2017 Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation Fellowship
Professor Audrey Macklin, Faculty of Law, School of Public Policy and Governance
University of Toronto
Project Description

RESETTLER SOCIETY: MAKING AND REMAKING CITIZENSHIP THROUGH PRIVATE REFUGEE SPONSORSHIP

INTRODUCTION

On a Wednesday night in March, 2016, over three hundred people gathered in a Toronto church hall for an evening meeting with a federal Member of Parliament. Those in attendance were mainly middle-aged and middle-class. I was one of them. The audience was clearly disgruntled. Some of them even heckled the MP when he tried to speak. Such meetings are not uncommon. Communities often gather together to express their grievances to elected officials on issues ranging from the location of a half-way house, to school closure, to neighbourhood zoning. But this meeting was not another NIMBY (Not in My Backyard) event. The people in attendance were agitated about refugees. More specifically, they complained that the federal government was not doing enough to expedite the screening, processing and transport of Syrian refugees to Canada. The participants were among the thousands of Canadians engaged in private sponsorship of refugees. Beginning in 2015, they had joined groups, raised money, completed tediously complicated forms, submitted applications and been assigned a Syrian refugee family needing resettlement from Turkey, Lebanon or Jordan. Some had even rented apartments, now lying vacant. They were prepared. Now they were waiting impatiently for the Canadian government to do its job so they could begin doing theirs.

Months later, after many (but not all) privately sponsored refugees had arrived, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau made his first address to the UN General Assembly. He informed his audience that Canada welcomes resettled Syrian refugees 'not as burdens, but as neighbours and friends. As new Canadians' He concluded his speech to the international body by distilling the Canadian ethos into 'We are Canadian. We are here to help' (Macleans, 2016).

The Prime Minister's speech evoked citizenship[1] in two ways: first, by describing resettlement as incorporation of newcomers into the citizenry (and not simply as temporary refuge); secondly, by inviting his audience to draw a link between Canadian citizenship and humanitarian commitment. My project spins these strands of citizenship into an inquiry that explores private refugee sponsorship from the perspective of those Canadian sponsors who undertake to welcome refugees. The question animating my project is the following: *How does the process of making refugees into citizens remake the citizenship of Canadian sponsors?*

Refugees arrive in Canada on their own initiative as asylum seekers, or through resettlement. Canada is one of twenty-two states that resettle refugees, and it resettles more refugees than any country except the United States. Canada typically ranks first or second on a per capita basis (UNHCR 2016). Resettlement is publicly financed in each state that does it, but in 1978, Canada embarked on a unique experiment by legislating a parallel system of private sponsorship. Individual Canadians form groups for the purpose of sponsoring refugees as individuals or families. The sponsorship group undertakes to provide the equivalent of one year's income assistance along with practical settlement support. The annual proportion of privately resettled refugees hovers between 40-50% of the total; if private sponsors constituted a nation, it would rank fourth in the world in annual resettlement. Meanwhile, the UK, Australia, and a few other states are developing or have launched pilot projects inspired by the Canadian precedent, and the Canadian government recently announced a joint project with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Soros Foundation to export its unique model of private refugee sponsorship to interested states.

The existing body of academic and policy research about private refugee sponsorship is relatively sparse, and little of it examines the sponsors. In the coming months and years, researchers will extensively document the economic, psycho-social, educational and cultural integration of Syrian refugees, both Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) and Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs). My project complements that research agenda by producing knowledge about private refugee sponsorship from the sponsors' perspective.

Investigating the sponsors is of considerable policy and academic import. If private refugee sponsorship is worth sustaining domestically and promoting internationally, it matters not only that it benefit refugees. It is vital

[1] Unless otherwise noted, references to Canadians, citizens and citizenship is used in the non-technical sense and is not limited to those possessing legal citizenship status.

that sponsors also experience it as meaningful and gratifying so that they remain motivated to sponsor again and/or encourage others to undertake it. Generating information and analysis about the identity, motivations, experiences and perceptions of private refugee sponsors can make a practical contribution to initiatives aimed at sustaining and promoting sponsorship nationally and internationally. As an academic inquiry, the research also intervenes in academic debates that relate theoretical frameworks to grounded experiences of cosmopolitanism, acts of citizenship, and private-public coordination of civic undertakings.

