

An Analysis of the Concept of Hospitality in the United Kingdom's Immigration Policy

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## Introduction

Ammar's mother said to him, "It's very hard for us to take this big step by sending you away, but I'd rather not see you, knowing that you're safe somewhere else, than to spend the rest of my life crying over what may happen to you if you stayed close" (White and Head 2018).

Ammar took the big step of traveling to the United Kingdom by himself, since his family was not able to make the dangerous journey. The journey for Ammar started out by traveling to Beirut, then flying to Turkey using his Syrian passport. Upon arrival in Turkey, he found a smuggler who would cross the sea to Greece. Ammar admitted this part of the journey was dangerous, and the biggest test of his life. Once he arrived at the Greek border, he received sad news that the border was closed. Thousands of other people were also at the border sleeping in tents, Ammar joined them. Ammar stayed there for six months and during this time, decided to work as a translator for any journalists who came in order to save up money. Six months later, he was able to use the money to purchase a fake passport to go to London, England (White and Head 2018). There are many stories just like Ammar's from Syrians who do not qualify for the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme and must journey to the United Kingdom on their own in hopes to seek asylum.

Asylum seekers, who made up 6% of immigrants in 2019, face troubles similar to Ammar's when they immigrate to the United Kingdom (Walsh 2021). Meanwhile, the United Kingdom deems itself as hospitable and welcoming to all immigrants. The government claims their immigration policies, such as the Asylum Policy, are becoming more relaxed in order to welcome more immigrants. For example, as Leith and Duncan tell us, both parliament and the Scottish Affairs Committee have, "called for a relaxation of more stringent visa regulations,

especially in the area of post-study visas to aid migration into Scotland” (Leith and Duncan 2016, 27).

In 2021, 75,615 Syrians came to the United Kingdom and applied for asylum (UNHCR 2021). These Syrians did not experience much help in terms of acclimation and resettlement upon arriving in the United Kingdom and overall, faced a lack of support by the United Kingdom government. They were not given money to secure housing, temporary housing is limited, there is no help finding jobs and the jobs they do eventually find, they are overqualified for. However, 20,000 Syrians were able to come to the United Kingdom through the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme over the last five years (UNHCR 2021). This scheme offers great support and helps them fully acclimate to their new lives, however the criteria to be accepted into this scheme is strict, resulting in the acceptance of very few Syrians.

The United Kingdom claims to be welcoming towards all immigrants, however their performance towards the Syrian population shows differently. The government may believe they are welcoming because of the support provided for the Syrians who are a part of the scheme. However, they do not demonstrate or perform the same support in the opinion of the people who are struggling without support. Syrians are not able to start their asylum claim until they arrive in the United Kingdom, then it takes months to receive a decision, “You should apply when you arrive in the UK or as soon as you think it would be unsafe for you to return to your own country” (Government of the United Kingdom 2022). All during this time, these Syrians are trying to find a place to live with little money, secure an employment opportunity to be able to afford a place to live and support their family, and learn the new language in order to work. Meanwhile, Syrians who arrive via the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme are

provided with temporary housing, free language courses, and receive help securing an employment opportunity:

They provide furnished accommodation with utilities installed and operational; a welcome briefing, orientation and ongoing practical support to help refugees establish themselves in their community; and a cash/clothing allowance for the initial set-up period until benefits and other support is in place. At the time the study was conducted, LAs supported refugees with registration for Biometric Residence Permits (BRP), with local schools, language classes and health services; and with support setting up bank accounts and providing assistance with access to employment (UNHCR 2021).

The United Kingdom shows to be welcoming to some immigrants however, depending on how the immigrant arrived in the United Kingdom, a different response and opinion may be given.

The United Kingdom can demonstrate hospitality to one group of Syrians because it then allows them to be inhospitable to the other group of Syrians. This therefore limits immigration and the amount of refugees and asylum seekers they allow in, ultimately allowing the United Kingdom to control the opening and closing of their border and allows them to position themselves as a host who decides who is allowed in and who is not. In order to prove this, many news articles from a variety of different sources on the topic of how Syrians are treated and their experiences will be analyzed. These articles will look at specific experiences Syrians have had while acclimating to their new lives with the government and everyday people.

The literature on hospitality provides tools to illuminate how hospitality is not only about kindness, openness and welcomeness, but also about politics. This literature can better help one understand why the United Kingdom chooses to offer hospitality towards Syrians who arrive via the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme compared to Syrians who arrive on their own. In the literature on hospitality, one take-away includes the idea of how hospitality figures

into the nation and nationalism. However, the main take away shows how immigration policies must be intertwined with concerns about economics and security.

This thesis will be organized by multiple sections. The first section will give the reader some background information about the United Kingdom Asylum Policy and the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme. This section will make the arguments that the United Kingdom has a long history of welcoming immigrants and supporting those who sought asylum due to war or human rights violations. This section also argues that the United Kingdom asylum process of requiring multiple pieces of evidence makes it difficult for asylum seekers to apply. Lastly, this section will show how Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme participants are offered more support compared to Syrian asylum seekers. The next section reviews literature on hospitality to argue how the concept of hospitality plays a key role in immigration policy. Immigration policy constraints hospitality by limiting which immigrants are able to come into the country. Hospitality contributes to how the nation thinks of itself in terms of welcoming towards immigrants while simultaneously limiting immigration and balancing openness with security. Following a brief methodology section, credible news article sources where journalists conducted and wrote about interviews with Syrians about their experiences coming to the United Kingdom via the Resettlement Scheme or on their own will be analyzed. The Syrians in these interviews explained their journey to the United Kingdom and all the ways they were helped or not helped by the government. This section also demonstrates how Syrians who come on their own are mistreated by the citizens of the United Kingdom and not just by the government because of how hospitality has not been embedded into their citizenship. This will prove

Appadurai's (2019) claim about how notions of hospitality need to be embedded in notions of citizenship, so citizens of a nation think of themselves as good hosts as part of their citizenship.

## An Overview of Two Policies

The United Kingdom, known for their hospitality towards welcoming new people, provides support to help acclimate new immigrants into their culture through education, housing, English language learning, and the labor force. A survey conducted by a journal measured the United Kingdom residents' feelings towards immigrants stating 49% view immigrants as a positive attribution to their society, whereas 32% view them as a negative attribution (Blinder 2014, 6). Leith and Duncan show how the Scottish government welcomes all immigrants along with advocating for policies to become more relaxed. This demonstrates how the Scottish government welcomes immigrants just as much, if not more than the population. Immigrants play an important part of the United Kingdom's social fabric, economic development, and demographic growth. "Scotland's Population Needs and Migration Policy: Discussion Paper on Evidence" (2018) explain the benefits immigrants add to the society and how the government's immigration policies need to continue to welcome all, "future migration systems should ensure that Scotland can welcome people within Europe and from elsewhere who want to study, live, work and raise their families here" (The Scottish Government 2018, 5). While the United Kingdom government welcomes all immigrants, they only offer proper acclimation assistance to Syrians who come through the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme leaving those who come on their own with many issues in terms of education, housing, language learning and the labor force. The United Kingdom Asylum Policy and the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme offer multiple differences in terms of the support provided by the

government for different groups of people. The United Kingdom government offers more support to Syrians who come via the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme versus Syrians who seek asylum. The United Kingdom government is able to demonstrate hospitality to one group because this then allows them to be inhospitable to another group, therefore limits immigration and how many asylum seekers or refugees they take in. This section will explain the United Kingdom Asylum Policy and the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme along with explaining the benefits Syrians receive through each policy.

