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Heroes Who Once Were Refugees: In search of poststructuralist redemption

> "If you saw me when I first arrived, I was a different person. I was suffering from depression, I felt suicidal. I'm now a completely different person. It's like pieces of me have been built back gradually since I came here." – Tete, a London-based refugee[1]

Introduction

We warmly welcome stories of everyday heroes: a firefighter saving a baby from a burning house; a student completing her education despite obstacles and guiding younger students; a former military soldier winning a sports medal as an athlete undeterred by his traumatic amputation from fighting in a war. A story of an ordinary individual overcoming ordeals and evolving as a hero/heroine impresses us and tells us that even when we feel that we have reached an impasse, heroes emerge and today's arduous challenge will be yesterday's precious experience. More than ever, people are forced to leave their homes due to war and violence and are reaching Europe to seek asylum. Watching 'boat people' risking their lives in the Mediterranean and politicians building fences and signing treaties to stem the flow of migrants, the world seems to be at an impasse and it needs a hero/heroine to redeem the muddle and to finally bring a solution for all and find an exit from the deadlock.

This study is to find the stories of heroes who once were ordinary people that encourage us to dare to keep challenging. Listening to the individual voices of refugees, the paper attempts to shift the often negative images of them. In doing so, this study aims to remind readers of the importance of poststructuralism to bring more positivity to the seemingly unchangeable images of refugees. The study employs the theoretical guidance of Michel Foucault as a heuristic tool to analyse the media discourse from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and aims to contribute the poststructuralist works for the field of refugee studies.

The first section examines the critiques on hitherto poststructuralist refugee studies and explains how this particular research on positive refugee identity can contribute to the existing scholarly works regarding the theory. In the following section, the paper explains the research question and justifies the methodology and the research data before proceeding to the research results. The empirical section expounds the analytical interpretation of the positive refugee discourse by comparing it to the work of Joseph Campbell (1948) on the construction of heroes, and finally it discusses how the research can benefit future poststructuralist research on issues linked to international forced displacement.

[1] Refugee Action (date uncertain), *Tete's Story,* Retrieved from http://www.refugee-action.org.uk/refugee_voices/1032_tete

Poststructuralism: a theoretical dead-end?

In the realm of international migration, displaced persons have been held in low regard. Losing their territorial belonging, displaced people, *inter alia*, asylum-seekers and refugees wander and float in between the boundaries of countries seeking refuge. From the point of view of a state, coping with a strayed population is a burdensome task. Caught in between maintaining domestic *status quo* and conforming to humanitarian responsibility, sovereign states have problematized refugee mobility and strived to come up with a global scheme for managing the influx of refugees to their territories. However, in the wake of poststructuralism, during the past few decades the theory has offered a theoretical venue for scholars to criticise the one-sided relationship between the coercing power of sovereignty and subjugated peoples. Hence, international studies have been questioned the omniscient and omnipotent power of sovereignty that consistently masters the life of individuals. The theory especially has aided refugee studies to censure the reluctant attitudes and behaviours of Western countries to accept refugees and asylum-seekers. Gainsaying the problem-solving approach, scholars focused on the discursive practices of sovereign states that overpower the marginalised populations (Nyers, 2006; Wernesjö, 2014; Zapata-Barero & Pecoud, 2012).

However, poststructuralism, no matter how virtuous the intentions were, could not evade criticism of its theoretical intentions and effectiveness. Richard Ashley (1996), evaluating the achievements of the theory in the field of international studies, addressed a dispute upon the limitations of the poststructuralist approach: 'ritualistic affirmation' and 'labour of negativity'. According to Ashley, ascertaining and acknowledging the binary opposition prevailing in discourse has merely functioned as an act of *reaffirmation* that implicitly grants interminable power. Indeed, studies have identified the juxtaposed concepts such as the political dynamics of inclusion and exclusion (Miles & Thränhardt, 1995; Bommes & Geddes, 2003), dangerous/safe (Huysman 2000; Loescher & Milner, 2004), and voice/silence (Nyers, 2006; Sigona, 2014).

The impact of a series of refugee 'crises' for the political arena has been immense in European states. Huysman (1995; 2000) stated that European countries have been labelling refugees—or more generally migrants—'dangerous' others who might threaten 'safe' Europe. Drawing upon Hobbesian conceptions of fear, he argued that the distance between the selves and the others generates the inclusion/exclusion dynamic which simultaneously provokes the sense of *fear* toward the 'unknown' others (1995; 58). Moreover, in a case of migration which neither is intangible nor is definable, the objectless fear is directly associated with the notion of death hence the securitization of refugees becomes a matter of survival.

Paradoxically, however, their identities and images have been utterly powerless. Nevzat Soguk (1999) argued that the crucial problem of refugee securitization is that their 'images, once encoded with specific statist security images and identities, are lent to the reconstitution of statist images and identities (202)'. Foucault (1980) asserted that individual identity is socially constituted both in space and in time, and it continuously becomes shifted and altered by the exercised power over one's bodies and movement (74). The powers perpetuate and the subordinated passively, often unknowingly, conform to the might. Thus, the revelation of the unfair relationship that functions as a mere reaffirmation reminding individuals of the inevitability and inherently defeated nature of their lives. This perhaps was the concern of

Ashely (1996) who pessimistically pointed out that the studies of reaffirmation only have 'an effect that is resisted and undone in and through the actions that produce it, an effect that can claim no justification beyond the effect itself (244)'. Assessing the persistent 'ritualistic affirmation', he reproved the outworn concept of studying the juxtapositions in discourse only to confirm the mode of subjectivity.

Secondly, Ashley further asserted that as the poststructuralist methodology confirms the power of sovereignty, the studies function as 'labours of negativity' (246). Indeed, his criticism is apposite to the case of the hitherto studies on refugee identity and images. Linguistic scholars from the Lancaster University conducted a corpus-based critical discourse analysis with a large quantity of texts, focusing on how the British media and the UNHCR described refugees and asylum-seekers (Baker and McEnery, 2005; Baker and Gabrielatos, 2008; KhosraviNik, 2009). The quantified analysis demonstrated that the refugees have often been labelled with negative metaphors such as *threats* and/or *attacks*. The media discourse had predominantly represented the arrival of refugees as a 'flood' and moreover that they are 'illegal' 'criminals' who are 'abusing' the British asylum system (Baker and Gabrielatos, 2008;27).

Since the birth of the international refugee regime, influx of different nationals found the Western nation-states difficult to embrace the population. Hannah Arendt (1962) asserted that the concept of sovereignty and the notion of nation-state strived to exclude the stateless people from the Western nations (285). On that note, Peter Nyers (2006), in his book *Rethinking Refugees*, also noted that the refugee status in social/political terms can only be determined in the 'state of exception' (xiii). Acknowledging the diasporic population as excluded beings, he conducted a qualitative discourse analysis on refugee identities and images. He employed a poststructuralist perspective to analyse refugee images from the UNHCR discourse. By doing so, Nyers disclosed how the UNHCR contextualised the images of refugees as absent, missing, and silent: they are *voiceless*. Furthermore, he criticised the public discourse from the Canadian media comparing refugees to dogs. He critically asserted the analogy of correlating refugees to animality, which consequently constitutes their identity with 'thin humanity'—a bare, animal-like, naked lives.