Creating knowledge about private sponsors lies at the core of the project, and will involve the following tasks:

1. Provide a theoretical and historical foundation for the inquiry into current practices of private sponsorship of Syrian refugees since late 2015.
2. Document and analyze the characteristics, motivations, experiences and perceptions of individual refugee sponsors.
3. Create a transnational network for individual and civil society participants currently involved in supporting refugee integration in various countries, including Australia, Germany, Netherlands, UK and US[2]. The forum will facilitate exchange of creative ideas and insights about the role of private actors that can be shared and disseminated inside and outside Canada.

Since late 2015, I have been laying a foundation for this project: First, I have delivered formal lectures at University of Saskatchewan and Harvard exploring private sponsorship along the themes of cosmopolitanism, citizenship and privatization. I have also given several informal presentations to non-academic audiences. I will continue to elaborate and refine my conceptual framework in invited lectures at Dalhousie University, Oxford and UCLA in early 2017. Secondly, I am Principal Investigator (in collaboration with social scientists Anna Korteweg, Luin Goldring and Jennifer Hyndman) in a research grant funded by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada and Social Science and Humanities Research Council under the rubric 'Targeted Research: Syrian Refugee Arrival, Resettlement and Integration'. Our grant, awarded in August 2016, supports the first phase of empirical research into private refugee sponsors. We are designing an online survey for distribution to private sponsors. The survey will gather data about the demographic profile of sponsors (age, education, urban/rural, occupation, income, ethnicity, religion, etc.), reasons for participation and prior relevant experience, preparatory activities before arrival, and so on. One objective of the IRCC-SSHRC Targeted Research is to seed subsequent empirical research, namely focus groups and interviews with individual sponsors and key informants in the settlement sector. Finally, I travelled to Melbourne, Australia in July 2016 to conduct preliminary comparative research with an Australian colleague on Australia's Community Proposal Pilot, which is a private sponsorship model inspired by the Canadian precedent. We summarized our preliminary conclusions about the comparability of the two schemes in a brief article published in *The Conversation*[3] and re-posted by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. I have also initiated contact with researchers and organizations in other countries (listed above) to learn more about local, private, formal and informal initiatives to support integration of asylum seekers or resettled refugees.

BACKGROUND

Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation alumni Shauna Labman is a leading scholar of the history of private refugee sponsorship. I have already benefited from her work, and we have initiated discussions about collaboration. Foundation alumni Laura Madokoro's recent book *Elusive Refuge,* will also be a valuable resource for historical analysis of Western responses to refugees in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Historians of Canadian immigration settlement recount that from the nineteenth century onwards, newcomer support was an entirely charitable, private undertaking by local settlement societies, mainly organized along ethnic, religious, or national lines (Kelley and Trebilcock 2006). Before refugees existed in law, individual Canadians organized to aid their persecuted familial, ethnic or national kin to seek safety, refuge and a new home in Canada. This was the original (though unnamed) scheme of private refugee resettlement. After WWII, the federal government also embarked on *ad hoc* admission of refugees as a public undertaking. Over the next three decades, Jewish Holocaust survivors, Hungarians (1956), Czech (1968), South Asians expelled from Uganda (1973), and Chileans (1975) benefited from government resettlement. During the same period, the federal

[2] I will also investigate initiatives in South American states, especially Brazil.
[3] https://theconversation.com/private-resettlement-models-offer-a-way-for-australia-to-lift-its-refugee-intake-65030.

government gradually assumed public responsibility for immigration resettlement, sometimes through direct provision of services, but more often by funding non-governmental settlement organizations.

The modern era of refugee resettlement in Canada commenced in 1978 when the *Immigration Act* legislated public and private resettlement into permanent institutional existence. Both were deployed almost immediately and in roughly equal proportion to achieve the unprecedented resettlement of over 60,000 Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians between 1979-81 as Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) or Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs). In a significant break from the past, virtually no private sponsors were linked to the refugees they sponsored by common faith, ethnicity or nationality. Private sponsorship in this period was (arguably) animated by a cosmopolitan impulse predicated on shared humanity.

