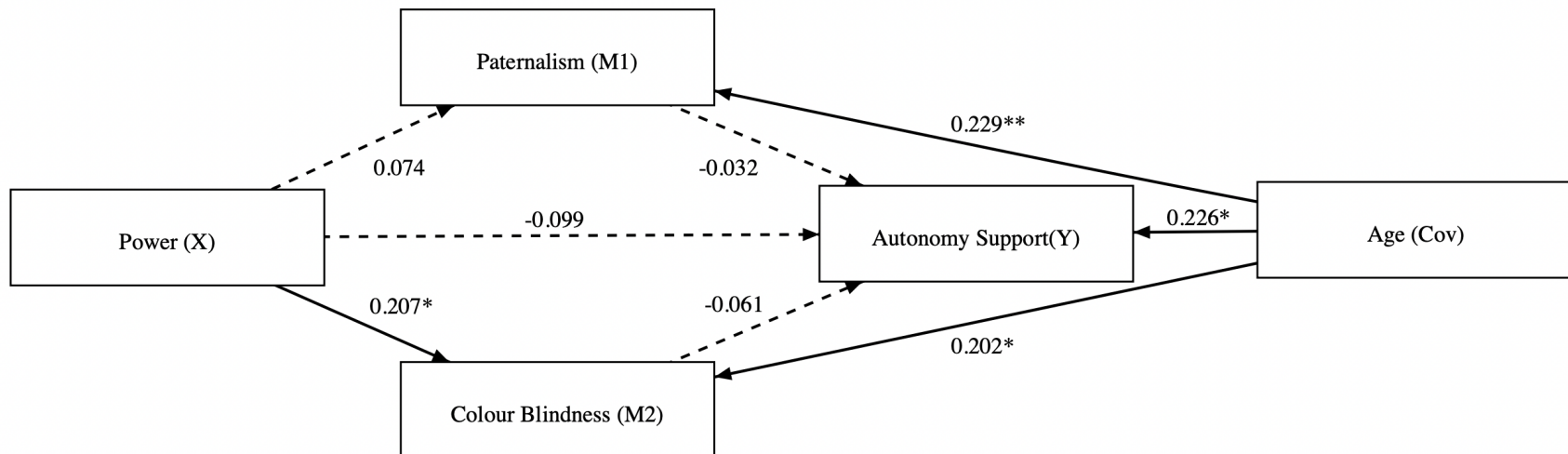
*Results of Path Analysis of Model 7: Power → Intention to Support Refugee Autonomy  
with Parallel Mediators Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity*

Path	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>	CI Lower 95%	CI Higher 95%	$\beta$
<b>Direct effects</b>						
Power → Empathy (a1)	-0.069 (0.038)	-1.806	.071	-0.144	0.006	-0.144
Power → Reciprocity (a2)**	-0.172 (0.050)	-3.459	.001	-0.270	-0.075	-0.272
Age → Empathy (a3)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.942	.346	-0.009	0.003	-0.083
Age → Reciprocity (a4)	0.000 (0.004)	0.128	.898	-0.007	0.008	0.010
Empathy → Autonomy Support (b1)	-0.196 (0.206)	-0.949	.342	-0.600	0.208	-0.078
Reciprocity → Autonomy Support (b2)	0.127 (0.173)	0.735	.462	-0.212	0.467	0.067
Power → Autonomy Support (c1)	-0.099 (0.119)	-0.836	.403	-0.332	0.134	-0.083
Age → Autonomy Support (c2)*	-0.020 (0.008)	-2.464	.014	-0.035	-0.004	-0.224
<b>Indirect effects</b>						
Power → Empathy → Autonomy Support (a1*b1)	0.013 (0.016)	0.840	.401	-0.018	0.045	0.011
Power → Reciprocity → Autonomy Support (a2*b2)	-0.022 (0.030)	-0.739	.460	-0.080	0.036	-0.018
<b>Total effects</b>						
Power → Autonomy Support (c'1) (Controlling Empathy & Reciprocity)	-0.108 0.111	-0.973	.331	-0.325	0.109	-0.090
Age → Autonomy Support (c'2)* (Controlling Empathy & Reciprocity)	-0.019 0.008	-2.423	.015	-0.035	-0.004	-0.217

*Note.* *b* = unstandardized path coefficient; SE = standard error; *Z* = z-statistic; CI = confidence interval;  $\beta$  = standardized path coefficient; Empathy = Ethnocultural Empathy. \* Indicates  $p < .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ . Path analysis using lavaan 0.6-11 in R ended normally after 46 iterations;  $n = 135$

**Figure 15**

*Path Diagram for Model 8: Power → Intention to Support Refugee Autonomy  
with Parallel Mediators Paternalism and Colour Blindness*



*Note:* Significant paths are indicated by solid lines, non-significant paths by dashed lines; \* indicates  $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ . X = Exogenous variable; M1 = Mediator 1 (endogenous); M2 = Mediator 2 (endogenous); Y = Endogenous variable; Cov = Covariate. All path estimates are standardized beta coefficients.

**Table 15**

*Results of Path Analysis of Model 8: Power → Intention to Support Refugee Autonomy  
with Parallel Mediators Paternalism and Colour Blindness*

Path	<i>b</i> (SE)		<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>	CI Lower 95%	CI Higher 95%	$\beta$
<b>Direct effects</b>							
Power → Paternalism (a1)	0.029 (0.038)		0.753	.452	-0.046	0.104	0.074
Power → Colour Blindness (a2)*	0.249 (0.125)		1.991	.046	0.004	0.494	0.207
Age → Paternalism (a3)**	0.006 (0.002)		2.839	.005	0.002	0.011	0.229
Age → Colour Blindness (a4)*	0.018 (0.008)		2.200	.028	0.002	0.033	0.202
Paternalism → Autonomy Support (b1)	-0.100 (0.252)		-0.399	.690	-0.593	0.393	-0.032
Colour Blindness → Autonomy Support (b2)	-0.062 (0.084)		-0.738	.690	-0.226	0.102	-0.061
Power → Autonomy Support (c1)	-0.101 (0.109)		-0.926	.355	-0.315	0.113	-0.084
Age → Autonomy Support (c2)*	-0.018 (0.008)		-2.303	.021	-0.034	-0.003	-0.206
<b>Indirect effects</b>							
Power → Paternalism → Autonomy Support (a1*b1)	-0.003	0.008	-0.357	.721	-0.019	0.013	-0.002
Power → Colour Blindness → Autonomy Support (a2*b2)	-0.015	0.024	-0.633	.527	-0.063	0.032	-0.013
<b>Total effects</b>							
Power → Autonomy Support (c'1) (Controlling Paternalism & Colour Blindness)	-0.119	0.110	-1.083	.279	-0.336	0.097	-0.099
Age → Autonomy Support (c'2)* (Controlling Paternalism & Colour Blindness)	-0.020	0.008	-2.551	.011	-0.035	-0.005	-0.226

*Note.* *b* = unstandardized path coefficient; SE = standard error; *Z* = z-statistic; CI = confidence interval;  $\beta$  = standardized path coefficient

\* Indicates  $p < .05$ ; \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .

Path analysis using lavaan 0.6-11 in R ended normally after 37 iterations;  $n = 136$

**Summary of Path Model Results.** Across all models, higher Social Dominance Orientation was associated with lower attitudes of Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity and higher attitudes of Paternalism. Furthermore, higher Power values predicted lower attitudes of Reciprocity and higher attitudes of Colour Blindness. The covariate of increasing age consistently predicted higher attitudes of Paternalism and Colour Blindness, along with decreased behavioural intentions of Autonomy Support. In one model, older age predicted a decreased intention to communicate with refugees regarding decision-making.

In line with my hypotheses, results demonstrated that the attitudes of Paternalism and Colour Blindness were associated with detrimental values (i.e., Social Dominance Orientation, Power) and behavioural intentions (i.e., lower intentions to communicate with refugees and support their autonomy). In contrast, Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity were not associated with the facilitative behavioural intentions to communicate with refugees and support their autonomy. Higher Social Dominance Orientation was associated with lower Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity. Similarly, higher Power was associated with lower Reciprocity. Due to extreme normality violations, the value of Social Justice Orientation was not used in path analysis. However, this value did demonstrate significant positive correlations with the attitudes of Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity, demonstrating a general pattern of presumably facilitative variables being associated with one another.