The United Kingdom exhibits a long history of welcoming refugees and asylum seekers who fled war and human rights violations. *The New Plan for Immigration: Policy Statement* states, “the UK has a proud history of being open to the world. Global Britain will continue in that tradition. Our society is enriched by legal immigration. We are a better country for it” (Secretary of State for the Home Department 2021). The United Kingdom offers multiple programs to support immigrants as they acclimate to their new home, including English language support, employability and social security, healthcare, housing, educational support and guidance. However, as explained by Hepburn, the immigrants status will determine the services they will receive (Hepburn 2020). The United Kingdom offers less support for Syrian Asylum seekers to move to the United Kingdom compared to the Syrians who come as refugees through the Syrian Vulnerable Person’s Resettlement Scheme creating a segregation issue. By creating this divide between the United Kingdom population and the Syrians, United Kingdom citizens begin to view the Syrians who come via the Resettlement Scheme as good and the Syrians who come via their own route as bad. Karyotis et al states, “. in this case by de facto treating resettled Syrians as the ‘good’ refugees, while those who arrive of their own volition, regardless



of their needs, are viewed as more problematic” (Karyotis et al 2021, 483). Since the United Kingdom does not offer the same support to all Syrians, this impacts the way in how the United Kingdom population views the different Syrians. This section will begin by laying out the United Kingdom Asylum Policy followed by explaining the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme.

### *The United Kingdom Asylum Policy*

The United Kingdom prides itself on welcoming all immigrants and helping them acclimate to the culture. However, the government makes it challenging to seek asylum by making it difficult for people to provide the evidence required in order to receive granted protection according to *The Truth About Asylum* by the Refugee Council. The Asylum policy in place for the United Kingdom is a lengthy, difficult process in which all must go through in order to gain asylum. A large number of Syrians were refused entry into the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme, so their only option to safety into the United Kingdom is through asylum. According to the United Kingdom government website for claiming asylum in the United Kingdom, the government recommends those wishing to claim asylum should apply as soon as they arrive or as soon as they think travel back to their country would be unsafe (Government of the United Kingdom 2022). The asylum seeker must be in the United Kingdom to seek asylum and the longer they wait to start an application, the more likely it will be denied (Refugee Council 2021).

There are strict requirements for determining who meets the eligibility criteria for asylum in the United Kingdom. Those eligible are people who are unable to live safely in any part of

their country because of fear of prosecution. The prosecution must be because of race, religion, nationality, political opinion, gender or gender identity (Refugee Council 2021). Due to candidates coming from another European Union country, traveled through a safe third country to arrive in the United Kingdom, or have a connection with a safe third country, these claims may not be considered (Refugee Council 2021).

Upon the completion of the application, a meeting with an immigration officer will be set up, after the interview, the United Kingdom Home Office will decide if the claim can be considered. If the claim can be considered, an asylum interview with a caseworker will be set up and a decision will be made within six months. During the wait time for a decision to be made, asylum seekers may be required to report to a caseworker regularly, tell the authorities if the status changes, and are not allowed to work while the claim is being considered (Refugee Council 2021). The United Kingdom government did state in the Asylum Policy, asylum seekers can request help with legal representation for their claim and living in the United Kingdom while they wait for their decision. Asylum seekers may also receive more help from the government if they request it, "Housing is provided, but asylum-seekers cannot choose where it is, and it is often 'hard to let' properties which Council tenants do not want to live in. Cash support is available, and is currently set at £39.63 per person, per week, which makes it £5.64 a day for food, sanitation and clothing" (UNHCR 2021).

Asylum seekers are required to provide many documents in their application. The United Kingdom government website stated documents to be provided are passport and travel documents, police registration certificates, identification documents, and any other documents the candidate possesses and believes may help their case (Refugee Council 2021). Along with

those documents, the candidate must provide a document with their United Kingdom address on it or if they live with someone else, they must provide a recent letter from the person they live with or a government document which shows the person's name and address (Refugee Council 2021).

The difficult asylum process forces immigrants to figure out other ways to move to the United Kingdom either illegally, through a Refugee Resettlement Scheme, or they might choose to immigrate to a different country altogether. The Refugee Council explains the decision-making process as extremely tough resulting in rejecting most claims, only 41% of decisions granted asylum or other form of protection (Refugee Council 2021). Because asylum seeking requires the immigrant to arrive in their new country before starting their claim, many claims get rejected. However, several choose to stay in the country and begin their new life anyway, resulting in them staying illegally. Many Syrians try to immigrate to the United Kingdom because of this issue through the resettlement scheme, however, the scheme proves difficult to qualify.

### *The Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme*

The Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme, created in January of 2014 by the United Kingdom, worked closely with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to help identify the most at-risk Syrians and bring them to the United Kingdom. This does not mean the Syrians chosen are the only ones in need, which is why there is “irregular” migration and why Syrians find other ways to enter the United Kingdom. The Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme has a high set of criteria needed for acceptance. The scheme

intended to support and relocate 20,000 vulnerable Syrians making it competitive for Syrians to be chosen. Because of the limited number of spots, the United Kingdom government works closely with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to identify the most at risk and help relocate them to the United Kingdom (Home Office 2021). The criteria laid out to determine eligible candidates entails people who require urgent medical treatment, survivors of violence, or women and children at risk. Syrians can not apply for this scheme, selections and nominations must be made by the government or other immigration agencies. Once the UNHCR identifies and submits potential cases, the United Kingdom Government screens the cases and accepts or rejects the cases. Those selected complete a full medical assessment by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Once confirmed eligibility, United Kingdom Visas and Immigration issue visas to the chosen Syrians. Once the Syrians arrive, Biometric Residence Permits with 5 years' Refugee Leave are issued (Home Office 2021). The acclimation process then begins for Syrians who arrived via this scheme.

Once a candidate is selected for relocation to the United Kingdom through the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme, the United Kingdom government provides support in acclimating them into their new lives. They receive accommodation, access to healthcare and treatment, mental health and psychosocial provision, education, English language support, and employment (UNHCR 2021). After lots of research, the UNHCR learned relocating Syrians in houses spread across the city results in a better impact than relocating them all in one area because by putting them all in one area, ghettoization becomes a fear (UNHCR 2021). Because of this, the United Kingdom government secured apartments spread out across cities in the United Kingdom for these Syrians. These Syrians are given an apartment to live in, up to 20,000

pounds a year, 12 hours of English classes per week for up to 6 months in which the United Kingdom government funded an additional 10 million pounds for English courses just for the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme participants, along with many more benefits (UNHCR 2021).