Emma Larking (2014), in her book *The Refugees and the Myth of Human Rights: Life Outside the Pale of the Law*, also excoriated the unlawful behaviour of wealthy liberal democracy states which not only 'exclude, deter and punish refugees' (106) but also diminish the free and equal rights of the refugees. With regard to the international legal system, she noted that refugees' legal identity is 'being outside the pale of the law', and that they are consequently 'outlaws', 'invisible' and 'aliens' under the nation-state system. Referring to Hannah Arendt's description, she borrowed the term 'scum of the earth' to demonstrate how the status of refugees in the international community has been continuously subjugated even decades after the Second World War. In a similar vein, Nando Sigona (2014) discussed how subjective refugee experiences become objectified in the legal process of seeking asylum (374). Contending the problem of *voicelessness* of refugees, he asserted the necessity of echoing the voice of refugees in legal and historical discursive practices and highlighted that refugee voices have to be listened to by referring to an event in Egypt in 2005 when dozens of Sudanese refugees protesting against the work of the UNHCR were killed in clashes with Egyptian security forces.

Moulin and Nyers (2007) and Baker (2007) raised awareness of the disturbing demeanour of the UNHCR. Baker assessed that not only the British press but also the UNHCR utilised vocabularies with negative connotations which impeded the fundamental humanitarian values that the identity of refugees retain. Moulin and Nyer, by analysing the unprecedented discursive practice of refugee protest in Sudan, denounced the UNHCR's *re-taking* sovereignty that stigmatised refugees as 'economic migrants' and consequently refused to adequately respond to the voice of refugees. Prem Kumar Rajaram (2002), furthermore, criticised a project from a nongovernmental organisation (Oxfam) to speak on behalf of refugees through their published working paper, which turned out to merely be a way to introduce poignant aspect of refugee lives which engendered sympathetic sentiments to the readers. He further asserted that the humanitarian agencies arbitrarily bureaucratised the knowledge and image of refugees that dehumanised them as *helpless* victims.

In short, as Ashley asserted, poststructuralist studies have laboriously concentrated on the negative images and have continued to problematize how sovereign states as well as the humanitarian international agencies muffle the voice of refugees. This paper, however, aims to dissociate the negative representations of refugee identity and to discover positive images of the marginalised persons in the international community. As discussed, one rarely encounters the positive representation of refugee identity in the international studies. Why, then, does the international community project such negative images of refugees? Should the refugee image always be confined to such negativity and urgency? Does this signify a dead-end for poststructuralism? Can refugees' voice be heard? When can the refugees speak up for themselves? When does the international society depict refugees' optimism? If the exclusion of refugees from nation-states deprives them of the right to speak up for themselves, what do *included* refugees portray themselves? How do societies represent the identity of those who have been successfully living in host countries? On that note, this research project focuses on the voice of individual refugees based in European countries who often go unheard. This study employs a qualitative methodology by carrying out a qualitative discourse analysis of individual refugee stories. It also attempts to add to the literature on poststructuralism and the representation of refugee identity through the empirical study that follows.

It is a difficult task to find sources where the voice of refugees are heard since only Western 'experts' and humanitarian organizations speak up on behalf of refugees and often it is to objectify their agonizing experience from violence and persecution (Sigona, 2014). Since they have been precluded from establishing policies to solve the issues, they become unable and passive to the power of sovereign states. Their increasing numbers become meaningless as the refugees are increasingly deprived of a voice and are rarely heard even as a group. In that sense, it is especially troublesome to collect a sufficient amount of sources from the governments which represent refugees with a positive undertone or introduces successful refugee integration cases.

Despite the scholarly denouncements, however, the UNHCR has been the sole international agency that has supported refugees for over six decades. One of the strands of the agency is its media centre. Launched in 2001, the UNHCR media centre has been ever since publishing news and stories of persons of concern: asylum-seekers, refugees, and statelessness people. It is expectable to access to the articles that introduce each person's story as a refugee as well as their voice to explain their personal experiences. Therefore, the refugee

discourse generated from the organization would be propitious to analyse positive identities of the forcefully displaced population.

Methodology

Discourse is where the inherently dominating and dominated power reveals itself through the use of language. Milliken (1999) explained that analysing discourse enables the researcher to denaturalise the productivity of discourse which enables the power to practice its will and endorse the will as a common sense (236). So far, the studies on refugee discourse endeavoured to denaturalise the states' disturbing behaviour toward refugees. This study, however, is to denaturalise the conventional image of refugees which contains more negativity and to question the common sense of them being *voiceless* and *powerless*. Accordingly, discourse analysis as a methodology merits this study to conduct the empirical research.

The articles from the UNHCR database have been selected based on the following three criteria in order to focus on refugee identity that contrasts with the more negative, conventional and prevalent connotations. First, the articles must contain voices and stories of asylum-seekers or refugees. Secondly, the articles must contain an interpretation of the refugee stories from the UNHCR. As Derrida argued, it is necessary to "interpret interpretations more than to interpret things (Devetak, 2013;168)." Hence, the paper attempts to construe how the UNHCR represents the experience of refugees as individuals. Thirdly, the articles must introduce stories of asylum-seekers and refugees who reside in one of the countries in the European continent.

Considering the recent increasing population of asylum seekers and refugees in Europe as well as multiple terrorist incidents, the refugee discourse—broadly discourse about migrants—in Europe has been politically intensified and simultaneously exacerbated. Therefore, studying the identity and the discourse on refugees in Europe could provide a cogent avenue for discussing the positive images of refugees and further contrasting them to the negative ones.

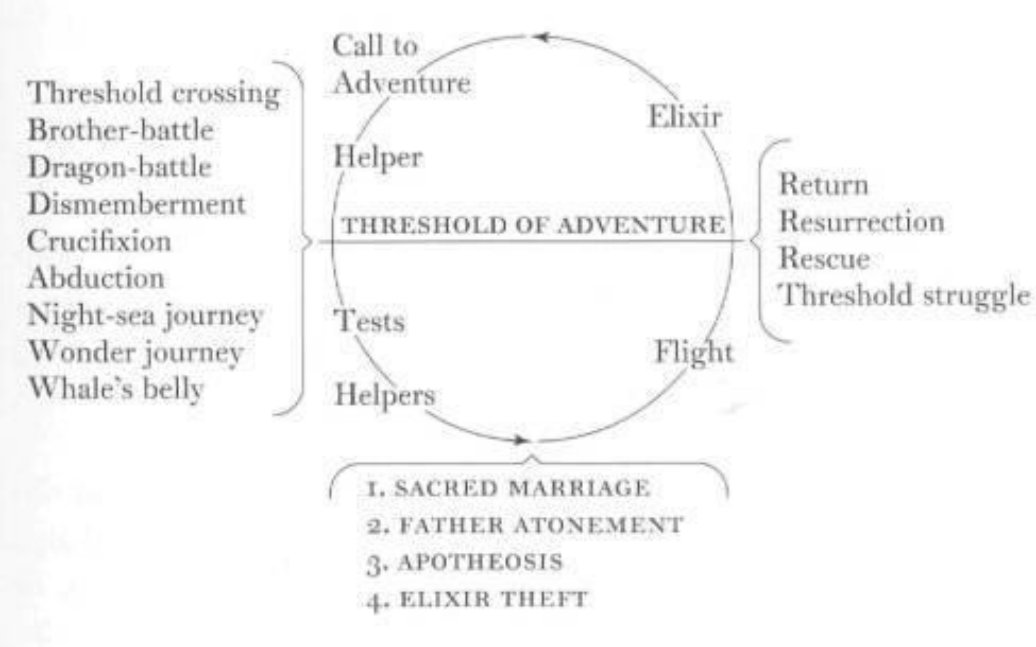
Fifty-one media sources from the UNHCR online archive suit the criteria. Although recent migrant movement to European countries influenced articles after 2014, the research considers a broader timeframe to maintain subjectivity in selecting data. Therefore, the selection process dates back to 2001, when the UNHCR initiated the online news publication. The analysis mainly focuses on textual materials, but since some articles presented images of refugees and asylum-seekers and video contents, an analysis of visual materials will be included as well.