Across the path models, effect size represented the proportion of variance in an endogenous variable that was explained by the exogenous variable. In other words, the effect size was calculated using  $r^2$  (coefficient of determination) as a measure of association between the study variables. Effect sizes ranged from approximately 3% to 23%, which, based on conventional standards of  $r^2$ , equates to small effects (small 4%, medium 25%; Sullivan & Feinn;

2012). Predicting human behaviour is challenging, and thus effect sizes in psychology tend to be lower than in other fields of study (Kelley & Preacher, 2012). Post hoc power analyses with the sample size indicate that the study could reliability detect an effect size of .23 or greater.

Although effect sizes in the current study were small, they still provide areas that may be of substantive significance to the well-being of refugees and the overall PSR Program (Kelly & Preacher, 2012). Thus, my findings should be interpreted cautiously and await replication and expansion of empirical research on private sponsors. Implications of the findings and future directions for research will be discussed next.

## Discussion

My research revealed the ample successes and ongoing challenges in the Canadian PSR Program. The qualitative results revealed a range of approaches private sponsors take toward their relationships with refugees and their responsibilities as sponsors. Private sponsor responses reflected the range already discussed in the literature – from reciprocal to paternalistic (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Kyriakides et al., 2018, Haugen et al., 2020). Moreover, quantitative findings demonstrated autonomy supporting and autonomy restricting approaches to private sponsorship. Across findings, private sponsors shared perspectives that can be captured within the overarching conditions of Intergroup Contact Theory: equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support of authorities (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). When attained, these four conditions are theorized to promote positive relationships among people with different backgrounds, such as refugees and private sponsors. However, when the conditions of Intergroup Contact Theory are not attained, power inequities between groups can be exacerbated and lead to one-sided decision-making (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). Applying Intergroup Contact Theory to the PSR Program highlights best practices and provides a framework for understanding what is working well and what areas of challenge need attention and revision. I will situate my findings regarding autonomy supporting and autonomy restricting approaches to private sponsorship within the four conditions of Intergroup Contact Theory.

### **Autonomy Supporting Approaches to Private Sponsorship**

Autonomy supporting approaches to private sponsorships encompassed the Intergroup Contact Theory conditions of equal status, common goals, and intergroup cooperation. Findings from the current study highlight the qualities associated with sponsors who approach their role with autonomy supportive intentions, such as the attitudes of Ethnocultural Empathy and

Reciprocity. Empathy and reciprocity are consistently related in the literature (Finset & Ørnes, 2017; Fong, 2007), with recent experimental research indicating that the link between empathy and reciprocity may be accounted for by an individual's reputation of being prosocial (von Bieberstein et al., 2021). My findings demonstrate how autonomy support unfolds in sponsor relationships and suggest that although unequal privilege is inherent to sponsorship, it may be mitigated when private sponsors approach relationships with refugees with a goal of reciprocity. In responses that demonstrated reciprocity, private sponsors recognized that refugees have knowledge to share and contribute. When private sponsors engaged in "two-way learning" opportunities through equal exchanges with refugees, they facilitated the equal status condition of Intergroup Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). Mutual gains and reciprocity challenge the notion that refugees are the one-sided benefactors of private sponsorship.

The attitude of Reciprocity was also investigated as part of the quantitative analyses. The attitude of Reciprocity demonstrated significant and positive correlations with Social Justice values and Ethnocultural Empathy attitudes. Higher reciprocity also was significantly associated with lower Social Dominance and Power values. Moreover, quantitative responses categorized as reciprocal were consistent with the mutualistic strategy used by private sponsors in Haugen and colleagues' study (2020). Consistent with Haugen and colleagues' findings, my findings suggest that reciprocity attitudes and behavioral intentions create a welcoming environment for refugees to "become Canadians" while maintaining their dignity and safety (p. 560).

In line with the conditions of common goals and intergroup cooperation in Intergroup Contact Theory, private sponsors shared how they would assist refugees in attaining their goals over time. Collaboration represented relationships between refugees and sponsors where sponsors assist refugees in attaining the tasks refugees deem important or want to accomplish.

The attainment of common goals was often limited by available sponsorship funds (discussed below in the Financial Constraints section). Across responses, private sponsors shared various creative methods for collaborating with refugees to attain their goals (e.g., seeking car donations, teaching refugees how to purchase used furniture online, raising additional funds). To illustrate, in response to the vehicle vignette, many private sponsors detailed their intentions to work alongside refugees to help them learn to drive, attain a driver's licence, purchase insurance, and save for a vehicle and maintenance costs. When private sponsors collaborate with refugees to accomplish refugees' goals, private sponsors are supporting refugees' rights to autonomy.

### **Autonomy Restricting Approaches to Private Sponsorship**

Findings from the current study demonstrated that the embedded power differentials of the PSR Program can restrict the autonomy of sponsored refugees. When power differentials go unchecked, the condition of equal status in Intergroup Contact cannot be attained (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). Some private sponsors enacted unequal power relationships by excluding refugees from decisions impacting their lives, gatekeeping needs, and restricting delegation of resettlement funds. In qualitative responses, some private sponsors expressed that they would not assist refugees in obtaining different furniture or a vehicle if they deemed the request a want and not a need (i.e., Gatekeeping). Further, the more private sponsors valued Power, the less they endorsed attitudes of Reciprocity towards refugees. When unequal status occurs between groups, the Intergroup Contact Theory conditions of achieving common goals and intergroup cooperation become increasingly challenging to attain (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). Sponsors who restrict the autonomy of refugees do not treat refugees as equals, which can lead to the sponsor's goals for resettlement being prioritized, along with sponsors requiring compliance instead of collaboration. My findings support Magee's (2020) literature review that when power

discrepancies exist, the goals of the higher power individual are prioritized over the individual with less power.

The value of Power also predicted private sponsors' behavioural intentions to communicate and support the autonomy of refugees. Higher levels of Power were associated with lower attitudes of Reciprocity and higher attitudes of Colour Blindness. Quantitative Power results were echoed in the written responses of private sponsors. Since refugees do not have an alternative course of action (i.e., returning to their home country), some participants expected refugees to gratefully accept all choices and actions decided on by the private sponsorship group. Unilateral decision-making of private sponsorship groups reflects the unequal power dynamic in refugee-sponsor relationships. Private sponsors' qualitative responses further support that the condition of equal status in Intergroup Contact Theory is not attained in all private sponsorships (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). In response to the vignettes of common resettlement situations, private sponsors varied in the degree that they involved refugees in the decision-making process. Further, these sponsors discounted refugees' knowledge from lived experiences and missed out on two-way learning opportunities. Refugee families may be new to Canada, but they are the foremost experts on their families and what they need.

In line with the equal status condition in Intergroup Contact Theory, private sponsors who endorsed higher Social Dominance values reported lower attitudes of Ethnocultural Empathy and Reciprocity and higher attitudes of Paternalism. Written responses also reflected Paternalism. Private sponsors expected refugees to express unwavering gratitude and appreciation for their resettlement efforts. Consistent with Haugen and colleagues' findings (2020), some private sponsors expressed condescension toward refugees' cultures and treated refugees as blank slates to alter and change into the types of Canadians they deem fit. When

private sponsors approach relationships unequally, refugees are expected to adapt to Canadian culture and abandon their heritage culture. One-sided adaptation is assimilation (Berry, 1997) and directly opposes the mutualistic ideals the PSR Program is based on (GC, 2020d).

### **Drivers of Autonomy Supporting and Restricting Approaches to Private Sponsorship**

My findings demonstrated that there are additional factors beyond values and attitudes that appear to influence how private sponsors approach their relationships with refugees. The three drivers were financial constraints, age of sponsors, and sponsorship group process.