Once the Syrian Refugees arrive in the United Kingdom, the government pledged to pay all resettlement costs for the first 12 months along with offering English courses. The Resettlement Scheme states:

The first 12 months of a refugee's resettlement costs are fully funded by the central government using the overseas aid budget. The Government has also provided an additional £10m ESOL funding to enhance the English language skills of adults to improve their resettlement and integration experience and employability (Home Office 2017, 6).

By paying their resettlement costs and offering English courses, the United Kingdom helps acclimate incoming Syrian immigrants to their new country. The former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron, announced on September 7th in 2015, the scheme would expand to resettle 20,000 Syrians in need of protection. While attempting to increase access to immigration support to Syrian refugees seems good on paper, the United Kingdom offers most of its support to those entering through the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme. Likewise, Syrians who do not meet the criteria for the scheme decide to flee Syria on their own, seek asylum in the United Kingdom, but then receive little support once they arrive as a result of not going through the scheme.

Many Syrians who came through the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme discussed their experiences and how they felt supported by the United Kingdom government in terms of education, finding a job, and paying for housing and essential life needs. Syrians who

came to the United Kingdom on their own and sought asylum talked about how they did not feel supported at all. *The New Scots: Integrating Refugees in Scotland's Communities* policy states the vision is, "For a Scotland where refugees are able to build a new life from the day they arrive and to realise their full potential with the support of mainstream services; and where they become active members of our communities with strong social relationships" (Scottish Refugee Council 2013, 10). Interestingly, the United Kingdom government only offers support to those who come through their scheme even though both groups of Syrians fled the same conflict.

In terms of Housing, Syrians who came to the United Kingdom through the Resettlement scheme state they receive a package upon arrival which helps them get settled in the United Kingdom. As for the asylum seeking Syrians, they receive no housing or money to help pay their rent. Karyotis et al. discusses this problem:

Resettled refugees in the UK receive a personalised, state-funded integration package upon arrival, which provides them with access to accommodation and social services. By contrast, there is no state-funded, tailored integration support for Syrians who have followed the asylum route, though devolution in the UK creates variation between the four nations. What this means is that individuals fleeing the same conflict are treated very differently. For those recognised as refugees after traversing the asylum process there is no longer any UK-wide integration strategy (Karyotis et al. 2021, 486).

This state-funded integration package offers great support because it gives the refugees money to pay for their housing and food for their family. It also offers personalization for each person so the package suits the needs of the specific refugee. Trouble finding and affording housing, as well as food for themselves and families proves to be a major problem for Syrians who arrive by themselves.

One in three young Syrians aspire to study in the United Kingdom (Karyotis et al., 2018, 16). However, studying in the United Kingdom proves to be a lot easier for the Resettlement

Scheme refugees compared to the asylum seeking Syrians due to documentation and mode of access. According to Karyotis et al., 61% of Asylum seekers lacked the formal documentation to attend school, whereas only 31% of Resettlement Scheme refugees lacked the documents (Karyotis et al. 2018, 16). Resettlement refugees arrive in the United Kingdom and receive the integration package upon arrival, this package provides the documents they need in order to enroll in schools. As for the asylum seekers, once they arrive in the United Kingdom they must claim asylum. They then wait until the United Kingdom government approves their asylum claim to enroll in schools because they do not receive the proper documentation until the approval of their claim. This alone creates an inequality between these groups of people because waiting for a decision on an asylum claim can take months meaning those Syrians will fall behind in school and will not receive the same education as the resettlement refugees. McIntosh et al. discusses how education plays a huge role in helping the Syrian refugees acclimate to their new lives and build meaningful relationships:

The Syrian refugees arrive here with nothing and these ties must be cultivated and developed over time. Social ties are created through developing activities which reflect individual's interests. This is done through local schools and through local religious activities and through the work of befrienders who visit families and take them for days out (McIntosh et al. 2018, 123).

This shows the difficulty asylum seekers experience in regards to meeting people and building relationships due to the fact they cannot attend school right away once they arrive in the United Kingdom. Because Asylum seeking refugees cannot study in a classroom with children their own age due to not having the proper documentation, clearly they struggle meeting people and making friends.

Upon arrival to the United Kingdom, Resettlement Scheme refugees gain the opportunity to get a job right away, whereas the asylum seekers must wait for the results of their claim before they can find a job. As explained by Karyotis et al. :

...for resettlement refugees, access to the labour market is, in principle, open from the minute they arrive in the UK, though significant barriers to such access remain. By contrast, those who follow the asylum route have, in practice, no access to the labour market while waiting for decisions on their applications, and are left to fend for themselves once they are granted protection (Karyotis et al., 2018, 16).

Additionally, asylum seekers do not receive integration packages upon arrival, which include housing, money for food, language courses, and a support program designed to acclimate them to the new culture. Until their claim gets approved through a lengthy government process, asylum seekers cannot legally work, resulting in problems with poverty and a struggle to properly acclimate. Asylum seekers come to the United Kingdom with little to nothing, generally not a lot of money, and no government aid. A lot of them rely on a job to make money to start their new life, but since they must wait until the decision of their asylum claim to get a job, this causes a problem for them financially. In the six months prior to leaving Syria, 52% of asylum seekers were employed compared to 36% of resettlement refugees this shows how asylum seekers tend to work more hours compared to the resettlement refugees (Karyotis et al., 2018, 16). Since proven asylum Syrians willingly contribute to society, the United Kingdom government should allow them to work while waiting for their decision on their claim.

To properly acclimate to a country and culture, Syrian immigrants should strive to learn the native language of their new country. Karyotis et al. discusses how the Resettlement Scheme offers English learning classes:

Integrating ESOL classes into the Syrian resettlement scheme constitutes a recognition on the part of the Government that language is a crucial factor in accessing work and education, and, indeed, in general life orientation. Successive UK Governments have



emphasised the importance of speaking English, yet have simultaneously cut financial support to ESOL (Karyotis et al. 2021, 488).

This shows the government recognizes the importance for immigrants to learn the language of their new country so they can get a job, attend and do well in school, and overall build relationships with people in their new country. The asylum seeking Syrians need to find and pay for their own language courses, whereas Syrians who come through the Resettlement Scheme receive English language classes for free:

Language provision is built into the Syrian resettlement programme so there is a degree of automaticity to language learning for resettlement refugees. The situation is very different for asylum seekers. For them, improvement of English language skills often depends on their ability to identify and access language classes that are not provided specifically for refugees (Karyotis et al. 2021, 488).

Not knowing the English language will affect the Syrians negatively and will make it challenging for them to acclimate.

The United Kingdom government helps the Syrians who come via the Resettlement Scheme acclimate in many ways and sets them up for success. Whereas, the government offers no support for the asylum seeking Syrians and makes it difficult for them to start their new lives. The help from the government results in positive remarks from the Resettlement Scheme refugees, “resettlement refugee respondents are happier, more confident, and more hopeful than those coming through the asylum route” (Karyotis et al. 2018, 18). Since the resettlement refugees receive more help they report more positively about the United Kingdom government than the asylum seekers:

Resettlement refugees speak more positively of Local Authorities; International Organisations; and National Civil Society/NGOs. Interestingly though, they also speak more positively of the British population, suggesting perhaps minus the hostile anti-asylum environment and a need to prove their ‘legitimacy’ as refugees, Syrians are able to live relatively free of overt hostility. By contrast, asylum seekers have more positive evaluations of employers only (Karyotis et al. 2018, 17).