Over the next three decades, private sponsorship stabilized into a permanent component of immigration policy. Large faith-based and ethno-specific organizations entered into framework agreements on the basis of their routine, ongoing participation and, as Sponsorship Agreement Holders (SAHs) play a vital role in the maintenance and continuation of the private sponsorship regime. The basic elements of private refugee sponsorship are as follows: Private sponsors come together in groups of five or more persons. They may function independently, or through a SAH. The sponsorship group nominates one or more refugees from abroad to resettle, or seek a referral of refugees from the Canadian government or the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The sponsorship group must possess sufficient funds to financially support the sponsored refugee(s) for their first year in Canada, and commit the time and energy required to aid in the refugees' economic, educational, social and cultural integration into Canadian society during that period. In contrast to Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs), Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) receive income support from the government, and settlement assistance from publicly-funded settlement organizations.

The Syrian refugee exodus re-ignited interest in private sponsorship among thousands of Canadians with little or no prior experience with refugees. Since November 2015, Canada has resettled almost 35,000 Syrian refugees, about 40% of whom are privately sponsored[4] (IRCC 2016). Almost twenty-five thousand applications remain in process as of November 2016. Tens of thousands of Canadians are sponsoring Syrian refugees. While there is much enthusiasm for private refugee sponsorship in Canada, it remains a neglected area of academic inquiry. The current Syrian resettlement and the international promotion of private sponsorship by the Canadian government make this an opportune moment to begin to fill that gap.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The research will draw on three theoretical resources for conceptualizing private refugee sponsorship: cosmopolitanism as motive, active citizenship as effect, and privatization as critical lens.

Cosmopolitanism: Why Sponsor Refugees?

Cosmopolitanism as a normative theory proceeds from the claim that we owe moral obligations beyond those we owe to kin or co-nationals. Our duty to strangers may not be as thick as the duties we owe to those nearer to us, but they make a claim on us nonetheless, and sometimes in random and unanticipated ways: After months of exposure to reportage on the plight of desperate Syrian refugees, the horrific image of toddler Alan Kurdi on a Turkish beach suddenly shrunk the moral distance between them and us to the length of his tiny body.

Foundation Fellow Will Kymlicka, along with co-author Kathryn Walker, advance the concept of 'rooted cosmopolitanism' as a means for reconciling the potentially boundless moral demands of universalism with the particularistic attachments we actually experience toward those proximate to us. Their preferred rendition of rooted cosmopolitanism sources the cosmopolitan impulse toward the Other in the ethical demands generated by particular attachments. By way of illustration, Kymlicka and Walker (2012: 4) propose that 'people become good citizens of the world because this is part of what it means to be a good Canadian: being Canadian motivates being or becoming cosmopolitan.' Indeed, one might interpret the selected quotations from Prime Minister Trudeau's UN speech as articulations of this vision. Following Kymlicka and Walker, I will also be alert to whether and how national identity figures in sponsors' accounts of their motivation and self-understanding.

To what extent do sponsors implicitly or explicitly understand their motivation in cosmopolitan terms, and what other reasons do they offer? I provisionally attach significance to the discourse of 'welcoming' refugees

[4] This figure includes Blended Visa Officer Referrals, which the financial undertaking is split 50/50 between private sponsors and the government.

that Prime Minister Trudeau and others often invoke. From thinkers in the Western tradition ranging from Immanuel Kant to Jacques Derrida to Seyla Benhabib, hospitality toward the necessitous stranger is presented as the instantiation of cosmopolitan duty. Hospitality also resonates deeply in sacred texts of several religions that enjoin us to 'welcome the stranger'. Private sponsorship also offers the potential to illuminate under-examined facets of hospitality.

For example, the relationship between secular and spiritual iterations of hospitality is particularly salient in resettlement because of the crucial role played by faith-based organizations in sustaining private refugee sponsorship in Canada. I hope to engage Foundation Scholar Geoffrey Cameron in pursuing this inquiry, as it intersects with his own doctoral research on the role of religious groups in the formation of refugee policy in North America[5].