Refugee Journeys

The stories of asylum-seekers and refugees vary based on their country of origin, ethnicity, social backgrounds, the reason for fleeing, whether they fled with other family members or alone, where they resettled, and how long they have been staying in the host country. Only a few sources, in which the refugees struggled to integrate into the resettled community, depicted them as worrisome subjects who failed to conform to the new environment. For the majority of the articles, however, especially the ones that showed refugees successfully

integrated into the host society, the representation of their identity notably contrasted with that of the more general negative images. The study discovered that the UNHCR conveys their identity beyond emphasising the possible advantages in accepting the refugees. Indeed, the discourse repeatedly depicts refugees as heroes; they are portrayed as modern-day monomyths (Campbell, 1949).

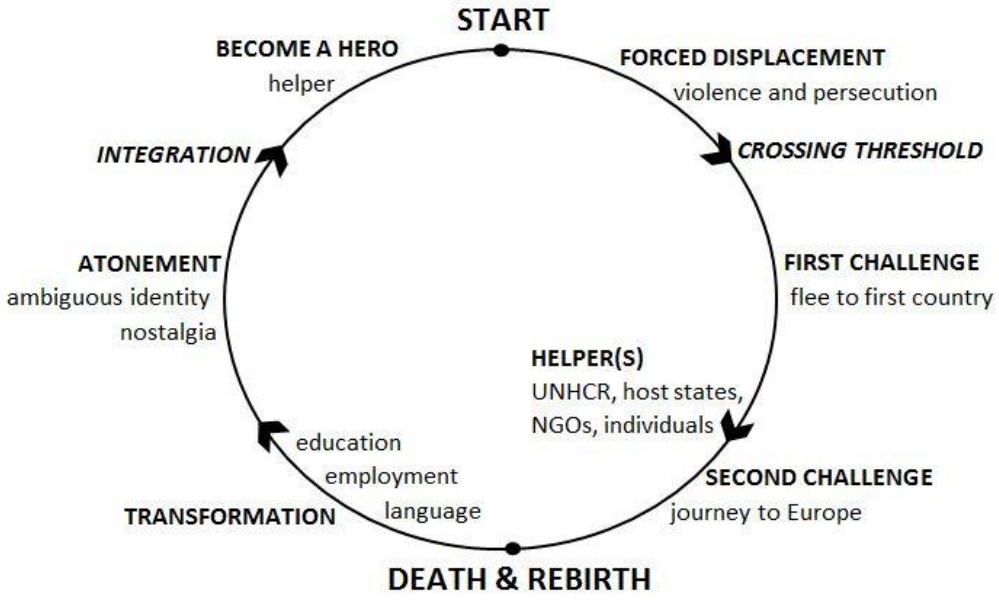
How we acknowledge someone as a hero is often subjective (Allison and Goethals, 2011). Some might find that being a hero depends on the individual's personal characteristics, appearance, morality and possession of a secret supernatural power. Concerning unfavourable images of refugees that prevailed in the discourse about refugees, comparing refugees as heroes seems inconsistent. However, the description of the refugee's journey, from fleeing the violence or persecution to their integration in Europe, accords with the hero's journey, as identified by Joseph Campbell (1949). Campbell analysed the stories of heroes from different times and regions and discovered consistent worldwide similarities in heroes' journeys. The following is the diagram from his book *The Hero With A Thousand Faces*.



1.1. Diagram: Hero's Journey (Campbell, 1949; 212)

In a counter-clockwise way, the monomyth begins. Campbell (1949) explains that an individual, either forced to seek an adventure or voluntarily, crosses the threshold when he or she is called to begin a trip. Soon the potential hero or heroine confronts a series of trials, and failures with support from mentors, which makes it possible for them to survive the challenges. Then, the protagonist goes through a fatal event that leads them to a moment of death and rebirth. After the dramatic crisis, the potential hero who has now acquired new skills and learned a life-worthy lesson transforms into a hero. The hero simultaneously makes atonement for the revelation and finally returns to the normal world, yet still holding the transcendental force she or he gained through the journey. Consequently, the hero's return contributes to restoring the ordinary world, and he or she becomes an elixir for the troubled world.

After conducting qualitative analysis on the fifty-one articles, the study ascertained a set of commonalities in the way the UNHCR described refugees that corresponds to the journey of heroes. From fleeing war, violence, and persecution, an individual begins his or her journey. As an asylum-seeker, the person faces challenges and struggles to find a safe refuge in neighbouring countries. Soon, the asylum-seeker or recognised refugee decides to proceed with his or her journey to Europe, leaving the first destination. During that journey, the person undergoes a critical plight that is equivalent to the experience of the death and rebirth of a hero. Before and after arriving in the European country, the asylum-seeker or refugee receives support and help from various subjects. The helpers are the UNHCR, the host country which granted them the resettlement programme, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), smugglers, and different individuals such as locals, family members, and friends. The individual, then, acquires a new citizenship and transforms his or her identity; eager to contribute and give back to the host society. Eventually, the refugee integrates into the community and becomes a hero, a helper, and a success story based on what s/he experienced during the journey. S/he consequently resolves or strives to improve the social complications of refugee integration. Based on the results, I was able to devise the following diagram which shows simplified phases of the refugee's journey in a chart.



1.2.Diagram: Refugee's Journey

The following section expounds each stage of the journey, from starting the journey as an asylum-seeker to becoming a hero who once was a refugee.

Forced Displacement?

It is critical to mention that the refugee's journey, compared to that of a hero's, does not begin voluntarily. The journey starts involuntarily, which contrasts markedly with an adventurous excursion. The study found, however, that the UNHCR sheds more light on personal beliefs and heroic characteristics of the individuals as a cause. Undoubtedly, the UNHCR conveys external backgrounds forcing the person to leave the country of origin. The

usage of the passive voice, as well as adjectives with a negative connotation, accentuates the inevitability of having to escape the territory. Before fleeing their original home, described by the UNHCR, asylum-seekers or refugees 'were threatened', 'silenced', 'watched', 'singled out', 'followed', 'wounded', 'attacked and ransacked', 'injured', 'killed', ''accused', 'harassed', and 'arrested and detained.' Through the experience the person or the family felt 'frightened,' 'desperate,' and 'dangerous,' and the circumstances led them to be 'helpless' and it became 'impossible' for them to stay any longer in their home.