There is a difference in the way the United Kingdom portrays itself as a refugee host and the way refugees experience that. This difference hinges on the distinction between formally resettled refugees and asylum seekers. The lack of help from the government for the asylum seekers creates issues and a divide between them and the United Kingdom population. Syrian asylees viewed as bad to the United Kingdom population creates a racial divide, difficulty acclimating to the new culture, trouble creating relationships, problems finding jobs, and overall, problems of mistreatment and lack of respect. These issues result in a negative experience for these Syrians and leaves them with a poor view of the United Kingdom population and government. The negative experiences could result in Syrians choosing to immigrate to other countries, resulting in the United Kingdom not able to claim they welcome all immigrants. Overall, the United Kingdom government believes they offer hospitality to all immigrants, however those who come via the Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement Scheme receive more hospitality compared to those who come on their own.

The United Kingdom offers two different policies for Syrians to use when migrating to the country, the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme or the Asylum Policy. The concept of hospitality is important in understanding why the United Kingdom does not treat all Syrians the same. Hospitality is a performance done by a nation-state and ultimately makes the nation-state look good. Nation-states must demonstrate hospitality to make their nation look better compared to other nations.

## Literature Review on Hospitality

### *Introduction*

To understand why the United Kingdom elects to welcome select Syrian immigrants, this section will review literature on hospitality. Hospitality involves kindness, openness and welcomeness, but also politics. Scholars have analyzed how hospitality influences immigration policy and security and have drawn connections between hospitality, the nation state, and the origin of immigration policy. These analyses and scholarly articles examine hospitality from a different vantage point which help one understand why the United Kingdom treats the Syrian populations differently. The literature review begins with a section on hospitality as it relates to nationalism by analyzing works written by Appadurai (2019), Berg and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2018), Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh (2016) and Pitt-Rivers (2012). The main section on immigration policy and hospitality will look at hospitality in terms of informing immigration policy and how hospitality intertwines with concerns about economics and security through the analysis of works by Appadurai (2019), Young (2011), McNevin and Missbach (2018), and Riggan and Poole (N.D.).

The United Kingdom chooses to divide the Syrian population into two separate groups and only treats one of these groups hospitably. The United Kingdom divides the Syrian population because they believe they cannot offer hospitality towards everyone and must make hard determinations over who they appear hospitable towards. The United Kingdom is under the false notion that hospitality is a limited quantity and by believing this, they end up mistreating part of the Syrian population. If Syrians come to the United Kingdom through official channels,

they receive assistance with acclimation and resettlement, but if they try to immigrate through unofficial channels, usually out of desperation, then the United Kingdom is not obligated to provide any support. The United Kingdom decides when they can enact hospitality and only through one set of procedures and not the other.

Ultimately, this literature review highlights the contradictions on the system of hospitality in the United Kingdom. While all perspectives show importance, the perspective most useful to consider includes the discussions of the influence of hospitality on immigration policy. It is essential to understand hospitality because it helps shape the immigration policy of a nation and helps to understand why the United Kingdom chooses to show hospitality towards one group of Syrians, but not the other.

### *Hospitality and The Nation*

In order to understand how the concept of hospitality shapes immigration policy, it is necessary to first understand how the concept of hospitality figures into the formation of the nation and how nationalism becomes influenced by hospitality. This section focuses on hospitality and the nation, particularly how hospitality influences nationalism.

Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh (2016) and Berg and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2018) both believe hostility and hospitality are interlinked, and a nation can never be completely welcoming towards people from other countries. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh feel people welcome others conditionally because there is the fear of violence and the unknown:

Hospitality, as such, is never absolute: the possibility of rejection – and overt violence – is always already there. A neighbour can only ever welcome another neighbour in a conditional way – to offer welcome is always already to have the power to delimit the space or place that is being offered to the Other (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh 2016).

The United Kingdom treats Syrian immigrants who come through the asylum route with more hostility than those who come through the Resettlement Scheme. This may be because the United Kingdom is able to create conditional requests in the Resettlement Scheme, due to the Resettlement Scheme focusing only on the Syrian population whereas the asylum route does not. The United Kingdom welcomes Syrians in a hostile way with multiple conditions in place because they are scared of the unknown and do not know who the guests truly are.

In a similar vein to the previous scholars, Pitt-Rivers (2012) argues guests are unknown and therefore treated with hostility because the hosts do not know who they truly are:

The essence of the stranger is, tautologically enough, that he is unknown. He remains potentially anything: valiant or worthless, well born, well connected, wealthy or the contrary, and since his assertions regarding himself cannot be checked, he is above all not to be trusted (Pitt-Rivers 2012, 504).

Treating immigrants and or strangers with hostility is a common practice. Without the knowledge of a person, their background, and how they contribute to society, it is difficult to have full trust in them. Because of the lack of trust, people tend to not talk to people they do not know and when they do choose to talk to someone who has no relationship with them, they treat them with hostility and disclose little information.

In contrast, Pitt-Rivers also claims guests must prove themselves in order for the nation and population to welcome them and offer hospitality. If unable to prove themselves, they are treated poorly. The guests must also fit in with the culture and nationalism of the nation in order to fully be welcomed, “the stranger therefore starts afresh as an individual insofar as he may be incorporated into the community. It must make its own evaluation of him in order to accept him” (Pitt-Rivers 2012, 504). Upon arrival to a new country, guests are given the opportunity to begin a new life as a new person, they can choose to act however they want to and can create an

alternate personality for themselves. However, the guests must be mindful in how they behave because the citizens of the country will judge them and quickly determine if they would fit well within their society. If they prove a good fit to the society, the citizens will welcome them with open arms and treat them with great hospitality, if they do the opposite, the guests will experience mistreatment and difficulty acclimating and making connections within their new society.

Oppositely, Appadurai (2019) suggests a change in the nation state, rather than in the guests, as a solution to the current hostility of nations mentioned previously by Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Berg and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh. Appadurai claims notions of hospitality need to become embedded in notions of citizenship. This idea ultimately helps fix the mindset of citizens and will help them look at immigrants in a more positive light. Appadurai argues that countries must change their culture around immigrants, rather than forcing immigrants to assimilate into their new country. Appadurai discusses the problems immigrants experience while proving themselves when they arrive in a new country, “one source of this problem is that modern conceptions of citizenship, tied up with various forms of democratic universalism, tend to demand a homogenous people with standardized packages of rights” (Appadurai 2019, 2). In other words, every society has a tendency to associate their own culture as the definition of a perfect citizen, instead societies should focus on implanting inclusion and hospitality into their culture and conception of citizenship. Societies should want immigrants to migrate to their country and contribute to society because immigrants bring a broader knowledge of the world and a sense of diversity. Immigrants contribute to a society by helping broaden the minds of its citizens and ultimately leading to a better and more efficient community.