#### ***Financial Constraints***

A salient concern and stressor for private sponsors in the current study was the availability, management, and delegation of funds throughout the sponsorship year. Sponsors report that providing support within the government-recommended Resettlement Assistance Program rates results in a lean budget with little to no room for deviations (RSTP, 2022). A frequent strategy reported by private sponsors to circumvent budget constraints was accepting in-kind donations or supplemental funding from individual sponsors (e.g., furniture, vehicles). These findings suggest that sponsorship funds are largely inadequate to fund necessary and additional costs for refugee resettlement in Canada. Moreover, my research demonstrated that the limited sponsorship funds contributed to disagreements within sponsorship groups. I found that when group members disagreed on how to allocate sponsorship funds, some sponsors donated personal funds or embarked on solitary tasks to attain additional funding, which contributed to rifts, dissent, and sponsors leaving sponsorship groups. As conveyed in Intergroup Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021), when sponsorship groups do not work towards a shared goal, sponsors' ability to cooperate within their sponsorship group in order to support refugees is impeded.

Different sponsorship groups varied in the level of access they granted refugees to sponsorship funds. Some sponsorship groups transferred the management of funds to refugees as soon as possible, while others maintained heavy-handed financial management throughout the resettlement agreement. A large portion of sponsorship groups operated somewhere in between the two extremes. As demonstrated in the qualitative theme of gatekeeping refugee needs, some private sponsors used their position of power to determine when refugees could access sponsorship funds. In other words, if private sponsors deemed a request to be a need, they would assist, but if they deemed the request to be a want, they would not. These findings corroborate previous research by Haugen and colleagues (2020), where some sponsors withdrew assistance as a means of discipline in response to refugees not abiding by sponsors' wishes.

Limiting a person's agency by exerting power and control over them through restricting capital is economic abuse (Adams et al., 2008; Postmus et al., 2012). Economic abuse is a tactic of the perpetrator that restricts another's agency to leave the abusive situation. Typically, economic abuse is explored within Intimate Partner Violence, however this abuse can be present in other non-intimate relationships, such as the relationship between private sponsors and refugees. Certain researchers have critiqued the sheer range of private sponsorship duties and have strongly recommended that sponsors be stripped of managing the financial needs of newcomers (Lim, 2019). Instead, Lim (2019) recommends that funds raised by private sponsors be placed in bank accounts accessible to refugees to effectively disentangle monetary control from the relationships between private sponsors and refugees. In alignment with this statement, a sponsor in our sample shared how maintaining an "arm's length relationship regarding money" allowed their group to diminished power imbalances between sponsors and refugees. Overall, the findings demonstrate that the management and allocation of sponsorship funds is a source of

stress for private sponsors, and is an area that exacerbates pre-existing power differentials, and ultimately creates opportunities for economic abuse to arise in sponsorship.

Some private sponsors believed their role is to restrict refugees' access to funds and role model responsible budgeting. Private sponsors in previous research have reiterated the importance of refugees learning budgeting skills and living within their means (Haugen et al., 2020; Lenard, 2019). Other private sponsors in my study were concerned that refugees would require support through social assistance programs after sponsorship. These private sponsors shared that it can feel like a failure on the part of the sponsorship group if refugees rely on social assistance following sponsorship. These sponsors felt as though their role was to ensure refugees can independently support themselves. However, the same sponsors also acknowledged that refugees living on social assistance in Canada are likely far better off than if they remained in refugee camps or the heritage countries they fled. Incidentally, following the completion of the current study's data collection, Resettlement Assistance Program rates were raised to parity with social assistance stipends (RSTP, 2022). Thus, sponsors' fears of refugees' reliance on social assistance are partially unfounded. Refugees are *already* living on the financial equivalent of social assistance when sponsorship groups provide funding on par with the government resettlement rates. Although encouraging refugees to live within the means appears to be a worthy resettlement goal, the Resettlement Assistance Program rates used in the PSR Program do not appear to be realistic for refugees to establish a new beginning in Canada.

Refugees can supplement the sponsorship funds by gaining employment in Canada. For instance, 67% of private sponsors in the current study reported assisting refugees in their employment journey (e.g., resume assistance, interview preparation). Nevertheless, non-recognized credentials, resettlement stress, language capacity requirements, and trauma

processing can delay entry into the workforce (Agic et al., 2016; Beiser, 2003; Beiser, 2009; Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Guruge & Butt, 2015; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2017; Pottie et al., 2015). The stark reality is that many refugees live in poverty (Beiser & Ho, 2016; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019).

### *Age of Private Sponsors*

Another driver of restricting approaches to private sponsorship appears to be sponsor's age. My findings demonstrated that increased private sponsor age was associated with higher levels of Paternalistic and Colour Blind attitudes and lower behavioural intentions regarding Communication and Autonomy Support of refugees. In contrast, previous findings have demonstrated that older adults (compared to middle-aged and younger adults) endorsed higher levels of empathy and participated in more prosocial behaviour (Sze et al., 2012). On average, private sponsors in the current study *strongly agreed* with the value of Social Justice and the attitude of Reciprocity. Moreover, sponsors *agreed* that the items endorsing Ethnocultural Empathy accurately described them. However, age of private sponsors was not associated with empathy and prosocial behaviours. Rather, older private sponsors were more likely to report unfavourable attitudes and behavioural intentions.

My findings suggest that older sponsors may unknowingly hold Paternalism and Colour Blindness attitudes. These attitudes often appear supportive, such as trying to help the needy or seeing past a person's ethnicity, but ultimately impede equity by failing to recognize the full complexity of refugees' identities by ignoring or outright denying personal autonomy, racialized experiences, and cultural identity (Sue et al., 2007). Perhaps counterintuitively to private sponsors, Paternalism encourages dependence (Sánchez-Izquierdo et al., 2019) by assuming private sponsors know what is best. Promoting sustained dependence on private sponsors

undermines the capacity of refugees to make their own decisions and adapt to Canadian life following resettlement.

### ***Sponsorship Group Process***

The final driver of autonomy supporting and restricting approaches to private sponsorship was sponsorship group process. Each sponsorship group had norms and established approaches to handling the challenges that arose throughout resettlement. My findings demonstrated commonalities in how private sponsorship groups approached decision-making. Strategies for decision-making typically included group consensus, majority-rules voting, delegated leaders, task-specific roles, obtaining external advice (e.g., settlement agency), and counsel from experienced sponsors. However, private sponsors also highlighted the challenges of making decisions as a sponsorship group. For example, when individual sponsors strongly disagreed with group decisions, they would work towards a set task independently.

Consistent with Kyriakides and colleagues' findings (2018), private sponsors in my study left the sponsorship group altogether in extreme cases of disagreement between sponsorship group members. When private sponsors leave before the completion of the sponsorship agreement, resettlement tasks can be redistributed to remaining group members, presumably leading to less support for refugees. Some private sponsors highlighted that disagreements between group members created friction and lessened overall group cohesion. Of note, private sponsorship groups with a pre-established decision-making process expressed feeling better prepared to handle challenges when they arise.

### **Recommendations for Improvement of the PSR Program**

Private sponsorship blurs the boundaries between professional and personal roles. For instance, in the same week, private sponsors may help newcomers navigate the healthcare system

and organize a playdate for their children. Due to the nuances of this role, private sponsors are constantly operating in the grey area between maintaining boundaries and becoming friends, which likely makes navigating power differentials more challenging. As Mullan (2021) advocates in her decolonization workshops for anti-oppressive practice: it's not about intent; it's about impact. Thus, despite the good intentions private sponsors may have, it is more vital to assess the *impact* of sponsor's values, attitudes, and behavioural intentions in how they approach their relationship with refugees, as power inequalities are inherent to the structure of the PSR Program (Macklin et al., 2021).

All stakeholders involved in resettlement should confront the likelihood that they, similar to everyone living in a White supremacist society, have internalized ideals of systemic racism (Bonds & Inwood, 2016). Historical and contemporary racism does not excuse anyone (including those involved in the PSR Program) from learning and being aware of the biases that can harm marginalized and racialized populations, such as refugees. In line with the sentiments of Williams (2020), I believe that private sponsors are well-intentioned people with strengths and shortcomings (like everyone else) who “will [want] to be informed about the nature of their behavior to better enable them to align their actions with their values.” (p. 42). Suppose private sponsors take the time to uncover the implicit values and attitudes they may unconsciously bring into their relationships with refugees. In that case, they may be able to replace autonomy restricting approaches to private sponsorship with autonomy supporting approaches. Engaging in critical self-reflection may be enough to lower sponsors' values of Social Dominance and Power, along with attitudes of Paternalism and Colour Blindness. Moreover, learning how one's unconscious and unintended actions can negatively impact refugees will likely promote sponsors to engage in behaviours that support and uphold refugee autonomy.