Some excerpted statements from refugees demonstrate the inevitability for them to decide finally to leave the country. In the story of Zia Karimi, who fled from Afghanistan to Hungary, the UNHCR explains how he could not remain in his country of origin.

> [S]ix years ago, when Zia was 15, the village was attacked by Taliban forces. "We returned from the hills with the animals, we saw a huge cloud of smoke above our homes. The village was attacked and ransacked; my father and one of my brothers were injured," he recalled, adding: "We had to leave.(UNHCR, 2014a)

By directly quoting the refugee, the article provides an indirect experience for the public, and the 'had to' modal verb wakes a sense of empathy for the person's escape.

The UNHCR, furthermore, depicts refugees people who possess heroic calibres, especially when faced with such catastrophic situations. The more the refugee was deemed successful and well-integrated in the host country, the more frequently and heavily the articles emphasised their heroic characteristics. In the story of Huda, for instance, a refugee who became a human rights activist in Britain, the UNHCR described her admirable characteristics: "Undaunted, Huda was determined not only to work and live her life, but also to fight for her beliefs and promote women's rights (UNHCR, 2002a)." In the text, Huda is described as if she already possessed conviction even before starting her journey and her noble aim to help others, in fact, was the impetus for her flight to England. The writings divert the discourse of inevitability to independent resolve, exhibiting the personal characteristics of the refugee. Hence, the refugee's journey turns into a lofty mission to achieve a personal goal and to improve the world.

Another article about Ibrahim Rasheed, a refugee who settled in Spain and found a job working for other refugees and asylum-seekers at the Madrid City Hall, is conveyed in an interviewing format. The heroic discourse of refugee is prominent in particular. The refugee sees himself as a Western pioneer by using similes, "We were not motivated by poverty but by a spirit of adventure and discovery, *like Christopher Columbus* [emphasis added]" (UNHCR, 2008). Explaining his journey, moreover, Ibrahim states, as if it was an epic tale, that he had 'many adventures' and 'new experiences' while traveling to reach Europe or any other Western countries. His storytelling shockingly begins by saying "This might sound like a film plot, but it is a true story" (UNHCR, 2008). What also has to be noted is how the UNHCR questions him and minimises the fact that he initially fudged his nationality. The UNHCR addresses the fact as if it were information peripheral to the glorious journey of the monomyth. The sentence was briefly mentioned in square brackets: "[Rashid at first pretended to be a refugee from Sierra Leone and later was given permanent residency and a Spanish passport]" (UNHCR, 2008). Here, his unethical behaviour became countervailed, and the UNHCR upholds the cause of the heroic man's venture.

Challenges: from refugee camps to Europe

Forcefully displaced yet firmly convicted, the identity of the individual shifts to an asylum-seeker. Before accepted as a refugee in a host country, the displaced person moves locality to seek sanctuary. In a case in which the home country went through a civil war or massive violence, the asylum-seeker often stays at a refugee camp set in neighbouring countries by the UNHCR or the government. The refugee explains that they decided to take the next step to Europe not merely for survival but for personal development. The writings represented the reasons to leave the first destination due to the lack of a 'future.' In the articles, the first hosting countries and refugee camps had 'no hope', 'no sustainable future', 'no employment', 'no school', 'no education', 'no friends', 'no medical treatment', 'no security', and 'no opportunities.' Thus, the rationale to proceed to Europe is to achieve personal and social development.

Another significant pattern is how the UNHCR adopts children as the main protagonists in conveying the stories of a family. The writings concentrate on how certain children suffering from medical conditions required urgent and sophisticated treatment that the first host country could not provide or how they being bullied and excluded from a school and a social community. Omar, a boy who fled from Syria and stayed in Lebanon, suffers from hormone deficiency that might lead him to die at an early age. While it is his family that moved to Finland for resettlement, the article displays visual materials—a video and pictures—of a young boy who is pure and innocent. Unlike other news, the story is narrated in the first person, which allows readers to feel more intimacy that arouses sympathy for the boy and to the family. In the end, the article concludes the story with a much more personal and informal tone:

> It is difficult to meet Omar and not to be won over by *his personality and charm*. Sadly, I wasn't there to wave goodbye to his family at the airport, but I can't wait to visit them in their new home in Finland. Until they resume their treatment in the coming months, there is no telling whether Omar and his sister will fully catch up with their age. Still, I dream of approaching their new home in Finland and being greeted by a *tall, handsome* Omar, whose voice has deepened and whose confidence has grown. (UNHCR, 2015)

By casting a child with a disability as the main character, the story implies heroism. Allison and Goetheals (2011) discovered that while various elements constitute a heroic image, the public finds a person heroic not only by their uncommon traits but also commonly observable characteristics such as fighting against illness or confronting death (28). The writing, furthermore, triggers readers to sympathise with the circumstances which led Omar's family to risk another journey and consequently the emotional response leads them to become more comprehensible and even supportable for their upcoming challenge.

The refugee, then, reaches the European territory despite facing various challenges. As they often travel without valid documents, the refugee relies on smugglers to enter European territory. The refugees undergo 'dangerous', 'risky', 'harrowing', 'dreadful', 'arduous', and 'mortal' crossings across the Mediterranean Sea and the subsequent representation describes them as survivors who defied life-or-death events. This deadly event ultimately can be subsumed to the death of the refugee identity and the rebirth of a 'new' identity, which this paper explores in the following section.

Before and after arrival in Europe, the refugee receives support from helpers—the UNHCR, the host country, NGOs, local individuals, or sometimes even the smugglers—that is closely akin to mentors who assist heroes in withstanding ordeals. The articles indicated refugees saying how 'grateful' they were and how they feel 'lucky' to be chosen and be assisted by the helpers. The expressions of appreciation and luck project the image of their modesty, often a character of a hero. The helpers, furthermore, play a significant role in this phase of the refugee's journey since the assistance they provide ultimately motivates the refugee to become heroes or heroines. A doctor who resettled in Greece, Soleiman Barzani, was able to achieve his refugee status after twelve years of seeking sanctuary with help from individuals and NGOs. In the article, he recounts his story:

> I feel strong gratitude for an employee at a bank in Patras who, risking his job, gave me the money without requesting any identification or residence permit, only my student card, …… MdM and other non-governmental organisations such as the Social work Foundation and the Hellenic Red Cross helped me to help other people in need. (UNHCR, 2004)

The doctor pursued a medical degree in Greece and was depicted as a respected and trusted paediatrics expert who fulfils his duty as a Greek citizen as well as a doctor who helps others with his medical skills. No matter who helped the refugees, the helpers enabled them to proceed to the next stage of their journey where they break away from their refugee identity.