In earlier writing about the history of Canadian immigration and citizenship policy, I acknowledged that 'the story of Canada as a nation of immigrants can only be recounted with pride … if immigration is understood as a process of extending hospitality and membership by those entitled to do so' (Macklin: 2011). The uplifting settler society narrative of welcoming immigrants must reckon with the other half of that narrative – mass immigration as the vehicle for displacing and conquering First Nations. Recognizing the unfinished (perhaps un-commenced) task of reconciliation destabilizes the presumed 'right to be here' that underwrites practices of hospitality. I intend to problematize and deepen my analysis of hospitality as applied to Canada, and to Canadians as treaty people, through engagement with Indigenous and non-Indigenous Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation fellows and scholars such as John Borrows, Jim Tully, Dawnis Kennedy and Aaron Mills.

Finally, refugee resettlement as a process of enrolling refugees into citizenship also gestures towards a novel version of the hospitality, one that seeks to obviate itself. Kant was careful to specify that the duty of hospitality is temporary in duration. Yet, the end to which private sponsorship aspires is that the stranger will become a fellow citizen, and thus no longer one who needs or is owed hospitality.

Another quality associated with cosmopolitanism is openness to engagement across differences of culture, religion, ethnicity, etc. Many accounts and versions of this engagement exist, but for purposes of exploring the relationship between sponsors and refugees, an especially fruitful resource is philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah's idea of 'cosmopolitan conversation'. Appiah means conversation in the literal sense, but also as 'a metaphor for engagement with the experience and the ideas of others'. Properly conducted, these encounters are intrinsically valuable. They need not lead to specific results, much less fundamental consensus on deeply held beliefs or values: 'it's enough that it helps people get used to one another'. (Appiah 2006: 85). The personal, quotidian and often prosaic nature of the interactions between sponsors and refugees seems an especially apt site for seeking evidence for the practice of 'cosmopolitan conversation'. At the same time, one must be attentive to the effects of unequal power relations between sponsor and refugee along several axes, as well as counterforces of securitization, anti-Muslim sentiment and racialization. How do these currents influence initial decisions to sponsor, and how do they inflect expectations and interactions between sponsors and refugees?

Active citizenship: Remaking Citizenship

Practices of active citizenship draw on the ideals of civic republicanism (Dagger 2002). The citizen who participates in, and contributes to, the public life of the community exhibits the civic virtue of active (as opposed to passive) citizenship. Scholars of social cohesion and social capital argue that trust, empathy and solidarity are vital to sustaining a flourishing democracy in the context of highly diverse societies. These sentiments are fostered and nurtured in turn by practices of civic engagement. Importantly, the benefits of voluntary, cooperative initiatives to the vitality of the collectivity accrue independently from the object of the endeavour. When people come together to plan and implement a shared project of public value, they build community, and social solidarity. Historically, periods of crisis – war, natural disaster – unite the citizenry and incite them to pool their energies into acts of self-sacrifice and collective action. Private refugee sponsorship has mobilized thousands of Canadians to gather together, form groups, create networks, and to commit to a cooperative endeavour, not in the service of defeating the other, but in the service of embracing the other. The focus of my inquiry into citizenship is on how performing that task – making the other one of us – activates and reshapes sponsors' own citizenship. I will also put theories of civic engagement between sponsors and refugees into conversation with work that critically assesses how such engagement unfolds among people with distinctly different socioeconomic, racial, ethnic, and cultural background, both among sponsors and between sponsors and refugees.

[5] I am a member of Geoffrey Cameron's doctoral committee.

Harry Boyte attends to the specific value of 'public work' as a mode of active citizenship. He defines it as 'self-organized efforts by a mix of people who solve common problems and create things, material or symbolic, of lasting civic value' (Boyte, 2011: 623-633). Following Boyte, we might say that a private sponsorship group is akin to a small civil society organization formed to undertake a specific, time-limited public work of enduring value: the incorporation of new citizens. I will elicit information about the networks that generate – and are generated by – sponsorship groups, how sponsorship groups govern themselves, how they are governed by the state, and the way sponsors participate in the governance of refugees *qua* new Canadians. Theoretical accounts of active citizenship tend to depict a collaborative rather than oppositional posture toward government (Onyx 2012), but the possibility that sponsorship can sometimes 'politicize' participants into overt political engagement may enable a more nuanced assessment of the rapport between collaborative and oppositional politics. I will also ask sponsors to locate sponsorship in relation to past practices of active citizenship, and to reflect on the anticipated impact of sponsorship on the likelihood, shape and direction of future civic engagement (Isin 2008): Has sponsorship re-constituted their own citizenship and, if so, how?