### *Hospitality and Immigration Policy*

The scholarly perspectives reviewed below, discuss how hospitality influences the immigration policy of a nation. Appadurai (2019) claims countries are not hospitable towards foreigners because they view immigrants and refugees as an “inbetween phase”, rather than as a visitor or citizen. Countries view immigrants and refugees in this light because they have features of the stranger, victim, criminal, and undocumented visitor and have not yet proven themselves to the host state (Appadurai 2019).

In a similar vein, Pechlaner et al. (2016) discusses how refugee policies are typically restrictive, creating a hostility towards welcoming immigrants into a nation. Many scholars have pointed out how immigrants are viewed as enemies to countries (Candea and Da Col 2012, Derrida 2000, Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000, Friese 2010). Rosello (2001) discusses how France created policies which had anti-immigration attitudes. These new policies reflected a repressive and restrictive philosophy which thought of the illegal immigrant as an enemy of the state, “France 1993 had so-called Pasquale laws that became the most obvious manifestation of the French government’s anti-immigration attitude” (Rosello 2001, 1). The scholars above all believe this view needs to change and countries need to better understand immigrants and erase the idea of trying to make all immigrants fit into the host country’s nationalism. In order to change this view, new policies which welcome and help immigrants fit into the host society need to be created.

Economic facets play a large role in discrimination within migration policies. Bell (2010) and Araya-Moreno (2020) both claim countries create immigration policies based on the

characteristics of the immigrants they want in their country, essentially picking who they welcome. Similarly, Appadurai claims countries prefer to welcome rich immigrants rather than poor immigrants as a hope they will contribute more to their new society, “such examples of the brutalizing of migrants can be multiplied: poorer migrants today frequently end up as undocumented citizens, objects of racist laws and sometimes targets of ethnocidal violence in locations from Rwanda to Indonesia” (Appadurai 2019, 4). The different policies in a country are designed to help immigrants with money because they can contribute to the economy of the host state. To host states, wealthy immigrants are the only immigrants worth welcoming.

Araya-Moreno affirms countries create policies to welcome immigrants who will integrate the best into the labor market, “selection systems of immigrants aim to identify and attract those migrants who are deemed more likely to integrate into the labour market and meet labour market needs” (Araya-Moreno 2020, 338). Similarly, Bell believes governments tend to abuse their power while creating policies, making them discriminatory and only selecting the best immigrants to welcome, “conditional hospitality is what is extended to migrants, hospitality that, in his deconstruction of it, Derrida exposes as involving violence and injustice. He talks of the collusion between hospitality and power...” (Bell 2010, 240). Bell and Araya-Moreno claim countries create policies based on their nationalism and tend to only welcome immigrants who fit in with their nationalism and will contribute greatly to society.

Similarly, Balch (2016) states rich or well-known people, or people who have power within a society, have an impact on the creation of policies which determine the hospitality towards immigrants, politicians are not the only people who have a say in this. Shryock (2008) (2012) both agrees and disagrees with Balch. Shryock shares Balch's viewpoint of the wealthy



wielding the power of hospitality, but opposes the idea that all wealthy people contribute to the creation of hospitality policies. Instead, Shryock argues only wealthy people who happen to be in the right place at the right time contribute to policies.

In contrast to the previous scholars, Young (2011) claims because of the exclusionary nature of the nation state, only cities can be hospitable, not the nation state itself. Cities do not have the responsibility of creating policies, therefore are in a better place to host, so it is up to the local government to welcome immigrants. Young claims individual cities in each country are the ones responsible for being hospitable towards immigrants, however, does believe immigrants are viewed as enemies, “foreigners are limited to the status of temporary visitors rather than being permitted to attain formal membership” (Young 2011, 540). Since immigrants are viewed as an enemy due to the possibility of remaining in the country for a short period of time and have yet to prove themselves, these individuals become more restricted on what they can do in their new country.

McNevin and Missbach (2018) and Barnett (2005) discuss how policies determine hospitality in a nation, however they argue different points compared to Balch and Shryock. McNevin and Missbach believe within policy, it is impossible to be hospitable towards every immigrant. They believe a set of criteria needs to be used in order for the nation to determine who the policies should be hospitable towards. It is important for a host to preserve their capacity to offer hospitality, and by offering the same support to everyone, a host is not preserving their hospitality (McNevin and Missbach 2018, 301). Hospitality, along with other rights, must be limited. When looking at the Syrian immigrants who migrate to the United Kingdom, McNevin

and Missbach's argument is important because it helps one better understand why the Syrian population is treated differently.

In comparison with what McNevin and Missbach proposed, the United Kingdom uses a lot of criteria, created with help of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to diagnose Syrians most at risk for medical treatment and allocate hospitality resources to those in need. The United Kingdom, like every country, has finite resources making it necessary to set such criteria. Because of this, Syrians who come through the Resettlement Scheme receive more hospitality, due to the scheme's selectiveness. Barnett also believes a set of criteria for immigrants plays a role in creating hospitable policies for immigrants.

While McNevin and Missbach illustrate a strong argument for how nations cannot offer hospitality towards everyone, the ways they choose to make the determination over who the United Kingdom hosts or not proves problematic and many immigrants suffer because of it. Syrians experience difficulty acclimating and making connections due to the difference in cultures. Although all Syrians have the risk of experiencing hostility, the asylum process shows more hostility than the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme.

Concerns about security play an important part in the relationship between hospitality and immigration policy, as Riggan and Poole (N.D.) discuss, migration bridges the gap between hospitality and protecting the people. These scholars analyze the impact of Eritreans migrating to Ethiopia and explain how safety must play a part in the framework of hospitality. Hospitality never fully consists of generosity and the host must always understand the importance of safety while remaining hospitable towards the innocent:

paired with security, the regional politics of hospitality has also always been central to Ethiopian refugee hosting. Ethiopia has always had an "open door" policy towards refugees; however, despite its lack of securitized borders, the relative openness of the

door is always calibrated by politics. What this means is that, while Ethiopia is expressly open to all refugees from all places, historically the freedom to move and work has been limited and most refugees are still housed in camps (Kemisso 2016 as cited in Riggan and Poole N.D, 92).

Similarly, Agier (2021) and Derrida (2000) also discuss ways in which the nation state must bring security into the conversation when creating immigration policies. Both scholars explain the best way to bring security into the conversation is by thinking of immigrants with distrust, “in accordance with the supposed expectation of the population at large, there was a clear need to demonstrate all possible reticence and distrust towards the intruder, which meant not providing shelters, reassurance or food, all of which could have been made available, from a material and economic stand-point, without any special difficulty” (Agier 2021, 4). Nations treat immigrants with distrust out of precautionary protection of national security, which encourages the nation to not provide resettlement support to immigrants. This helps explain why the United Kingdom chose not to provide the resources of resettlement for all Syrians, but only for the Syrians who met the criteria for the resettlement scheme.