Death and Rebirth

Campbell asserts the value of death in hero's story by associating the event to the ensuing rebirth of the protagonist. He states that "[o]nly birth can conquer death—the birth, not of the old thing again, but of something new. Within the soul, within the body social, there must be—if we are to experience long survival —a continuous "recurrence of birth" *(palingenesia)* to nullify the unremitting recurrences of death (2008; 23)." In life, we experience multifarious trials and failures that shape and alter our identity. The past identity of oneself fades away, and soon it reforms into a 'new' self that is distinct from the former. However, at times tenacious, often negative, identity clings to and lingers on and only by erasing the past self, can the individual finally have an opportunity to reconstruct and to convert one's identity to a more optimistic one.

Having a refugee as one's main identity includes implicative negativity. What is worse is that, in the current international norm, it requires more than mere efforts from the individual and rather the outcast often only can reckon on a redemption from a mighty power of a wealthy state. Considering the low number of countries participating in the resettlement programme for refugees and the actual number of refugees being allowed to settle in another country in the world, it is arguable that the refugee identity can only die and be replaced with the generous will from a nation-state. That is why the represented refugees in the articles expressed gratitude to the host states and, more importantly, to their luck. The protagonists as well as the UNHCR state how 'lucky' and 'fortunate' they were to be accepted by the host states and to be allowed to become 'one of the few lucky ones' and eventually 'the rare success story' among other refugees.

The refugee monomyth, then, illustrates the most critical event that challenges the potential heroes. It is a life-or-death moment which disrupts and develops the past identity of the quasi-

heroes into a genuine champion of the story. Nothing similar from confronting a firedrake, yet the articles elucidate clear severance in the refugees' identity. Regardless of where they resettled or when they arrived, the UNHCR turns the hosting countries into a 'new home' for the refugees where they 'restart' and 'rebuild' their 'new life'. The 'better place' provides them with a 'new school', 'new friends', 'new services', a 'first meal', and a 'safe and better future'. Not only the externalities but also their internal self also alters in this 'new country'. In there, the refugees 'find themselves again' by achieving a 'new voice' and a 'new-sense of confidence.'

The adjective 'new' instils a palpable division between the past and the present. By settling in a 'new' home and starting a 'new' life, the refugees are required to cease their past selves to live anew and to be reborn as a brand-new person. A family who had resided in a refugee camp in Jordan, in 'no man's land', featured in an article and a quote from the father demonstrates how the refugees themselves appreciate their arrival in Europe. He commented, "I am finally going to live as *a human being again* [emphasis added] (UNHCR, 2004)." The voice clearly exhibits the disruption in his identity which was a longed desire to exuviate his identity as a lesser human being as a refugee. It also represents an unambiguous discontinuity in how he had deemed himself as an 'unhuman-being', whose existence and identity mean that he was *inferior* to other people. As he arrives in Europe, his journey steps into the stage of death and rebirth where he returns to being a human.

Another story of Samira who adjusted 'remarkably well' in Hungary provides her sentiment of being in Hungary. In the article, she states that "I feel like I have got my lost life back (UNHCR, 2008)." Settling in Europe, the individual enjoys the sensation of freedom from the past agonies and her identity as an unsettled person, yet finally, she regains the missing part of herself. Furthermore, in a story of Zia Karimi who was once an unaccompanied minority refugee, it becomes more unambiguous as he explains the conversion in his national identity: "I was completely exhausted and terrified. People looked after me here, they gave me food and I could learn. My life as an Afghan has been very difficult, so I decided to be partly Hungarian" (UNHCR, 2014). Arriving at the host country, the refugee experiences the death of their identity as forced migrants and face their 'new' self at 'home' where they are newly adopted to belong. This discontinuity in their identity is crucial to complete the journey as it enables their transformation into heroes.

Transformation

From an individual, an asylum-seeker, and to a refugee, died and reborn, the refugee journey proceeds to a phase where they dissipate their refugee status and adapt to a new identity as a citizen in the host country. The transformation accompanies changes in three aspects of their life; education, employment, and language.[2] The articles focus heavily on the process of refugees pursuing academic degrees, achieving career progress, and taking language courses. Therefore, their integration is defined by how well educated they are, how financially independent they are, and how fluently can they speak the national language of the host country.

[2] Both the European states and the UNHCR regards the three as the chief prerequisites for the arrivals to integrate to the host country. See more at 'The Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy (2004)' http://www.eesc.europa.eu/resources/docs/common-basic-principles_en.pdf

Featuring a young boy who resettled in Sweden, the story of Mahmoud is conveyed with a video clip which displays his daily life in school with his narrative voice and subtitles translated in English. The subtitle explains his emotion of unbelievableness of being able to resettle in Sweden, the importance of education for himself, and more importantly his wish to become a helper who could cure people with his ability:

> Never in my life did I imagine I would be given this chance, … I left Syria because of the war. I lost everything, my home, my school, everything. … I have been in school in Sweden for a year now. … I am happy here because it is a nice country and I can go to school. School is important to me because I must study hard, because when I grow up I want to be a doctor so I can help people. (UNHCR,2015)

The textuality here, with images and the voice of the boy, accentuates the importance of education in reconstructing the refugee's identity. In another article of Alaa's story, who was selected as a recipient of the scholarship for refugees, the article also concludes with her telling her wish to work for other refugees with her academic achievements. In the articles, having been well-educated, the refugees were represented as full of hope to transform themselves into *a helper*.

How the refugee strives to be independent and self-motivated in the financial and vocational field also was magnified. A story of a refugee family who runs a small cheese manufacturing business in Bulgaria displays pictures of the family working, smiling and cheerful images near their newly self-built home. Borrowing statements from their neighbour, the UNHCR concentrates on how the family shines their entrepreneurship and craftsmanship. In another story of a couple who fled Iran to Bulgaria, Medhi and Beri, the UNHCR even accuses bureaucratic delays that discourage the couple's dream to open a hair salon. The couple 'was a success story of refugee integration' until the Bulgarian government dragged on validating a financial grant for them to open the shop. Urging the municipality to expeidate the process, the UNHCR urged that 'sluggish bureaucracy' must not obstruct the desire of refugees to be self-independent and be integrated. The examples demonstrate how the agency value the entrepreneurship of refugees to be a contributing citizen to the host economy.

In particular, the UNHCR heavily concentrated on language proficiency as the main gateway to successfully integrate themselves and to develop as a role model to other refugees. Since both education and employment only becomes possible with a high level of language ability, the discourse on language learning simultaneously displayed the linkage in both categories of education and employment. In most of the articles with a story of refugees who became admirable figures in the host community, the UNHCR remarks on how fluently the individual speaks the national language of the resettled country. To emphasise the subjectivity, the UNHCR often quoted the testimonies from their colleagues or friends saying that the refugee 'speaks the language better than some of the locals' or 'learned German so fast he hardly needed me (helper) after a while.' Even in the cases of the newly arrived people, the articles present pictures of children studying the language or note that how the family prioritise acquiring the language as their first concern. Indeed, the education, employment, and language were represented as the keys to integrating and precede the story to the final phase of their journey: to become heroes.