Privatization: The Politics of Private Sponsorship

Privatisation, understood as a mode of governance, offers critical tools for understanding the evolution of private sponsorship in historical context; this history, in turn, problematizes a simple narrative of private refugee sponsorship as the downloading of traditionally public functions to the private sector. For purposes of this project, the private sphere encompasses private charity rather than public expenditure as the vehicle for service provision, and the family rather than the state as the locus of redistribution and support.

A standard critique of private refugee sponsorship would contend that it transfers to the private sphere a quintessentially public responsibility, namely the admission of refugees and their transformation into citizens. The historical chronology of immigration settlement complicates this reading. Immigration settlement began as a charitable initiative, gradually evolved into a public undertaking, but continues to devolve many functions to civil society organizations. It would thus be inaccurate to depict private refugee sponsorship as displacing a prior, preexisting public model. Though not by design, the Indochinese refugee initiative resulted in rough parity between GARs and PSRs resettled, and this distribution became institutionalized. Organizations involved in private resettlement, alert to the perils of privatization, firmly insist on a principle they dub 'additionality': private sponsorship must supplement and not supplant public commitment to resettlement. This becomes operationalized as maintenance of parity in the allocation of resettlement spaces, and opposition to any decline in resettlement numbers.

Family figures into private refugee sponsorship in two ways. First, the structure of private refugee resettlement reproduces certain features of the regulation of family reunification under Canadian immigration law. In particular, the financial undertaking to support sponsored refugees resembles the undertaking that requires sponsors to support members of the family members (or reimburse any social assistance paid by that family member (Macklin 2002). At a deeper level, the institution of private refugee sponsorship anticipates a relationship between private sponsors and refugees that is personal, immediate, and characterized by the affect and partiality that we associate with kinship. Settlement professionals must adopt a posture of impartiality and equal commitment toward all the GARs they serve. Private sponsors are expected to feel a unique commitment to the refugees they sponsor. Private sponsors are avowedly partial. They expend their considerable social capital in assisting 'their' family in locating housing, health care, education and employment, and in acculturating to Canada. It is this personal relationship, accompanied by the transfer of social capital from sponsors to refugees, that is credited with the relatively successful integration outcomes of PSRs compared to GARs, as described in a recent report by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (2016).

Family plays a critical role in private sponsorship in another sense. An unanticipated but inevitable consequence of public and private resettlement ensues from the priority that newly arrived refugees attach to assisting kin left behind. This frequently translates into a request to sponsorship groups to nominate extended family for future sponsorship. This 'echo effect' shifted the character of privately sponsorship from the 1980s to the present toward extended family reunification. The recent arrival of thousands of Syrian refugees with no connections in Canada temporarily disrupted the 'echo effect' but anecdotal experience suggests it is already resuming, as newly arrived Syrian refugees, like others before them, struggle to rescue family left behind. The drift of private refugee sponsorship toward family reunification poses normative and policy dilemmas that I intend to address.

Private refugee sponsorship also disrupts settled expectations about privatization's depoliticizing effect. The concern is that privatization withdraws public issues from the domain of public scrutiny, deliberation and

contestation, and channels them into the cooperative politics of public-private partnership. This dovetails with accounts of active citizenship that depict them as collaborative rather than oppositional modes of engagement with the state.