Those involved in sponsorship should welcome and seek out critical feedback. Becoming aware of the shortcoming in the PSR Program is the first step, and the next is to turn towards these challenges— name them—acknowledge them— and then set out to improve them (Moeschberger et al., 2006). The condition support of authorities in Intergroup Contact Theory stipulates that relationships between groups can be strengthened when the two groups recognize an overarching authority (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). In the case of the PSR Program, the overarching authority is the Government of Canada (GC, 2020d). Thus, as private sponsorship is a federal program (GC, 2020d), the Government of Canada should be held accountable for improving the PSR Program, and subsequently, the relationships between refugees and private sponsors. Evidence-based strategies could be adopted to reduce power differentials, diversify sponsorship groups, and promote refugee financial independence. These three areas are discussed next.

### ***Incorporate Evidence-Based Strategies to Lessen Power Differentials***

Fundamentally, the PSR Program is an aspirational humanitarian commitment; thus, all stakeholders should aspire to continually improve refugee sponsorship. Acknowledging shortcomings and learning from past challenges is akin to having a growth mindset. As Reeve (2018) outlined, having a growth mindset is an approach to overcoming negative situations by problem-solving to overcome setbacks. When individuals with growth mindsets face a challenge, they try to learn from past mistakes and setbacks, striving to overcome the challenge with sustained effort. The central idea of having a growth mindset is that there is always something to be learned and improved upon. To illustrate, sponsors with a growth mindset may approach a refugee's struggle to learn a new language by supplementing language learning with additional one-on-one language practice.

Introducing private sponsors to the theory and benefits of growth mindsets could provide sponsors with an approach to address challenges that can arise during resettlement. Growth mindsets have been associated with promising outcomes such as increased motivation to learn, higher achievement, positive attitudes, and increased problem-solving abilities (Lai et al., 2022; Ng, 2018; Reeve, 2018). Applying a growth mindset to private sponsorship would call attention to refugees' autonomy to overcome challenges and achieve their goals (Ng, 2018). A growth mindset conveys that circumstances are not permanent and can be improved upon (Ng, 2018), which is likely an encouraging approach for refugees starting anew in Canada.

Another way to mitigate power differentials in private sponsorship is to ensure refugees have a voice in the decisions that impact their lives. A promotive technique, shared decision-making, could be applied to private sponsorship to help foster reciprocal and collaborative decision-making between sponsors and refugees. Shared decision-making is a technique used in healthcare settings to ensure patients are involved in treatment choices. It arose as a strategy to combat paternalistic approaches to care that are commonplace in medical settings (Alston et al., 2014). As my findings and previous research (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Haugen et al., 2020; Kyriakides et al., 2018) have revealed that some private sponsors are approaching sponsorship with paternalistic attitudes and behaviours, three tenants of shared decision-making that sponsorship groups could incorporate are:

1. Ensuring refugees are well-informed about the options relevant to the decision at hand,
2. Having private sponsors clarify what refugee priorities are, and
3. Directly involve refugees in the process of decision-making.

The use of strategies such as shared decision-making could be a simple check that sponsorship groups could incorporate into decision-making to ensure that sponsors are striving to achieve the

mutualism endorsed in the PSR Program. Haugen and colleagues (2020) argue that all final decisions should rely exclusively upon refugees, with private sponsors providing counsel that can be heeded or respectfully disregarded.

### ***Diversify Private Sponsorship Groups***

Intergroup Contact Theory research posits that attaining equal status is easier for groups with similar characteristics and backgrounds (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2021). Perhaps a strategy to create more opportunities for equal status amongst refugees and private sponsors would be to diversify *who* becomes a private sponsor. In the current study, a quarter of private sponsors were born outside Canada, and only 8% of private sponsors identified as a visible minority, compared to the 25% of the Canadian population that identifies as a visible minority (Statistics Canada, 2022a). Previous studies have demonstrated that some private sponsors endorse a personal or family migration history as a motivating factor in becoming involved in resettlement (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018).

Racial and ethnic matching has been studied extensively in other relationships with unequal power, such as therapist-client and teacher-student relationships (Cabral & Smith, 2011; Horst et al., 2012; Leung et al., 2022; Redding, 2019). Receiving support from another person with a shared background, be it migration status or racial/ethnic identity, can contribute to positive relationship perceptions and motivations to continue the relationship. However, the literature also emphasizes that ethnic matching is not a substitute for cultural competency and awareness training, as power differentials can exist within ethnic groups as well (Horst et al., 2012; Leung et al., 2022). Recruiting private sponsors from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds with personal and familial migration histories could be one strategy to facilitate shared understandings and reciprocal relationships among refugees and sponsors.

A prominent area of discrepancy between the private sponsors in the current study and refugees is age. The average age of refugees arriving in Canada is 29 years old, which is over a decade younger than the average Canadian and thirty years younger than the sponsors in my sample (UNHCR, 2019; Statistics Canada, 2016, Statistics Canada, 2022a). A way to incorporate sponsors closer to the ages of refugees and bolster the combined knowledge of sponsorship groups would be to recruit younger private sponsors into the PSR Program. Although younger private sponsors may not have the means to contribute to sponsorship financially, they could still volunteer their time and effort to resettlement. For example, several participants in the current study detailed assisting refugees with technology as part of their sponsorship role. As younger generations grew up with technology, assisting refugees with online applications, social media, cell phones, and internet plans could be a task uniquely suited to younger private sponsors.

Younger generations in Canada (born after 1996) show the highest volunteer rates of any generation (52%; Statistics Canada, 2021b; Statistics Canada, 2022b). In contrast, older generations volunteer less (32%) but contribute nearly triple the number of volunteer hours. If younger generations are volunteering in high proportions, then why are younger people not engaging in private sponsorship in similar proportions as other age groups? A likely barrier is the time commitment of the PSR Program, which requires support and resettlement assistance for a year. In addition, some private sponsorship groups often wait months and sometimes years for refugees to arrive (CCR, 2017; Fife, 2022), which may not be a feasible wait for young people who may need to relocate for work or school during that time.

Indeed, young Canadians appear to be interested and motivated to engage in private sponsorship as the World University Services Canada's (WUSC) Student Refugee Program currently operates on over a hundred campuses across Canada (WUSC, 2022). The WUSC

Student Refugee Program creates an opportunity for younger people to get involved in refugee sponsorship (Manks, 2020). The WUSC Student Refugee Program operates under the Canadian PSR Program and sponsors refugees who gain entry to Canada through enrollment in a higher education institution. A distinctive feature of the program is the youth-to-youth sponsorship model, which creates an opportunity for relationship development and support amongst similarly-aged Canadian and refugee students. Peer support has demonstrated various benefits for refugees, such as increased feelings of empowerment, greater connection to the community, and improved access to health care and resettlement supports (i.e., cultural brokering) and decreases in social isolation and loneliness (Liamputtong et al., 2016; Paloma et al., 2020; Stewart et al., 2012).

Another significant component of this program is the extensive training that student volunteers receive before sponsorship and the ongoing coaching provided throughout the sponsorship year. For example, student private sponsors are trained on the power dynamics that may arise between themselves and refugees regarding finances and social integration. The WUSC Student Refugee Program is one example of fulfilling Lim's (2019) appeal for private sponsors to receive training on acknowledging power inequalities and learning strategies to manage conflict respectfully. Sponsorship Agreement Holders vary in the level of training they provide to private sponsors. Thirty-four percent of students who completed a sponsorship through the Student Refugee Program continued with the program, and 19% became engaged with refugee sponsorship outside the program (Manks, 2020). Future research on the WUSC Student Refugee Program could investigate the effectiveness of sponsor training and additional ways to engage young people in private sponsorship. Regardless of age, private sponsors should

ideally enter sponsorship without autonomy restricting values and attitudes, or at minimum, be trained to recognize and reduce them.

### ***Promote Refugee Financial Independence***

The current study demonstrated the wide range of approaches sponsorship take in the management and allocation of resettlement funds. Interestingly, the federal Sponsorship Agreement document explicitly states that “where practicable, the refugee should have the responsibility to manage his or her own financial affairs (p. 17, GC, 2018). Therefore, sponsorship groups should follow federal recommendations and ensure that refugees are directly involved in the management of resettlement funds. At a minimum, refugees need to be involved in the decision-making processes regarding finances. Ideally, refugees should be controlling their finances independently with decreasing sponsor oversight as the sponsorship continues.