Heroes Who Once Were Refugees

The modern monomyth, at last, completes with a rewarding ending. The refugees who could not even have a voice for themselves now emerge from voicelessness and past agony to evolve as heroes and heroines. Represented as well-integrated, the subsequent emergence of the 'new' identity of heroes can be observed in how the UNHCR selectively desists to refer their nationality of the *former* refugees. The UNHCR introduces the recently arrived refugees with their nationality of origin, such as 'vulnerable Palestinians', 'Iranian Kurd Refugees', or 'Resettled Columbians'. Moreover, the articles which presented stories of refugees who were in the process of the transformation phase or have attempted in vain, continuously named them by affixing their nationality with 'refugee' regardless of their newly obtained legal nationality. By contrast, the UNHCR reluctantly refers to the nationality of the ones who established social status with respectable occupations. In the case of successfully integrated refugees, the individuals' nationality was mentioned subtlety in the texts. In telling the outstanding stories of assimilation, the UNHCR minimised nationality by simply writing it as 'Iranian-born' or '[t]he former refugee, who hails from Ghana'. By separating the nationality, the textual discourse demonstrates clear discontinuity of one's past and present identity.

The exceptionality of the refugee heroes, furthermore, emerges in the depiction of their appearance. The UNHCR portrayed refugees with detailed explanations of the external looks of those who became successful figures in the host society or exemplary students. Omar was depicted as a boy with 'charm, wit and intelligence,' who shows extraordinary matureness compared to other children in his age despite his physical disability. The description distinctly indicates his predestined 'herohood' that insinuates the potent possibility that he will grow up as a heroic figure (Campbell, 2008; 294). Another example, a refugee student, Mohammed Humed, who was selected to attend a college in the Netherlands, is depicted as a 'bright' Eritrean refugee, who speaks 'calmly' and 'in excellent English' with '[h]is sparkling eyes and quiet smile (UNHCR, 2014b).' The portrayal comes with a picture of his handsome-looking, slightly smiling face in a close-up angle that accentuates the heroic discourse of Mohammed. In addition, the article of Huda's story depicts her as 'a statuesque lady with a gentle glint (UNHCR, 2002a).' The descriptions of refugees' heroic appearance bring positivity from the refugee's image that clearly contrasts the general perception of refugees. Through the article, the textuality induces the images of individuals with extraordinariness and exceptionality, similar to the characteristics of heroes.

What is also noteworthy is the alteration in the usage of verb forms from passive voice to active voice. The refugees 'were resettled', 'are selected' or 'have been supported' while the ones who *once* were refugees actively 'support', 'provide', 'plan', 'hope', 'dream', 'enjoy', and 'love'. From inactive to active, the heroes autonomously lead their life. Furthermore, the heroes and heroines now not only are represented as responsible for themselves but also as an icon of elixir for the host community and the other refugees in Europe. Instead of identifying them as refugees, the UNHCR introduced them with their profession and qualifiers to embellish the achievements. For instance, Zhara Ali Abdulla a former refugee who became a politician in Finland was referred as 'a well-established politician', 'a graduated midwife', 'this remarkable woman', 'somebody with a mission', and 'a spokesperson' (UNHCR, 2003). The UNHCR even titled the article with her voice saying "The World Begins In Your Own

Home", stating her contemplative and mindful characteristics. Her new identity, thus, becomes far from being 'silent', 'invisible', or 'outlawed' and she is now a 'spokesperson' who speaks up for herself as well as others. Eventually, after enduring all hardships and difficulties in the past and through education and self-development, she achieved the profession as a respected politician and became a heroine.

Similar to her story, yet as an asylum-seeker in Britain, Mariam Yusuf was awarded for her contribution to other women refugees and asylum-seekers. The UNHCR described her as 'a tireless champion' and 'a source of support and hope for many people', who 'refuses to give up hope' (UNHCR, 2016). Also, in the attached video material[3], Mariam was referred as 'active' and 'patient' activist who is willing to help others even after she went through 'the hardest trials' such as separation from her child and illness from a detention centre. She was also depicted as a heroine who is devoted to constantly challenges herself to 'fight for others'.

Some articles introduced stories of *former* refugees—from the Second World War to the Bosnian War—who have experienced having 'refugeeness' as their identity. One story is about four ex-refugees from the Bosnian War in 1995, a police commander, a farmer, a teacher, and a head of the Croatian Red Cross who are all eager to help the refugees from the current migration movement. The story presents the willingness and capabilities of the former refugees to help the current refugees as well as the possibility of the current refugees coming to Europe and the necessity to help them to evolve as heroes.

Another story tells about a UNHCR officer who has been working for the position for two decades. Hana Zabalawi 'was a refugee herself' who fled from the First Gulf War to settle in Syria. Now as 'a UNHCR protection officer', Hana was represented as a paragon among other current refugees. The article in particular highlighted her story by displaying multiple pictures of migrants and refugees walking in the rain in Croatia. Her triumphant story contrasts the displayed images of people in raincoats with their feet wrapped in a plastic bag marked with the logo of the UNHCR. From someone who was helped to a helper, her story is a prime example of how the UNHCR fashions the images of the ex-refugees into champions. By representing them as helpers and as preeminent citizens, furthermore, the heroic discourse elaborates the potentials and capabilities of refugees who can solve the 'crisis' by themselves if they were given any opportunity.

Allison and Goethales (2011) stated that 'heroes are especially admired when they combine both physical and moral courage (124)'. The story of Yusra shows the praiseworthy story of a heroine. The UNHCR spotlights a good deed that she and her sister did to save other refugees in crossing the Mediterranean:

> Unflinching, the trained athlete and her sister, Sarah, slipped into the sea. Together, they kicked up the dark water behind them, pushing the boat, straining their ears for signs of life from the dead engine. It never came. Three-and-a-half hours later, the sisters and two other passengers, who had joined them in the water and copied their actions, were still swimming, kicking the dinghy slowly towards the shore of Europe. They were frozen and exhausted, but took strength from their determination not to let anyone die. Barely nine months later, seated on the edge of the pool at Berlin's Olympic stadium, Yusra grins. *Her eyes shine as she recalled the heroic act she and her sister carried out* [emphasis added]. (UNHCR, 2016)

[3] UNHCR. (2016). *Mariam Yusuf - Woman of the Year 2016.* March 11. Retrieved from https://youtu.be/HRlOGalFAQM

Undoubtedly, the description illustrates her heroic characteristics such as leadership, tenacity, courage, and bravery that compose her identity as a true heroine. Preparing to participate in Rio Olympic, being powerless and helpless does not constitute her identity anymore instead sportsmanship and championship composes her identity. Therefore, the journey of Yusura and many other heroes who once were refugees ultimately culminates the epic with gallantness and heroism.

For What the Heroes Struggle?

Campbell (1949) argued that only when the hero with bestowed boon returns to the normal world, his journey concludes as then he will become the saviour of the universe (179). To transform oneself into a *bona fide* hero, he added that the individual must abandon the past ego, the self, as an atonement (109). In the stories, during the process of integration, refugees had to compensate their former identities and the memories that constituted who they were before arriving at Europe. Many expressed a sense of nostalgia, and even the UNHCR cited their sense of yearning of 'original home'. Shiraz's story introduced her social activity with local volunteers—'new friends'—helping her to learn how to ride a bicycle. She states that "[o]f course, I miss my home, my university and my friends … But we just have to be patient and wait for a better time, when we get to join the German people and be part of the German culture" (UNHCR, 2015). What it is also observable from her statement is that she is specifically alienating herself from the people and the culture of Germany.