At the same time, privatization also positions refugee sponsors to leverage their material investment in refugees into political claims on the state about the latter's responsibility toward refugees. This returns me to where I began, with the March 2016 meeting in a church hall in Toronto: Hundreds of private sponsors resolutely asserted an entitlement to make demands on government because, after all, the sponsors were putting up the money and doing the heavy lifting of resettlement. The political subject position of these private sponsors emerged not in spite of privatization, but because of it. They were using their political voice to advance the interests of the voiceless, and demanding from their elected officials that they do more to protect refugees. This is a profound and provocative act of citizenship at a time when voices around the world are raised far more frequently and vehemently in opposition to refugees.

The actual numbers of refugees resettled in Canada is insignificant in comparison to refugees sheltered in other states, and in comparison to need; the money spent on resettlement in Canada would undoubtedly go further if spent on refugees in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. But at a time when the political will in wealthy states to commit to a just distribution of responsibility toward refugees is weak, fading, or absent, it is crucial to explore how and why ordinary citizens mobilize themselves and their government for, not against, refugees. Foundation Scholars Francois Crépeau (currently UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants) and Dean Catherine Dauvergne (Peter A. Allard School of Law, UBC) are colleagues and past co-authors. I hope to engage them in this project as interlocutors. To better understand the role and effect of private sponsorship in activating citizens to protect refugees is an exciting scholarly undertaking and an urgent political task.

The proposed project engages the theme of Human Rights and Dignity through its focus on refugee protection (itself a human right), cosmopolitanism as a source of moral obligation, and attention to the quality of the relationship between sponsor and refugee. There is a direct affinity between the idea of Responsible Citizenship and my conception of active citizenship as mode of civic engagement and catalyst for social cohesion. That newcomers confer benefits on host societies and *vice versa* is well-rehearsed; the possibility that welcoming refugees via private sponsorship may benefit the host society because it activates existing citizens is a novel (and even provocative) hypothesis. Finally, my attention to rooted cosmopolitanism in relation to Canada's practice and promotion of refugee resettlement, as well as my goal of assembling a transnational network of academics and civil society actors committed to refugee integration, speaks to the theme of Canada in the World.

PROJECT PLAN

My current SSHRC-IRCC supported research will create and administer online surveys of private sponsors of Syrian refugees to gather preliminary data before, during and after completion of the formal sponsorship undertaking. Owing to the delays in arrivals, the one year grant period will expire before most sponsors complete the one year undertaking. My collaborators are social scientists. Our collective expertise in theory, social science research methods and socio-legal analysis offers a rich combination of skills that we will bring to that project, and I intend to continue collaborating with them in the realization of the proposed project.

As part of the SSHRC-IRCC project, we are assembling an advisory group that includes representatives from the Canadian Refugee Sponsorship Agreement Holders Association, the Canadian Council for Refugees, Lifeline Syria and other civil society actors. The advisory group will provide guidance on the direction of the research, and also assist in dissemination of surveys and identification of potential sponsors for interviews/focus groups. I will maintain ongoing contact with the advisory group, share research results, and seek their commentary and advice. I am also in contact with the academic and Canadian policy directors of the Canada-UNHCR-Soros Foundation initiative.

Through my association with University of Toronto's School for Public Policy and Governance (SPPG), I will develop opportunities for dialogue among municipal, provincial and federal policy makers, civil society and academics. I will also create online, plain-language summaries or versions of academic publications and policy briefs in order to reach out and widen the audience for the research, including the community of individual sponsors across Canada.

Year One

I will develop the historical analysis of private refugee sponsorship. Prof. Shauna Labman and I intend to undertake this as a joint project. It will situate the current wave of private sponsorship of Syrian refugees in a

historical and legal analysis of resettlement in Canada that documents the shifting, complementary and sometimes frictional relations between private actors and the state. The study will also attend to the influence of the Canadian model of family migration on the formal and discursive structuring of private refugee sponsorship. The product will be a publishable article.

I will complete dissemination of the surveys designed to gather data during and after completion of the one-year sponsorship.