As inflation reaches a forty-year high for Canadians (CBC News, 2022a), raising the federal Resettlement Assistance Program rates required for sponsorship above the poverty line is a crucial start. As the PSR Program has existed officially since the 1970s, societal changes, such as the increase in the cost of living, need to be accurately reflected and accounted for in the funding guidelines provided to private sponsors. Justifiably, private sponsors in my research and the literature are expressing frustration in facilitating resettlement within the financial constraints of private sponsorship (Haugen et al., 2020; Hyndman et al., 2021; Lenard, 2019). The federal guidelines outlining start-up and ongoing resettlement funds are not realistic for Canada's present-day cost of living. As the current Resettlement Assistance Rates stand, refugees are starting their lives in Canada in abject poverty. The poverty level of resettlement support guarantees that refugees will need more than they are given, setting up a dynamic of inequality and reinforcing dependence on the sponsors or government services when the sponsorship

agreement ends. I recommend that Resettlement Assistance Program rates be altered to reflect the reality of resettlement in Canada. Until then, I recommend that those who sponsor through the PSR Program raise funds beyond the stipulated guidelines to give sponsorship groups more flexibility to adapt (e.g., cover unexpected expenses) and support refugees (e.g., facilitate refugee financial independence) throughout resettlement.

### **Novel Methodological Contributions of the Current Study**

The current study represented a more diverse range of sponsors than previously published studies by sampling from a nationwide population. My sample included sponsors from eight of the 13 provinces and territories participating in the PSR Program. Moreover, this research provided further information regarding how sponsors delegate their time during the resettlement agreement. Four overarching categories were created to capture sponsorship activities: Cultural Brokering, Everyday Needs, Social and Personal Support, and Sponsorship Processes. A noteworthy finding was that many private sponsors engaged in tasks requiring a sense of familiarity and closeness, such as providing childcare, spiritual support, and attending events together as friends. Some private sponsors mentioned that they stayed in touch years after the completion of resettlement in the capacity of friendship. Other sponsors remained in touch because they felt refugees needed ongoing assistance following the official termination of sponsorship. Private sponsors in other studies have also expressed remaining in contact past the resettlement agreement to ensure refugees continue to receive support (Lenard, 2019). Reflective of the timing of this study, private sponsors also outlined tasks related to supporting refugees throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, such as finding locations for refugees to quarantine upon arrival in Canada and dropping off groceries at a safe distance. Overall, private sponsors are

engaging in many more nuanced resettlement tasks beyond what is captured in the federal outlines of the PSR Program (GC, 2019c).

Another novel contribution of this research was the use of vignettes to assess the behavioural intentions of private sponsors. As private sponsorship occurs over a long period of time and takes place across many settings and levels, gaining objective measures of sponsorship behaviours would be challenging and likely unfeasible. The use of vignettes can provide information on the decision-making processes of private sponsors and how they intend to behave, or have behaved in the past, regarding specific resettlement situations. Vignettes can illustrate de-identified situations (i.e., free from defining characteristics of gender, ethnicity, and age), allowing participants to apply their personal lens to the vignette. How participants approach the vignette can provide rich insight for the researcher on how participants interpret situations (Reeve, 2018; Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000). Some private sponsors provided feedback that the vagueness of the vignettes made detailing their decision-making processes challenging. However, from a research perspective, the openness of the vignettes encouraged private sponsors to detail the considerations behind their decision-making process. Ultimately, vignettes allowed for an invaluable glance into the group processes of Canadian private sponsors.

Following the data collection, my research team and I constructed a codebook to create the behavioural intention variables of Communicate and Autonomy Support. The creation of these variables used a combination of qualitative and quantitative data via the method of coding reliability thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2021). The interrater reliability demonstrated excellent agreement for the vehicle vignette and good agreement for the furniture vignette, indicating promising future use of a similar methodology. Although the Autonomy Support variable created from the coding was not associated with the main study variables (potentially

due to social desirability, discussed below), it was significantly associated with private sponsor age, demonstrating the predictive utility of this methodology.

As demonstrated by my findings, there is a continuum of how private sponsors approach their roles with refugees, from equity-striving and collaborative to gatekeeping and paternalistic. Consistently with previous research (Kyriakides et al., 2018; Labman, 2016; Macklin et al., 2018), I found that many, but not all, sponsors uphold and respect refugee autonomy in their communications and actions. The findings from this research may be useful in developing pre-screening, training initiatives, and support for current and future private sponsors. Pre-screening tools could identify sponsors that may enter sponsorship with values, attitudes, and behaviours that could be harmful to refugee agency and well-being.

Pre-screenings are used regularly in the judicial system to filter out jurors who may hold values and attitudes that lead to negative preconceptions towards those on trial (Schuller et al., 2009). Pre-screenings also demonstrate that not all individuals are accurate in estimating their own biases, and how the biases they hold can influence their behaviour (Schuller et al., 2009). As outlined in “the Agreement”, Sponsorship Agreement Holders are required to use due diligence in screening all individuals involved in the resettlement of refugees (GC, 2018). However, each of the 130 Sponsorship Agreement Holders in Canada likely approach pre-screening differently and may vary in their use of evidence-based methods (GC, 2022c). How can key stakeholders in resettlement recruit, attract, or select for private sponsors whose values promote well-being and agency of newcomers?

This research contributes knowledge that can inform the ongoing support and development of the Canadian PSR Program. When sponsorship breakdowns occur, sponsors deemed ‘at fault’ may be required to undergo retraining requirements or be barred from current

and future sponsorship altogether (GC, 2020d, GC, 2018). Structural remedies (e.g., deciding *who* gets to be a sponsor in the first place) are an appropriate response to those who may engage in an abusive manner towards sponsored refugees. However, sponsorship relationships that escalate to dissolution and abuse are rare (GC, 2020d). More likely, individuals enter sponsorship relationships unaware of their implicit assumptions and stereotypes (e.g., refugees are vulnerable and needy). The good news: Implicit biases appear to be amenable to change with ongoing education and intergroup contact (Allport, 1954; Gronholm et al., 2017; Pettigrew, 2021). Lim (2019) called for a reworking of the PSR Program that would mandate private sponsors to undergo training to acknowledge power inequalities and strategies to manage conflict respectfully. Considering my findings, I echo Lim's recommendation and implore overarching sponsorship organizations (e.g., Sponsorship Agreement Holders, faith communities) to provide trainings to current and future sponsors to ensure refugees receive safe and respectful support upon arrival in Canada. In line with the newly released Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy (GC, 2022b), if sponsorship organizations require assistance in providing training, the federal government should facilitate partnerships between equity-seeking groups and sponsorship organizations for enriched training.

### **Challenges of Conducting Research on Private Sponsors**

A persistent challenge of the current study was locating private sponsors for research participation. As private sponsors are regular Canadian citizens who volunteer their time, effort, and money to resettlement, they occupy many different levels of society. Essentially, they are everywhere and nowhere, all at once. Being able to recruit larger samples of private sponsors would allow researchers the capacity to conduct more complex analyses and to compliment the rich qualitative findings in the literature with quantitative findings. Private sponsorship groups

are the ones attaining record-breaking federal promises of resettlement. Yet the same government that maintains a global reputation for resettlement does not collect *any* demographic information on the very sponsors instrumental to the maintenance of the PSR Program (O. Chetelat, personal communication, May 24, 2022).

During the data collection phase of this study, the principal researcher and her supervisor received a number of emails from private sponsors containing questions and feedback regarding the research topic and study design. Some sponsors expressed frustration that the included questions did not pertain to the distinct topics of private sponsorship they wanted the opportunity to discuss. As a response to this, I asked those sponsors to share what types of questions they would like to see in future research projects. Moving forward, I incorporated an open-ended question in the survey where sponsors could add any additional thoughts they would like to share about their sponsorship experience.