### *Conclusion*

After reviewing the literature on hospitality, one better understands why the United Kingdom chooses to offer hospitality towards the Resettlement Scheme Syrians and not towards the asylum seeking Syrians. The literature helps better understand the many perspectives about hospitality, specifically the way hospitality figures into the nation and nationalism. The scholars Berg and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2018), Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh (2016), Pitt-Rivers (2012) propose many arguments about the need for the immigrants to prove themselves to the citizens so they receive hospitality. Appadurai (2019) also proposed the idea of changing a nation's

citizenship to embed aspects of hospitality in the culture so immigrants are not forced to assimilate (Appadurai 2019). The literature also shows the most useful perspective of how hospitality influences immigration policy. This perspective demonstrates the difficult considerations the United Kingdom must make when determining which immigrants they offer hospitality towards. The scholars Appadurai (2019), Young (2011), McNevin and Missbach (2018), and Riggan and Poole (N.D) show how immigration policies must be intertwined with concerns about economics and security. This perspective alone explains how the United Kingdom cannot offer hospitality to every Syrian immigrant due to these concerns.

## **Contrasting Experiences of Syrians**

### *Introduction*

As noted above, the United Kingdom prides itself on welcoming all immigrants, including Syrians currently fleeing the Syrian Civil War. The United Kingdom created a Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme in order to help Syrians move to the United Kingdom and acclimate to their new lives. However, the scheme involves strict criterias in order to qualify as a participant, resulting in many Syrians arriving by themselves and instead seeking asylum. The United Kingdom thinks of themselves as welcoming, however the scheme only allows a limited number of Syrians, Syrians who do not get accepted, travel on their own and seek asylum. However, the United Kingdom Asylum Policy proves intense.

The next section will demonstrate how the United Kingdom is not as welcoming to immigrants as they make themselves out to be. The Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme offers great support in terms of finding a place to live and a job to start saving up money,

but only accepts a small number of people. This results in Syrians claiming asylum which often leads to negative experiences such as a denied asylum case or an approved asylum case, but then given no help in terms of finding housing, employment, or a stipend to pay for necessary needs.

The data discussed below will be randomly selected from credible news article sources because many Syrians speak about their experiences acclimating to life in the United Kingdom and many news sources published written accounts with interviews and quotes about the experiences. All of the accounts analyzed are excerpts of interviews journalists conducted and wrote about. Because of this, it is important to consider the fact these interviews have been edited in a way where the journalist has the power, therefore these interviews may not be shared the exact way the interviewee intended. These stories will be analyzed to fully understand the Syrian's experiences. Lastly, a comparison and contrast of the experiences between the two types of Syrian immigrants will be done in order to determine how different the two experiences are. By comparing the two groups' experiences, a better understanding of why the United Kingdom government provides more support to one group and not to the other will emerge. This section will review eleven first person accounts by ten sources and will each be read two times. Five accounts are from asylum seekers and six accounts are from resettled Syrians.

The data will help better understand why the United Kingdom is hospitable towards Syrians who arrive via the Resettlement Scheme and inhospitable towards Syrians who seek asylum. The first person accounts from Syrians who arrived via the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme will possibly be more positive compared to the first person accounts from Syrians who came on their own seeking asylum. The data will help explore how the United

Kingdom is not as welcoming to all immigrants as they make themselves out to be and favors Syrians who come to the United Kingdom through the resettlement scheme.

This data analysis will be organized by a section focusing on first person accounts by Syrians who came to the United Kingdom through the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme. The interviews will focus on what the Syrians went through to get to the United Kingdom, how the policies directly impacted their journey to the United Kingdom, whether they experienced support or none at all, and how their new life ended up. By looking at these first person accounts, we will gain a better understanding of why and how Syrians are treated. The interviews will then be analyzed and interpreted. The next section will focus on the experiences of Syrians who traveled to the United Kingdom through asylum. These sections will be organized like this in order to give the reader a clear understanding of what each group of Syrians experienced on their journey and arrival to the United Kingdom. Then there will be an analysis section where the two groups' experiences will be interpreted. By contrasting the experiences of these two groups, the divide between how the government treats them in terms of acclimation and resettlement is clear. The final section below will, therefore, argue the United Kingdom chooses to favor Syrians who come via their scheme because they have more control over how this population acclimates within their society.

### *Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme Experiences*

The Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme includes a difficult list of criterias for people to become a part of the program. Based on the accounts gathered, the Syrians who meet the criteria express their gratitude for the United Kingdom and how smooth the transition to

their new life was, along with how much support they received from the government, “the families are settling well and are very appreciative of the help they have received and the opportunity they have been given to settle in this country” (European Resettlement Network 2014). Six accounts written by five different sources have been read and analyzed. The Syrian experiences will be broken up into sections by what Syrians thought of in terms of housing, education and language, and job support. After a description of these experiences, an analysis of the experiences based on the policy will be discussed. These experiences will demonstrate how the United Kingdom favors and offers a lot more aid towards resettlement Syrians.

The first experience described and analyzed is about what Syrians who traveled through the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme have to say about the support they received in terms of housing. Khaled lived near the Iraqi border and watched as war engulfed his city. He knew he wanted to get out, but could not leave without his girlfriend, now wife, Dalal. Khaled traveled through the conflict area to get to her. They then married and fled to Lebanon, where they had their first child. Life was hard and they moved from town to town. Making matters worse, Dalal became severely ill, making it not possible for her to withstand the conditions of refugee life. Khaled worked hard to crowdfund for his wife’s surgeries, luckily his crowdfunding campaign brought his case to the attention of the International Refugee Assistance Project (IRAP). IRAP then helped Khaled and his family register for the Resettlement Scheme (Dwommah 2019). Khaled and his family reflected on their experience upon arrival, “as soon as I arrived, my new life was waiting, my house, services, furniture. Refugee Support Devon (RSD) helped us feel at home. They are like our family now” (Dwommah 2019).

The last sentence Khaled shared is important because it reflects a sense of hospitality. According to what the journalist shared about Khaled's experience, the scheme did what was intended and helped Khaled and his family become fully acclimated to their new life in the United Kingdom. They received a fully furnished home as soon as they arrived so they were able to have a smooth transition into their new life.

Mohammed and his family took their savings and fled from Syria to Cairo, Egypt after the murder of his father. Mohammed attended school in the day time and worked hard in the night time to pay for the family's living expenses. The youngest brother was diagnosed with leukemia, making it difficult to afford treatment and cost of living. As a result of needing more complex treatments, a medical charity applied on the family's behalf for resettlement (Gentleman 2015). Mohammed and his family experienced something similar, "the family didn't have to pay for their visas, and plane tickets were provided. They then flew to Manchester, before officials from a housing association brought them to a house in Bradford" (Gentleman 2015). Both of these families were given residency permits and fully furnished accommodations spread out around cities away from other Resettlement Scheme Syrians the day they landed in the United Kingdom. These Syrians seem to have felt supported by the government upon arrival to the United Kingdom in terms of the way they were supported by the government and their experiences follow what the policy states. The only experience which did not match the policy exactly in terms of housing was Nor's family's experience. Nor owned her own store in Syria which happened to be in the same location as a peaceful demonstration against the president in 2011. Nor became involved after an unarmed demonstration was dispersed by government forces and many protesters were shot and killed. The violence continued to worsen, so Nor moved with



her family to Damascus, Syria where she tried to get a passport to move to Egypt. Since her name was on a list of anti-government activists, she was arrested several times. During her third arrest, she was kept underground where she was tortured. When she was released, she found a smuggler to take her to Lebanon where she was reunited with her children. Her friends encouraged her to apply for the Resettlement Scheme (Gentleman 2015). Nor stated, “It wasn’t until I arrived in the United Kingdom that I felt safe. Ten days after I arrived, I was issued with a residency permit for five years. That was the best moment” (Gentleman 2015). Nor, her two daughters and son waited ten days until they received a residency permit and an accommodation. The Resettlement Scheme does not specify when an accommodation will be given to arriving Syrians, but Nor’s experience is different compared to the other two experiences because they received their accommodation upon arrival and did not have to wait at all.