Year Two

Along with collaborators and research assistants, I will synthesize and build on the data collected in the surveys by conducting in-depth, semi-structured qualitative interviews and focus groups to gather information from sponsors, and from key informant interviews with a select number of people able to provide a historical perspective on refugee sponsorship in their community. To the extent possible, I will select a diverse array of sponsors from southern Ontario and Winnipeg in order to capture a range of locations, identities and experiences: urban/rural; religious/secular; experienced sponsors/first-time sponsors; self-funded/fundraiser; ethnic, religious, national connection/no prior connection. The goal of the interviews and focus groups is to:

1. Profile the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of private sponsors: To what extent do private sponsors reflect a cross-section of Canadian citizens and residents? If not, how do they differ from the general population in socio-economic, as well as other demographic, including ethnicity, race and gender terms?
2. Examine how private refugee sponsors understand their role in the project of making refugees into citizens: What motivates private sponsors to take on the extensive work associated with privately sponsoring one or more refugee families? How do sponsors conceive and perform their role of facilitating the economic, cultural and social incorporation of refugees into citizenship?
3. Analyze how engagement in sponsorship potentially re-makes the citizenship of sponsors: How does the sponsorship experience inform sponsors' self-understanding as Canadians? How do sponsors conceive and enact their relationship to the sponsored refugees, and to the state? What are their experiences engaging with state bureaucracy, with the family they sponsor, and with one another? Does it activate them to take up new types of citizenship engagement?

I will write at least one op-ed for publication in a Canadian newspaper about what drives civic engagement in relation to resettlement. I will seek do the same for one or more foreign media outlets. I have previously published op-eds in the New York Times, The Guardian and The Conversation (Australia) that provide a Canadian slant on global migration issues.

Year Three

With the support of the School for Public Policy and Governance, I will convene a workshop early in Year 3 that brings together academics and civil society actors from select European states, Australia, the United States and Canada to share insights, experiences and creative ideas for engaging private actors in supporting asylums seekers and resettled refugees. We will create a sustainable platform for ongoing conversation and the generation of academic and policy outputs over the course of the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation fellowship and beyond. I will edit an open access publication that suitable for wide distribution that assembles, documents and compares the various practices, strategies, and ideas emerging from the different sites represented at the transnational workshop.

I will devote the remainder of the third year to synthesis of data collected in Year Two. I will write two to three academic publications based on the outcomes of the research.

I will produce a draft policy brief for distribution to key policy makers and civil society for dialogue, and then finalize it for wider dissemination through the organizations comprising the advisory group and beyond.

Over the duration of the fellowship, I will continue to take up and create opportunities to publicly disseminate my scholarship and findings to academics, policy makers, civil society and the general public in Canada and abroad, using existing networks and ones that I will work to develop. I will also produce a series of 4-5 podcasts with private sponsors who can tell their stories of engagement, and what it means to 'create' new Canadians as Canadians.

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Proposed Budget: 'Resettler Society'

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4*	Total	*Maximum allowed per fellowship per category*
Payments (disbursed to the Fellow's university each year)	25,000	75,000	50,000		150,000	
Expense categories						
Professional support	13,728	18,103	18,103		49,934	*80,000*
Travel and participation (for non-Foundation events)	2,015	1,000	7,015		10,030	*15,000*
Electronic and technical supplies	2,600	3,700	200		6,500	*7,500*
Knowledge dissemination	8,680	8,680	40,680		58,040	*80,000*
Miscellaneous		1,650			1,650	*20,000*
University administration**	3,750	11,250	7,500		22,500	*22,500*

PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT – Student Salaries and Benefits: *$49,934*

a. Survey Research Assistant / Program Management (Year 1) – One Senior PhD student with expertise in quantitative methodologies, will extend the survey used for our IRCC-SSHRC grant to capture sponsors of Syrian refugees whose sponsorship period commenced or continued after the termination of the IRCC-SSHRC grant period, and assist in the analysis of the initial survey results. *1 sr RA @ $30/hr + 4% vacation + 10% benefits for 200 hrs per year =* ***$6864***

b. Legal Analysis Assistant (Year 1) – One graduate student (LLM/SJD/PhD) to assist with gathering and analysing relevant primary and secondary literature on refugee resettlement; gathering and analysing relevant jurisprudence; conducting literature review/updating of theoretical scholarship. *jr RA @ $30/hr + 4% vacation + 10% benefits for 200 hours =* ***$6864***