Moreover, neither the refugees nor the UNHCR could define where their actual 'home' is. The refugees estranged themselves from the host country by using similes saying: 'I will live *like* a Swede' or 'Soon I want to ride along the Berlin streets *like* the locals'. The UNCHR confusingly incorporated refugees' national identity from the country of origin and the country of asylum. A family who resettled in Sweden, the UNHCR emphasised that they are not *authentic* Swedes: 'But *compared to native Swedes*, they have more baggage and have to try harder to get by smoothly in society every day [emphasis added]' (UNHCR 2005).

Another story of Dariush Rezai starts with the title saying 'Once a child refugee, young Afghan becomes confident "Hungarian" man'. The way the UNHCR depicts him demonstrates even stronger estrangement:

> Sipping coffee in a Budapest café, wearing a stylish black jacket, Dariush Rezai looks very much like other confident 20-year-olds in the room. Like many of them, he speaks in fluent Hungarian about playing X-Box and the guitar, and looking forward to enrolling in university. But a closer look at his Asiatic features is the first clue that he's not Hungarian. And listen a bit longer and you'll learn that Dariush's life has almost nothing in common with that of most young Budapest residents, or indeed most young Europeans. (UNHCR, 2014)

Clearly, the description segregates Dariush from the *original* Hungarians as well as Europeans which seems absurd, considering that he had resettled in the society more than half a decade. The duplication of belonging was discernible not only from the stories of the recently arrived but also occasionally from the heroes. It signifies that even included, the refugees still hardly regard and are regarded belong to the host country. The confusion over identity and belonging, however, is neither new nor recent phenomenon for resettled refugees. Valenta and Bunar (2010) already argued that the assisted integration from the Sweden and Norway prove that

the policy has failed in 'equalizing the initial differences between refugees and the rest of the population (479).'

Then, why does the UNHCR liken resettled refugees to heroes? So far, the refugee discourse has been mostly promoting long-term economic benefits to encourage the reluctant European states for more extensive and favourable engagement. By representing the refugees with melodramatic images, the UNHCR propagates that the refugees will contribute to the hosting states if they were given supports to evolve as an icon who will, in the end, extricate the country from the refugee predicament. Therefore, inclusion does not necessarily signify a happily-ever-after ending and the perpetual power of sovereign state compels the individuals to become heroes. Moreover, it is possible to assume the leverage of impact of this specific discourse by contemplating on the purpose of the UNHCR media centre. On the one hand, it is to promote and encourage the countries' *good deeds* to accept the refugees as well as the images of refugees in the contemporary discourse. On the other hand, however, one should also count that the articles are published online. The stories were mainly written in English, yet some writings are available in French and/or Arabic languages.[4] From 2005, the UNHCR began offering translated articles accessible to the public. Considering the officially spoken languages in the refugee producing countries in Africa and the Middle East region[5], it is arguable that the purpose of publishing the successful stories is also to inform the asylum-seekers and refugees that resettlement in Europe is (only) possible when one is 'hardworking', 'eligible', 'self-motivated', 'independent', and 'brilliant' enough to become an 'entrepreneur', a 'talented athlete' or a 'promising student'. By transmitting the ill-advised message, the potential arrivals might interpret the images of the resettled refugees too distant, so to speak, way out of their league.

Even in longing for their 'original home' and going through an identity crisis, the refugees have achieved astonishing accomplishments both in social and personal domain. They are certainly talented persons with good intentions, however what led them to reach the extraordinariness was perhaps to *survive*. Many expressed their feeling of relief and excitement arriving in Europe, yet they also stated their *fear* to the 'unknown' world:

> I knew nothing of Iceland in advance. I did not even know such a country existed, [t]he Red Cross showed us a film, and I was surprised how white the people looked. I was afraid they would find us ugly … It is very strange with the snow and darkness ... These are all very extraordinary things we have not experienced before (UNHCR, 2008).

The policy makers and the publics in Europe easily overlook the fact that 'the others' too are afraid of their European 'others' and only through constant struggle to develop and assimilate themselves to the new world, they finally become recognizable, recommendable, and respectable. Regarding that, is important to remind that the integration process should be a two-way process[6], and antagonising them will only cause repetitive 'othering' process that leads to a constant struggle both in personal and social spheres.

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[4] See appendix 1.1. Table of Articles, p.21.

[5] According to the UNHCR statistics, the recent top refugee producing countries, Syria in the Middle East and mainly Mid-western African countries—Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, and South Sudan—speak English, Arabic, and French as an official language in addition to their regional language such as Somali. See more at http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview#_ga=1.239076480.286860875.1468832887

[6] UNHCR (2013) *'A New Beginning: Refugee Integration in Europe'*, September. Retrieved from http://www.refworld.org/docid/522980604.html

Conclusion

It is certainly a laudable work of the UNHCR to exert an influence to change the prejudice against refugees. The numbers of articles about refugee stories escalated in recent years and the stories became more personalised and focused on their social integration process.[7] The organisation did so by producing a locus in which refugees can have a voice and be heard through the media. If not distorting, the heroic discourse of refugees, in turn, signifies that the hitherto works of poststructuralist studies enabled to veer the discourse and created knowledges that does not conform to perpetual negativity. For Foucault, the objective to perceive the dominant relationship between the nation-state and the individual was to seek eventual emancipation from the subjugation (Nuyen, 1998). However, this study is not to overstate that such heroic discourse means that the sovereign power has been dissolved and the genuine utopia of human freedom has arrived. Rather, it is to suggest that, as Biesta (2008) argued, the purpose of poststructuralist studies is neither to 'produce a recipe for an action' nor to simply 'understand how the power works', but it is to enable a 'new' notion of emancipation. The new emancipation aims to concede the pervasive power of sovereignty, yet to demystify and unsettle what are taken for granted inside the leverage under the power. Therefore, what Foucauldian studies must aim for is to constantly contribute to deflect the discursive practice and generate knowledges in the intellectual level, not to escape from the power but to empower the people: *the subject to act* (175).

By analysing the UNHCR media discourse of resettled refugees in European countries, this study aimed to focus on active and positive images and identities of refugees. As a result, the paper demonstrated the heroic discourse of refugees that unambiguously contradicts the prejudiced images and identities of refugees that are well-known in the international relations. By drawing one of the early works of hero studies from Joseph Campbell, the study elaborated the journey of refugees in correlation to the journey of heroes. This result contributes not only to prove the great advantages of poststructuralism to ameliorate the refugee's images and identity in the international discourse but also to echo the voice of refugees as well as the work of the UNHCR. Hence, it supports the argument of the effectiveness of poststructuralism as a theoretical tool and offers a promising prospect of the theory to be thoroughly used and explored as a heuristic approach. Escaping from the 'labour of negativity', the paper further renders an opportunity for the future researches to lend an ear to the journey of refugees, their individual stories, and more optimistic voices of them. As discussed, the poststructuralist studies have proved the power of knowledge to swerve the discourse. More attentive hearing from the intellectual domain will further enable people to veer the discourse. Only a constant intellectual effort to produce knowledge for all will be able to elicit a true redemption for the subordinated identities.