The next experience described and analyzed will be about the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme participants experiences on support given on education and language learning. Upon arrival to the United Kingdom, according to the account, Mohammed and his family did not have to worry and find a school for their children despite the language barrier, “They were allocated a support worker who helped the children find school and college places, and who explained the benefit system” (Gentleman 2015). The Resettlement Scheme has every aspect of acclimating into a new life planned out, this way the Syrians do not worry about anything. Mohammed and his family were provided a support worker who handled everything in terms of education for the children. His family did not worry about communicating through a language barrier to find the children a school or learn about the benefit system because a worker assigned to them did all of this for them and explained to them in their language. Some of these

Syrians did express the struggle of acclimating due to the lack of language knowledge. Nor stated, “I know I am secure now – me and my children are safe. They missed three years at school, but they are back now, and they are learning. In the beginning it was very difficult, but they are smart – they have integrated” (Gentleman 2015). The resettlement scheme’s goal is to place the children into a school as soon as they arrive, this is often a struggle because the children have a limited knowledge of English. However, the main goal of the scheme is to acclimate them as quickly as possible. It is difficult for the Syrians at first, but the scheme provides free English courses they start right away, so they will be able to start making friends at school quickly, “the parents – who spoke no English when they arrived — are taking language lessons five days a week courtesy of local volunteers organized by Host Abingdon” (Karmi 2017). This experience aligns with what the scheme laid out because the scheme stated Syrians would receive 12 hours of English class a week. A Syrian teenager named Esther also discussed her troubles in school, stating how adjusting to United Kingdom life was a daunting experience, "Hull is a beautiful place. I'm very happy here but of course it was a little bit challenging. Making friends was hard at the beginning because you can't communicate with the students" (Mistry and Wainwright 2019). Esther helps better understand the importance of these English classes because by attending 12 hours of English class a week and being fully immersed in the language at school, these Syrians will be able to communicate with others and make connections fairly quickly even if it is challenging in the beginning.

The last experience described and analyzed will be about the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme participants experiences on support given on employment. The goal of the scheme is to promote English preparedness before employment and to secure employment by the

end of the first year. The scheme promotes English classes and allows the Syrians to volunteer, work with private skills trainers, council-based skills' units, or further their education to prepare them for their work placements (UNHCR 2021). Once they reach a certain level in English, they are then allowed to be placed in a work placement set up by the scheme. Lina talks about her experience volunteering as a school assistant,

One of the keenest pupils in the class is Lina, a former English teacher from Aleppo. "Lurgan is a beautiful town," she says. "I love it here, and in the future I want to work again as a teacher." She is already volunteering as a primary school assistant and helping out in a charity shop, keen to give something back to the community that has welcomed her in (Padoan 2017).

Lina has only been in the United Kingdom for less than a year, so according to the scheme, is not allowed to work yet. However, Lina speaks fluent English, normally the scheme does not allow Syrians to work until the end of the first year because they want them to improve their English. Since Lina already knows English, it is interesting how she is not permitted to work yet. Maybe the scheme wants these Syrians to spend their first year acclimating and getting involved in their new community by volunteering before they get employment and uses the excuse of not knowing the language well as a way to not allow them to work. However, since the scheme provides a place to live and 20,000 pounds a year, there is no need for them to work during their first year. During this time they should acclimate and get involved in their new community.

While all of these stories share experiences reflecting the aspects of the Resettlement Scheme, it is important to think, were these Syrian's truly supported this much by the United Kingdom government, or did the journalists leave out some of the not so good things these Syrians might have mentioned? Because of this, we can not assume these Syrians shared only good things about the United Kingdom government. These Syrians may have shared some

negative opinions towards the Resettlement Scheme, but the journalists may have chosen to leave the negative opinions out of their articles to only speak positively about the scheme.

### *Experiences of Asylum Seekers*

Syrians who come on their own to the United Kingdom and seek asylum, experience more difficult struggles while they acclimate to their new lives and receive little to no support from the government. In this section, five articles written by five different sources have been analyzed. The Syrian experiences will be described and analyzed according to the policy by case because these experiences can not easily be sectioned like those of the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme. Again, it is important to understand that these accounts are excerpts from different Syrian interviews, because of this, the full story may not be told and the journalists may have edited it in a way to reflect their agendas.

Abed Alkhalaf fled Syria in 2015 and traveled to Belfast all on his own, forced to leave his wife and seven children in Syria because of little money and a dangerous journey. Families fleeing the Syrian war to relocate to the United Kingdom often have little money, “Refugees often have to flee their homes and use whatever financial resources they have to reach safety. Individuals in this situation may not have the means to fund travel for their family or other costs associated with reuniting with them” (McGarvey 2020). Unlike the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme, those wishing to relocate to the United Kingdom through asylum, must travel to the United Kingdom on their own and completely fund it themselves. This shows commonality to Ishmael’s story, “after talking to his family, Ishmael started his perilous journey

with some cash on hand” (Aydin and Aksut 2019). Syrians attempting to relocate to the United Kingdom also rely on smugglers,

When Ishmael arrived in Izmir, he got in touch with smugglers with the help of other refugees. “I took a boat from Izmir to Greece, but it was all illegal,” he said” (Aydin and Aksut 2019). Ammar also shared his journey, “Then I found a smuggler to cross the sea to Greece -- which was the biggest test of my life (White and Head 2018).

The journey to the United Kingdom for Syrians trying to seek asylum proves difficult, but once they arrive, they are given little to no support while they wait for the results of their claim. Ghani fled his war-torn country twice. He experienced war in his native country and escaped with his family to Syria to restart their lives, unfortunately his father died on the journey. Years later, in 2011, war happened in Syria, so he fled again. He fled to Jordan with his family, his mom and 3 sisters, one of whom has severe learning disabilities. His family lived there for three years and then relocated to Huddersfield, United Kingdom (Mistry and Wainwright. 2019). Ghani discusses his struggles of finding a place to live, “but resettling was a struggle, he said, having encountered a spell of homelessness. The stress resulted in his father dying from a heart attack” (Mistry and Wainwright. 2019). While both Syrian groups may experience similar stress due to having fled a war zone, resettlement Syrians will not encounter a spell of homelessness since housing is provided and waiting for them once they arrive. However, waiting for resettlement may be just as stressful if not more than what the asylum seekers go through because those Syrians will have to wait in Syria for a longer period of time. Whereas, the asylum seeking Syrians can escape whenever they want. The Asylum Policy claims housing is available for asylum seekers, however this was not the case for Ghani. Perhaps the United Kingdom ran out of asylum housing locations which is why Ghani was all on his own. Ghani also expressed how they experienced trouble acclimating to their new life, "it was a culture shock. We knew

nothing, everything was different - language, how we talk, body language” (Mistry and Wainwright. 2019). The Asylum Policy only states housing and cash support is offered for asylum seekers, however unlike the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme, English classes are not provided. This results in the Syrian asylum seekers having to learn English all on their own. This often harms them because not knowing the language makes it difficult to secure employment, which ultimately results in a lack of monetary support for the family. Whereas, the resettlement Syrians receive free language courses upon arrival and a translator who will help them secure employment and deal with any other language barrier situations is provided.