In response to this invitation, some sponsors highlighted the duality of private sponsorship as both fulfilling and frustrating. Sponsors shared that encouraging refugees to be autonomous also means allowing them to be responsible for the consequences of their actions, which can be hard to watch and mitigate after the fact. Other sponsors detailed the tensions between respecting cultural traditions of heritage countries while ensuring refugees obey Canadian laws (i.e., corporal punishment of women and children, plural marriages). Further, one private sponsor shared that the first generation of refugees in a family may have difficulty integrating but that future generations in Canada will adapt more easily. Other sponsors shared that private sponsorship was an “overwhelmingly positive” and “meaningful” experience. A way to lessen participant frustration in the future would be to incorporate an advisory council of private sponsors to ensure the questions asked are appropriate and salient to the participants. In

addition, community-based participatory research would be beneficial in mitigating challenges by having built-in checks that ensure stakeholders are receiving the answers that would be useful to them.

In other correspondence with participants, private sponsors were offended by the research questions and felt that critiquing the PSR Program was not a worthy avenue of study. One private sponsor asserted that Canada “is probably the least racist country on earth” and communicated their view that researching autonomy restricting attitudes of private sponsors was a waste of time. Racism has been and continues to be a critical issue in Canada (GC, 2022b; Gulliver, 2018; Kennedy-Dubourdieu, 2017; Richmond, 2001). Racism clearly exists in a country that continues to unearth the graves of murdered Indigenous children, and where in January of 2022, symbols of hate (e.g., Nazi swastikas) were displayed during anti-vaccine mandate protests in Canada’s capital (CBC News, 2022b). Racism has debilitating implications on the recipient’s health (Dolezsar et al., 2014; Grandner et al., 2012; Greene et al., 2006; Lanier et al. 2017; Smedley, 2012). COVID-19 has further heightened racist attacks on refugees and other marginalized groups (Devakumar et al., 2021; Elias et al., 2021; Tuyisenge & Goldenberg, 2021). Denying a real and regular lived experience of refugees being sponsored can be harmful. This “push back” from a minority of participants in the study embodies the types of values and attitudes that proved to be important predictors of more gatekeeping and less reciprocity in relationship with refugees. Although receiving a few critical emails was unexpected, I continue to believe in the value of this research. In a democratic country such as Canada, *any* federally endorsed program (including the PSR Program) must be held accountable and open to criticism and improvement.

This research, in combination with previously published studies (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018), paint a picture of Canadian private sponsors as a privileged subset of the population (e.g., White, highly educated, wealthy). Given that the federal government does not collect data on the individuals that participate in private sponsorship, the homogeneity of private sponsors in the literature may merely reflect sponsors willing to engage in research. The limited scholarly base on private sponsors in itself is perplexing, as the PSR Program has been operating for nearly 50 years (GC, 2019c). Lastly, a frequent challenge I grappled with during the research process was determining whom I was trying to benefit by undertaking this study. The PSR Program can only be maintained if the program is attractive and sustainable for citizens in Canada to continue becoming private sponsors (Hyndman et al., 2021). However, as much as private sponsors are essential to the PSR Program, the sole reason for resettlement is to provide refugees with a safe new beginning in Canada. Thus, my ultimate hope for this research is that it will benefit refugees by improving the PSR Program. It is evident from my findings that supportive and reciprocal relationships occur between refugees and private sponsors. However, the unequal and harmful ways some private sponsors approach their relationships with refugees are of paramount concern. In this researcher's opinion, the PSR Program needs to be revised immediately to remove the paternalistic and poverty-reinforcing elements of private sponsorship.

### **Limitations and Future Research Directions**

While this study contributed to a better understanding of the complexities, strengths, and challenges of the PSR Program in Canada, there were some limitations, as well as ample avenues for future research in this field. A salient perspective missing from this research was the voices of refugees themselves. As the PSR Program is based on the ongoing relationship between refugees and private sponsors, this research only demonstrates one side of the relationship.

Future research should investigate these relationships from refugees' point of view. Research measures adapted for cross-cultural use with refugees are limited and are typically standardized on English-speaking populations (Beaton et al., 2000; He et al., 2017; Hunt et al., 1991). Thus, conducting interviews with refugees may better capture cultural nuances while creating a space for refugees to share their perspectives in their preferred language (e.g., Pashto, Dari, Arabic). Researchers should ensure to provide a trauma-informed and culturally safe environment for participants to share their experiences without judgement (Hass & Abdou, 2019; Wylie et al., 2018).

The current study used the robust method of path analysis, which investigated pre-established patterns and resultant effects on study variables. However, as data were cross-sectional, no causality can be implied by the findings. Longitudinal studies are needed to replicate my findings. To my knowledge, the limited scholarly base on private sponsorship relies solely on cross-sectional retrospective self-report measures (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Haugen et al., 2020; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Macklin et al., 2018). Critiques that have been levied against retrospective reports state that they are prone to memory biases in reporting (O'Donnell et al., 2021). The literature base on private sponsors would benefit from a longitudinal study spanning the sponsorship year.

In this study, only non-face valid measures of attitudes demonstrated distinct associations with study variables, suggesting that social desirability may have influenced private sponsors' answers. Private sponsors generally scored below the median on presumably autonomy restricting measures, indicating lower endorsement of harmful values and attitudes and increased intentions to communicate with refugees. Colour Blindness and Autonomy Support were the only variables that were not associated with other main study variables (although both were

associated with the covariate of age). Levin and associates' measure of Colour Blindness (2012) is not face valid to participants. Seemingly socially desirable answers presumed to promote a united Canada coincided with higher scores on the attitude of Colour Blindness. Furthermore, the vignettes used to assess behavioural intentions were written in neutral language and presented first in the study so that participants' responses were not influenced by the subsequent value and attitude measures.

Future research in private sponsorship should include a social desirability measure, such as the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS; Reynolds, 1982), which has been used extensively in psychology for decades (Leite & Nazari, 2020). Individuals with high scores on the MCSDS hold a view of themselves that they feel the need to maintain and defend themselves from criticism. Responses from private sponsors via personal correspondence (i.e., emails) and to research questions (i.e., reflected in the qualitative theme of Paternalistic relationship quality) demonstrated sensitivity to criticism of the PSR Program. Thus, adding a social desirability measure, such as the MCSDS, to future private sponsorship studies will be essential in detangling the potential implications of social desirability on private sponsor responses.

Consistent with previous studies (Good Gingrich & Enns, 2019; Haugen et al., 2020; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Lenard, 2019; Macklin et al., 2018), a large proportion (i.e., 50%) of my sample was from Ontario. Future research should continue to build the knowledge base on sponsors from other regions of Canada, such as the Northern Territories and Atlantic Provinces, as each region in Canada will likely have different considerations for private sponsorship. For example, one sponsor from Prince Edward Island shared that limited public transit accessibility on the island makes car ownership an exceedingly attractive option for all residents, including

refugees. Moreover, the province of Quebec manages private sponsorship independent of the overarching federal framework (Quebec, 2022). Thus, research comparing the two approaches to private sponsorship could improve both frameworks. On a global scale, the Canadian PSR Program has been exported and adapted in countries all around the world grappling with the similar challenge of meeting the need for refugee resettlement (e.g., Germany, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand; Hyndman et al., 2016; Lim, 2019). Thus, international research expanding on the findings of this study could provide a more holistic understanding of the strengths and challenges of global resettlement programs.

## **Conclusions**

There will never be a perfect solution to the ever-evolving global refugee crises; however, there is always room for growth and improvement. As demonstrated by my findings, there is much to celebrate and uphold in the Canadian sponsorship program, such as the reciprocal and collaborative relationships between refugees and private sponsors that allows families to rebuild their lives in Canada after facing loss. Power differentials are undeniably embedded into the PSR Program. However, when private sponsors approach their role with the intention to support the autonomy of refugees and have self-awareness of their positions of power, the potential harms of power differentials can be mitigated.

Findings suggest that refugees' autonomy is restricted when private sponsors hold values and attitudes of Social Dominance, Power, and Paternalism. In addition, my findings suggest aspects beyond values and attitudes may be driving autonomy supportive and restrictive approaches to private sponsorship which warrant further investigation, such as budgetary constraints, sponsor age, and sponsorship group process. I hope these findings encourage increased pre-screening, training, and support for private sponsors doing the complex but vital

work of resettlement. Most importantly, I hope these findings contribute to refugees being welcomed into Canada as equitable and respected members of society.