c. Qualitative Research Assistant (Years 2-3) – 1 Senior PhD research assistant with advanced experience in qualitative data collection methodologies and data analysis will be involved in focus-group data collection, interviewing, as well as data handling, processing, and analysis. This RA will also be involved with writing up literature reviews, research findings and results for academic publication. *1 senior RAs @ $30/hr + 4% vacation + 10% benefits for 400 hrs per year = $13,728 per year for 2 years =* ***$27,456***

d. Transcription Services (Years 2-3)
75 interviews (65 sponsor interviews + 10 informant interviews): 300 hours transcription@$25/hr = $7,500; 5 two-hour focus groups (10 hours): 50 hours of transcription@$25/hr = $1,250 = ***$8750***

TRAVEL AND PARTICIPATION (INCLUDING STUDENT RAs): Years 1-3 = *$10,030*

a) Travel for Data Collection (Year 2 and 3): $2000
Yr 2 Interview/Focus Group Data Collection: RAs and I will travel within the GTA and to rural locations within driving distance of Toronto. $1,000 for two years = $2,000.

b) Stakeholder Consultation (Years 1,3): $4030

YR 1,3: ***Canadian Travel: Ottawa policy stakeholder consultations***
I will travel to Ottawa for a one-day meeting to consult with federal government stakeholders.

Flight ($250) + ground transit ($100) + hotel (1 nights @ $200) + per diem (1 days at $55) = $605 for 2 years = ***$1210.00***

YR 1,3: ***Meetings with community organizations***
I will organize 2 meetings with the following organizations i) the Canadian Refugee Sponsorship Agreement Holders Association; ii) Canadian Council for Refugees (they often meet together in sequence). Flight ($600) + ground transit ($100) + registration ($200) + hotel (2 nights @ $200 = $400) + per diem (2 days at $55 = $110) = $1410 for two years = ***$2820***

c) Academic Conferences (Year 3): $4,000
I will attend one Canadian conference (e.g. Metropolis, Canadian Association of Forced Migration Studies) to disseminate research outcomes = ***$1,500***
I will attend one international conference (e.g. International Association of Forced Migration Studies, Law & Society) to disseminate research outcomes = **$2,500**

ELECTRONIC AND TECHNICAL SUPPLIES Years 1 - 5 = *$6,500*

a) Supplies (Years 1-3) - $600
$200/yr for printer cartridges, paper, banker's boxes for storage, pens, copy costs, etc.

b) Non-disposable Equipment - $2,400
Computer Hardware: two laptop computers for the research team. Each computer is valued at $1,200 (total: $2,400).
Other Equipment: External hard drive for backup and digital video storage (focus groups) =$400.

c) Other - $3,500
Software: NVivo for qualitative and STATA for quantitative data analysis: $3,500

MISCELLANEOUS Year 2 = $1,650

Honoraria for Participants: $1,650.
$10 for each participant in qualitative interviews (65) and focus groups (50) in appreciation for their time. For the 5 participants in the podcasts the honorarium will be $100 ($500).

KNOWLEDGE DISSEMINATION Years 1-3: *$58,040*

a) Knowledge Mobilization Assistant / Coordinator (Years 1-3) -- One junior PhD or MA student will create and keep our project website up to date, disseminate initial survey results through social media, including blog posts, tweets, and create podcasts. This RA will also develop the website to perform as a hub and clearinghouse for scholarship, policy and civil society initiatives involving private modes of support for refugees in other jurisdictions inside and outside Canada. This RA will assist in writing 'plain language' policy briefs summarizing our research findings. They will liaise with various organizations to distribute our findings through social media of those organizations (e.g. websites, Facebook pages, and twitter accounts). *1 jr RA @ $25/hr + 4% vacation + 10% benefits for 300 hours = $8,680 per year for three years:* ***$26,040***

b) International Workshop on Private Initiatives to Support Refugees (Year 3)
I will organize a workshop of 15 Canadian and international participants to disseminate our research findings and to exchange knowledge, insights and practices with academics and civil society actors engaged in private initiatives = ***$25,000***

c) Podcasts (Year 3): I will commission the production of 5 podcasts that explore different dimensions of the private refugee sponsorship experience = ***$7,000***