The United Kingdom Government is also strict on what Syrians they grant asylum to. A 25-year old Syrian man who traveled to the United Kingdom in May 2020 to seek asylum stated, “... returning to Syria would put his life in danger. He would be targeted as a draft dodger, arrested and possibly killed, he said” (Mudge 2022). However, his asylum claim was rejected and the home office stated, “in its rejection letter to the man, reported by *The Guardian* newspaper, the Home Office said he could safely return to Syria. ‘I am not satisfied to a reasonable degree of likelihood that you have a well-founded fear of persecution...’” (Mudge 2022). Interestingly, the United Kingdom created a whole Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme because they recognized the severity of the issue taking place in Syria, but yet declined this man’s asylum case. As described by the many cases, Syrians who do not get selected to come via the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme must go through dangerous journeys to arrive in the United Kingdom, then face many struggles in acclimating due to a lack of support by the government. Some Syrians receive rejected asylum applications because the government does not believe the reason is severe enough for asylum.

*Discussion*

The Asylum Policy goals are not reflected in the experiences of asylum seekers whereas, the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme proves to be true with what the participants of this scheme are experiencing. Participants of the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme see what the asylum seekers go through and express their concern for the government to provide more help to them. Mohammed speaks openly about his concern for those coming through the dangerous asylum route. He talks about his friend's dangerous journey on boats, the amount of money he spent and how his sister died on the journey (Gentleman 2015). Traveling by boat to get to the United Kingdom is the most dangerous route asylum seekers take and the decision is not made lightly. If the government helped more, asylum seekers would not have to resort to traveling by boat. Mohammed states,

The governments in Europe should help more. If they helped more, then they wouldn't decide to travel by boat." The decision to take a boat is not taken lightly, he adds. "When somebody wants to travel in the sea, he has a special reason. There has to be a reason. When all other things are closed, he decides to open this door (Gentleman 2015).

Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme participants also recognize how much easier it is for them in terms of acclimating to their new lives, "it is harder for those who come independently and claim asylum once they have arrived, because they have to wait until their application is approved before they can work – a very unsettling period, made harder to cope with by enforced unemployment" (Gentleman 2015).

The United Kingdom is not as welcoming towards immigrants as they claim to be and this is proven by analyzing the two experiences. Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme participants are given all the aid and support by the United Kingdom government they could ever

need. Whereas, the Syrian asylum seekers are risking their lives and spending all their money just to travel to the United Kingdom, then upon arrival are not given the support laid out by the United Kingdom Asylum Policy. The participants of the Resettlement Scheme see this divide and speak openly about it in order to try to get the United Kingdom Government to help the asylum seekers more.

## Conclusion

The Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme began in 2014 and by 2020, 20,000 Syrian refugees were chosen and relocated to the United Kingdom with the help of this scheme (NAO 2021). According to this statistic, this means approximately 3,000 Syrians were relocated per year. While this is an exciting accomplishment, sadly when looking at how many Syrians applied for asylum in the United Kingdom, this scheme does not offer enough support to the Syrian population. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, by the end of 2021, 75,615 Syrians applied for asylum in the United Kingdom (UNHCR 2021). 75,615 Syrian asylum applications is almost four times the amount of Syrians who were resettled via the scheme over the span of four years.

To understand why the United Kingdom chooses to offer hospitality and support to Syrians who arrive via the Resettlement Scheme instead of those who arrive on their own, literature on hospitality was reviewed and an analysis was completed on the experiences of these two groups. The literature helps gain a better understanding of why the United Kingdom treats these two groups of Syrians differently and offers a better understanding of how hospitality helps shape nationalism which ultimately shapes immigration policies within a nation. The literature



also discussed how hospitality influences immigration policy and is intertwined with concerns about economics and security.

The different news articles which discussed the Syrians experiences of resettlement through the scheme or through traveling on their own and seeking asylum help prove how the United Kingdom offers more support to those who come through the scheme. The data helps better understand why the United Kingdom chooses to be hospitable towards Syrians who arrive via the Resettlement Scheme and inhospitable towards Syrians who seek asylum. As proven by the data and the analysis, the first person accounts from Syrians who arrived via the Resettlement Scheme proved more positively compared to the first person accounts from Syrians who came on their own. The data ultimately proved the United Kingdom chooses to favor Syrians who come via their scheme.

After reviewing the literature on hospitality and completing an analysis on the experiences of the two groups of Syrians, the United Kingdom can demonstrate hospitality to one group of Syrians because by doing so, it allows them to be inhospitable to the other group of Syrians. Ultimately, this limits immigration and the amount of refugees and asylum seekers the United Kingdom allows into the country. This positions the United Kingdom as a host who controls the opening and closing of their border and allows them to decide who they welcome and who they do not.

Fortunately, the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme began in 2016 and since then, more schemes were created under this scheme to allow for a greater number of participants. The Vulnerable Children's Resettlement Scheme was launched in April 2016, two years after the original scheme. The immigration minister wrote in a written statement, "we will commit to

resettling several hundred individuals in the first year with a view to resettling up to 3000 individuals over the lifetime of this Parliament, the majority of whom will be children.”

Refugees resettled under VCRS did not need to have been affected specifically by the conflict in Syria” (Bolt 2020, 17). The other scheme created was the Community Sponsorship Scheme in July 2016, this scheme was created because the public interest in the Syrian crisis reached its peak. This scheme allows for community groups to sponsor the resettlement of a refugee family.

As explained by the Home Office,

Community Sponsorship is a way for local communities, civil society organisations, faith groups and businesses, to be directly involved in helping refugees settle in the UK. Community sponsors provide emotional and practical support to empower resettled families to rebuild their lives and to become self-sufficient members of their new community (Bolt 2020, 17).

However, these schemes still involve a highly selective process where Syrians must be selected or nominated. While more schemes were created to allow for more participants, these schemes still remain the same in terms of the difficult criteria for Syrians to qualify for and as a result, the schemes still show selectiveness and not many qualify. The schemes must change the criteria in order to allow for a larger number of qualified Syrians. Unfortunately, the United Kingdom Asylum Policy has changed minimally by only relaxing visas. The United Kingdom Asylum Policy must go through some changes in order to make the process faster, easier and more supportive for asylum seekers.

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