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## Appendix A

### *Demographic questions for private sponsors*

1. What is your current age? [numerical answer]
2. Which best describes your current gender identity? [open text]
3. I identify my sexual orientation as [open text]
4. What is your current occupational status?
  - a. Employed full-time
  - b. Employed part-time
  - c. Work at home/self-employed
  - d. Homemaker
  - e. Unemployed
  - f. Disabled
  - g. Retired
  - h. Other (please specify)
5. What is your household yearly income?
  - a. Less than \$35,000
  - b. \$35,000 - \$60,000
  - c. \$60,000 - \$85,000
  - d. \$85,000 - \$110,000
  - e. More than \$110,000
  - f. Don't know/Prefer not to answer
6. What sponsorship type do/did you belong to? (select all that apply)
  - a. SAH (Sponsorship Agreement Holder)
  - b. Groups of Five
  - c. Community Sponsors
  - d. Don't know
  - e. Other (please specify)
7. How recent was your last sponsorship experience?
  - a. Actively sponsoring
  - b. 1-3 months ago
  - c. 4-6 months ago
  - d. 6-8 months
  - e. 10-12 months ago
  - f. 2 years ago
  - g. 3 years ago
  - h. 4 years ago
  - i. 5 years ago
  - j. Other (please specify)

8. How many sponsorship groups have you been part of?
  - a. 1
  - b. 2
  - c. 3
  - d. 4
  - e. 5
  - f. 6 or more (please specify)
  
9. If you have been part of more than one sponsorship group, were they the same group or different groups?
  - a. Same group
  - b. Different group
  - c. Other (please specify)
  
10. Which province or territory do you currently live in?
  - a. Alberta
  - b. British Columbia
  - c. Manitoba
  - d. New Brunswick
  - e. Newfoundland and Labrador
  - f. Northwest Territories
  - g. Nova Scotia
  - h. Nunavut
  - i. Ontario
  - j. Prince Edward Island
  - k. Quebec
  - l. Saskatchewan
  - m. Yukon
  
11. Were you born in Canada?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  
12. If you were not born in Canada, where were you born? [open text]
  
13. If you were not born in Canada, at what age did you come to Canada? [numerical response]
  
14. Do you identify strongly with any religious background? If so, please name the religious background(s) here. [open text]
  
15. Do you identify strongly with any racial or ethnic background (e.g., Indigenous, African, Middle-Eastern, Latino/Hispanic)? If so, please name the racial or ethnic background(s) here. [open text]

16. Do you identify as a person with a disability?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  
17. Do you identify as a visible minority?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  
18. Do you have any children?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  
19. What is your current relationship status?
  - a. Single
  - b. In a committed relationship
  - c. In multiple committed relationships
  - d. Married
  - e. Living common law
  - f. Separated
  - g. Widowed
  - h. Divorced
  
20. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
  - a. Some high school
  - b. Graduated from high school
  - c. Some trade school/college/university
  - d. Associate's Degree or Diploma
  - e. Bachelor's Degree
  - f. Master's Degree
  - g. Ph.D. or higher
  - h. Trade School

## Appendix B

### *Activity Checklist for private sponsorship group responsibilities (GC, 2019c)*

**Instructions:** Private sponsors assist refugees in many different tasks upon resettlement. During your role as a private sponsor, what activities did you participate in? (select all that apply)

- Recruiting other sponsors
- Fundraising
- Providing clothing
- Providing furniture
- Providing household goods
- Providing transport
- Orientation to banking services
- Introducing newcomers to potential friends
- Locating interpreters
- Selecting a family physician
- Selecting a dentist
- Assisting with applying for provincial health-care coverage
- Enrolling children in school
- Helping in the search for employment
- Providing cost of food
- Providing rent
- Providing household utilities
- Enrolling adults in language training
- Providing child care
- Other [open text]

## Appendix C

*Social Justice Scale (SJS): Attitudes Towards Social Justice (Torres-Harding et al., 2012).*

**Instructions:** Show how much you agree or disagree with each idea below by selecting a number from 1 to 7 on the scale. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

- 1 = Disagree Strongly
- 2 = Disagree Somewhat
- 3 = Disagree Slightly
- 4 = Neutral
- 5 = Slightly Agree
- 6 = Somewhat Agree
- 7 = Strongly Agree

1. I believe that it is important to make sure that all individuals and groups have a chance to speak and be heard, especially those from traditionally ignored or marginalized groups.
2. I believe that it is important to allow individuals and groups to define and describe their problems, experiences and goals in their own terms.
3. I believe that it is important to talk to others about societal systems of power, privilege, and oppression.
4. I believe that it is important to try to change larger social conditions that cause individual suffering and impede well-being.
5. I believe that it is important to help individuals and groups to pursue their chosen goals in life.
6. I believe that it is important to promote the physical and emotional well-being of individuals and groups.
7. I believe that it is important to respect and appreciate people's diverse social identities.
8. I believe that it is important to allow others to have meaningful input into decisions affecting their lives.
9. I believe that it is important to support community organizations and institutions that help individuals and group achieve their aims.
10. I believe that it is important to promote fair and equitable allocation of bargaining powers, obligations, and resources in our society.
11. I believe that it is important to act for social justice.

## Appendix D

### *Social Dominance Orientation (SDO<sub>7</sub>) Scale (Ho et al., 2015)*

**Instructions:** Show how much you favor or oppose each idea below by selecting a number from 1 to 7 on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

- 1 = Strongly Oppose
- 2 = Somewhat Oppose
- 3 = Slightly Oppose
- 4 = Neutral
- 5 = Slightly Favour
- 6 = Somewhat Favour
- 7 = Strongly Favour

1. Some groups of people must be kept in their place.
2. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
3. An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.
4. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
5. Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.\*
6. No one group should dominate in society.\*
7. Groups at the bottom should not have to stay in their place.\*
8. Group dominance is a poor principle.\*
9. We should not push for group equality.
10. We shouldn't try to guarantee that every group has the same quality of life.
11. It is unjust to try to make groups equal.
12. Group equality should not be our primary goal.
13. We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.\*
14. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.\*

15. No matter how much effort it takes, we ought to strive to ensure that all groups have the same chance in life.\*
16. Group equality should be our ideal.\*

*Note: Items with an asterisk are reverse scored*

## Appendix E

*Power Value Measure from the Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz, 1992).*

In this questionnaire you are to ask yourself: **"What values are important to ME as guiding principles in MY life, and what values are less important to me?"** In the parentheses following each value is an explanation that may help you to understand its meaning.

Your task is to rate how important each value is for you as a guiding principle in your life. Use the rating scale below:

- 1 means the value is not at all important, it is not relevant as a guiding principle for you.
- 4 means the value is important.
- 7 means the value is very important.

The higher the number (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6,7), the more important the value is as a guiding principle in YOUR life.

0 is for rating any values opposed to the principles that guide you.

8 is for rating a value of supreme importance as a guiding principle in your life;  
**ordinarily there are no more than two such values.**

In the space before each value, write the number (0,1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8) that indicates the importance of that value for you, personally.

AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE IN MY LIFE, this value is:

opposed to my values 0	not important 1	2	3	important 4	5	6	very important 7	of supreme importance 8
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SOCIAL POWER (control over others, dominance)

WEALTH (material possessions, money)

AUTHORITY (the right to lead or command)

SERVING MY PUBLIC IMAGE (protecting my "face")

SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, approval by others)

## Appendix F

### *Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (Wang et al., 2003)*

The following questions ask you about aspects of yourself and your worldviews. You are to read each question and the response options. **Please choose the answer that most closely reflects your views.** There are no right or wrong answers. If you are unsure about which response to give to a question, the first response you think of is often the best one.

- 1 = Strongly disagree that it describes me
- 2 = Disagree that it describes me
- 3 = Slightly disagree that it describes me
- 4 = Slightly agree that it describes me
- 5 = Agree that it describes me
- 6 = Strongly agree that it describes me

1. I feel annoyed when people do not speak standard English\*
2. I don't know a lot of information about important social and political events of racial and ethnic groups other than my own.\*
3. I am touched by movies or books about discrimination issues faced by racial or ethnic groups other than my own.
4. I know what it feels like to be the only person of a certain race or ethnicity in a group of people.
5. I get impatient when communicating with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, regardless of how well they speak English.\*
6. I can relate to the frustration that some people feel about having fewer opportunities due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.
7. I am aware of institutional barriers (e.g., restricted opportunities for job promotion) that discriminate against racial or ethnic groups other than my own.

8. I don't understand why people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds enjoy wearing traditional clothing.\*
9. I seek opportunities to speak with individuals of other racial or ethnic background about their experiences.
10. I feel irritated when people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds speak their language around me.\*
11. When I know my friends are treated unfairly because of their racial or ethnic backgrounds, I speak up for them.
12. I share the anger of people who face injustice because of their racial or ethnic backgrounds.
13. When I interact with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, I show my appreciation of their cultural norms.
14. I feel supportive of people of other racial and ethnic groups, if I think they are being taken advantage of.
15. I get disturbed when other people experience misfortunes due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.
16. I rarely think about the impact of a racist joke or ethnic joke on the feelings of people who are targeted.\*
17. I am not likely to participate in events that promote equal rights for people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds.\*
18. I express my concern about discrimination to people from other racial or ethnic groups.
19. It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own.
20. I can see how other racial or ethnic groups are systematically oppressed in our society.

21. I don't care if people make racist statements against other racial or ethnic groups.\*
22. When I see people who come from a different racial or ethnic background succeed in the public arena, I share their pride.
23. When other people struggle with racial or ethnic oppression, I share their frustration.
24. I recognize that the media often portrays people based on racial or ethnic stereotypes.
25. I am aware of how society differentially treats racial or ethnic groups other than my own
26. I share the anger of people who are victims of hate crimes (e.g., intentional violence because of race or ethnicity).
27. I do not understand why people want to keep their indigenous racial or ethnic cultural traditions instead of trying to fit into the mainstream.\*
28. It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different from me.\*
29. I feel uncomfortable when I am around a significant number of people who are racially/ethnically different than me.\*
30. When I hear people make racist jokes, I tell them I am offended even though they are not referring to my racial group.
31. It is difficult for me to relate to stories in which people talk about racial or ethnic discrimination they experience in their day to day lives.\*

*Note: Items with an asterisk are reverse scored*

## Appendix G

*Mutual Recognition Respect Scale (Clark & Mahadi, 2017)*

The following items ask about your sponsorship group. **Please choose the answer that most accurately represents your sponsorship experience, *in relationship with refugees*, keeping in mind there are no right or wrong answers.** If you are unsure about which response to give to a question, the first response you think of is often the best one.

- 1 = Very Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Strongly Disagree
- 3 = Disagree
- 4 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
- 5 = Agree
- 6 = Strongly Agree
- 7 = Very Strongly Agree

1. We demonstrate sensitivity to each others' personal or moral beliefs.
2. We value each other simply because as people we deserve it.
3. We accept each other's right to have differing opinions even if we do not agree with them.
4. We respect each others' differences.
5. We treat each other with fairness in this relationship.
6. Our relationship has integrity and dignity.
7. We treat each other with consideration.
8. Individuals have a basic right to be respected.

*Note: The scale was reversed from the original measure in order to be consistent with other scales in the study and to reduce confusion of participants*

## Appendix H

The Paternalist/Autonomist Care Assessment (PACA; *Adapted from Fernández-Ballesteros et al., 2019*)

1 = Do Not Agree At All

2 = Disagree

3 = Agree

4 = Totally Agree

1. Even if the refugee is against it, sponsors should do what they think is best for the refugee's health
2. When it is observed that refugees take a long time or find it difficult to communicate clearly, one needs to speak for them.
3. If a refugee neglects their health, the sponsor who cares for them must make decisions about seeking treatment.
4. In the case of choosing schools for children, whatever is believed to be best for the refugee family should be done.
5. When necessary, refugees should be urged to follow the sponsorship group's suggestions, and if they resist, it should be done without them realizing it.
6. It is important to explain to the refugee the need to follow the guidelines set out by the private sponsorship program.
7. When refugees neglect essential elements of adapting to Canadian life, it is necessary to decide what would be best for them.
8. When refugees cannot take care of themselves, they cannot make decisions about how they should be cared for.
9. To avoid negative incidents, refugees must be supervised in community.
10. If refugees are not spending their money responsibly, financial decisions must be made for them, independently of what they would prefer.
11. In order for the refugees to access different services, the administrative procedures must be carried out by a sponsor.
12. Sponsorship guidelines must be strictly complied with.

13. If a decision about an aspect of a refugee's daily life is considered best for them, it should be taken.
14. If a refugee chooses to do something perceived as dangerous, they must be prevented from doing so.
15. Refugees should be supervised in financial matters.
16. It is best to explain to the sponsor accompanying the refugee to appointments what should be done about their health or care.
17. Everything that refugees have problems with should be done for them.

## Appendix I

*Support for Colorblindness (adapted from Levin et al., 2012)*

**The following items ask about your perspectives about living in Canada.** Please choose the answer that most accurately represents your experience. Keep in mind there are no right or wrong answers. If you are unsure about which response to give to a question, the first response you think of is often the best one.

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Slightly Disagree
- 4 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
- 5 = Slightly Agree
- 6 = Agree
- 7 = Strongly Agree

1. We should treat citizens of this country as Canadians and not as members of particular ethnic, religious or sexual communities.
2. I do not want Canadians to be identified by their race, national origin, or religion.
3. Canadian society is made up first and foremost of citizens, not of groups.
4. For the unity of the country, individuals should be considered Canadians before any consideration is given to their race or religion.
5. It's best to judge one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group.
6. It's important to recognize that people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity.

## Appendix J

*Vignettes (adapted from Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000).*

Next, you will be shown two stories about refugees and sponsors in difficult situations. The people in the stories are not real people, but you may find their situation to be familiar. After you read each story, you will be asked a couple of questions.

A refugee family has been resettled in the city for 5 months. After being trained by a member of the sponsorship group on how to use public transport, the family expresses that they would prefer to drive. The family asks the sponsorship group for the money to purchase a vehicle.

A sponsorship group has been preparing for a refugee family's arrival. The sponsorship group has found the family an affordable rental apartment and has furnished the apartment with donations from the community. Upon arrival, one of the parents expresses disappointment at some of the furniture pieces and asks if they can be exchanged for something that better suits their preference.

Following each vignette, private sponsors were presented with these questions:

1. How should this issue be resolved? Why would you resolve it in this way? (Please describe in as much detail as possible.)
2. What would happen if your sponsorship group did not agree on how to proceed? (Please describe in as much detail as possible.)

## Appendix K

## Codebook

Code Label	Definition	Description	Qualifications or Exclusions	Examples
<b>1. Speaking with Family</b>  <b>Yes: 1.1</b> <b>No: 1.2</b>	Does the response mention speaking with the refugee/ refugee family?	Sponsors mention wanting/ or needing to speak with the refugee family.	Could include asking why the family needs something, providing information to the family, reminding, or having a larger discussion.	<p>“We would sit down and make sure we understood their concerns.”</p> <p>“I would try to clarify why the furniture does not meet their needs.”</p>
<b>2. Family as Decision-Maker</b>  <b>Yes: 2.1</b> <b>No: 2.2</b>	Does the response mention leaving decision-making to the family?	The ultimate decision-making is up to the family. Sponsors can provide information and opinions, but the final say to the refugee family.	<p>Responses include some words or a statement explicitly stating the choice is up to the refugee family</p> <p><i>*Present tense-</i> If choice is something a refugee can attain in the future, code no.</p>	“The family will have to make decisions about where their money is going.”
<b>3. Gatekeeping</b>  <b>Yes: 3.1</b> <b>No: 3.2</b>	Does the response mention ‘gatekeeping’ of refugee needs?	<p>The sponsors are the ones who decide what is a want vs. a need.</p> <p>Sponsor assistance is contingent on whether the group deems the request is needed.</p>	Responses where sponsors are saying if something is a need they would do it, but if the request is only a preference, they would not.	<p>“I think the sponsorship group would try to be as accommodating as possible, within reason.”</p> <p>“If anything is broken or not functional we would replace it but not due to preferences.”</p>
<b>Not Applicable: If the response contains none of the above codes, code as NA</b>				