[7] The organisation recently launched an online platform called 'TRACKS' where it presents 'some of their extraordinary stories of survival, hope and home'. See more at http://tracks.unhcr.org/ and see also Appendix 1.2. Chart: Number of Articles Published by Year, p.21.

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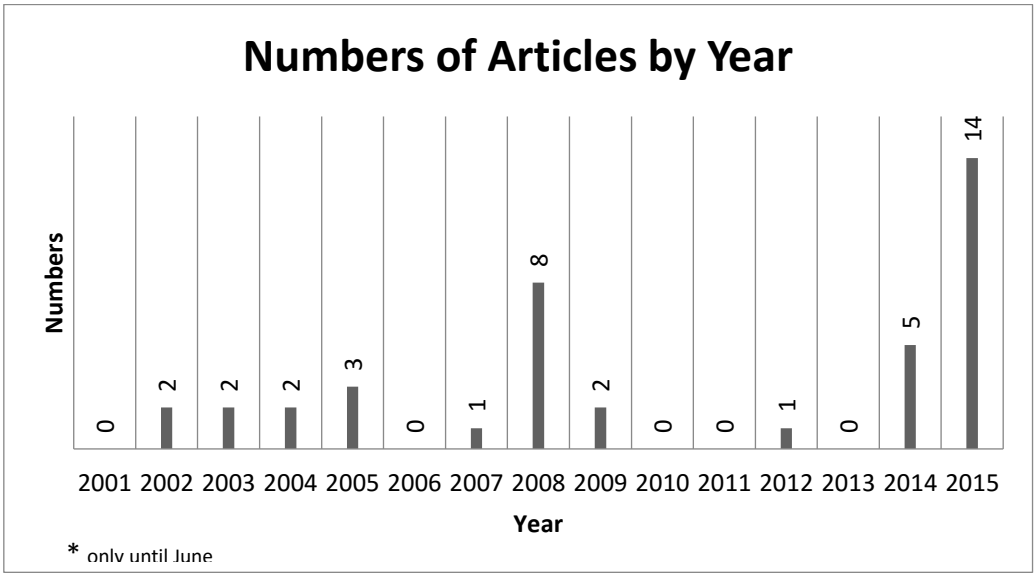
Appendix

Year	Articles	Translation	Country of Origin	Country of Resettlement	Gender	Family
2002	Huda's story: Silenced in Sudan, finding a new voice in London (April 19)		Sudan	UK	F	
2002	From refugee to councillor: A Sri Lankan in Britain (July 31)		Sri Lanka	UK	M	
2003	"The world begins in your own home" (April 9)		Somalia	Finland	F	
2003	Invisible, but refugee women play key integration role (April 9)		Rwanda	Ireland	F	
2004	Feature: Greek island welcomes refugee doctor from Iraq (October 20)		Iraq	Greece	M	
2004	Iranian Kurd refugees leave for Sweden, hundreds remain in no man's land (December 10)		Iran	Sweden		O
2005	Resettled Colombians go Dutch (June 13)		Colombia	The Nether-lands		O
2005	From Jordan's desert to Sweden's winter - a refu-gee family's story (June 7)	French	Iran	Sweden		O
2005	This is the best place in the world, Bosnian returnee tells UN official (June 17)		Bosnia	Returned to Bosnia		O
2007	Q&A: Born on the high seas, footballer finds fame in Europe (2 November)	French	Angola (stateless-ness)	France	M	
2008	Q&A: Speaking from experience (January 18)		Ghana	Spain	M	
2008	From Mogadishu to Budapest: A refugee's journey to EU citizenship (July 10)	French	Somalia	Hungary	F	
2008	Welcome to Prague: first Myanmar refugees reset-tle in Czech Republic (October 31)		Myanmar	Czech Republic		O
2008	Chechen arrivals in Poland back to normal after surge (April 3)	French	Chechen	Poland	V	
2008	Elderly refugees struggle to integrate in Slovenia (January 17)	French	Bosnia	Slovenia	V	
2008	Chilly Iceland gives a warm welcome to South American refugees (January 4)	French	Colombia	Iceland		O
2008	It's a long way from Myanmar for Karen refugees (January 8)		Myanmar	Ireland		O
2008	Vulnerable Palestinians head towards a new life in Iceland (September 8)		Palestine	Iceland		O
2009	First Iraqi family departs Jordan for resettlement in Germany (March 16)	French	Iraq	Germany		O
2009	Minefield survivors from Iraq receive warm wel-come in Cyprus (March 16)		Iraq	Cyprus		O
2012	A rare success story of refugee integration in Bul-garian (December 5)		Iraq	Bulgaria		O
2014	Escaping by Sea (April 17)		Syria	Sweden		O
2014	Bright Eritrean refugee in Sudan selected to study in the Netherlands (April 17);	French	Eritrea	The Nether-lands	M	
2014	Syrians give back to the country that gave them refuge and hope (December 11);	Arabic	Syria	Hungary		O
2014	Once a refugee child, young Afghan becomes confi-dent "Hungarian" man (31 December 2014)	French & Arabic	Afghanistan	Hungary	M	
2014	Afghan trainee chef has the recipe to make it in Hungary (October 27)	French & Arabic	Afghanistan	Hungary	M	
2015	Bureaucracy threatens the dream of enterprising refugees in Bulgaria (January 8)	Arabic	Iran	Bulgaria		O

2015	Iranian asylum-seeker in Hungary uses sport to heal body and soul (March 30)	Arabic	Iran	Hungary	M	
2015	A New Start in Sweden (April 10)		Syria	Sweden		O
2015	Little Omar Flies to Finland (May 27)		Syria	Finland		O
2015	The Bullet Inside (June 10)		Syria	Greece	M	
2015	Richard Roger's story (June 19)		Italy	UK	M	
2015	Picking Up the Pieces (August 19)		Syria	Italy		O
2015	Music for Peace (September 1)		Syria	Italy	M	
2015	Yahya's Escape (September 15)		Gambia	Italy	M	
2015	Protection by Presence (October 19)		Kuwait	Syria	F	
2015	A childhood regained on Kos (November 11)	Arabic	Various	Greece	V	
2015	New friendship for first-time Syrian cyclists in Berlin (November 25)	French & Arabic	Syria	Germany	F	
2015	Once a Refugee, Now a Helping Hand (November 30)		Bosnia	Various	V	
2015	Ethiopian refugee family from Yemen start over in Sweden (December 31)	French & Arabic	Ethiopia	Sweden		O
2016	Safety Under One Roof (January 15)		Syria	Austria		O
2016	Home at last for young refugees in Hungarian orphanage (February 22)	Arabic	Afghanistan & Berber	Hungary	M	
2016	Syrian actor's real-life drama has happy ending (March 11)	Arabic	Syria	Austria	M	
2016	Somali asylum-seeker takes centre stage at the Royal Festival Hall (March 15)		Somalia	UK	F	
2016	Syrian Refugee Eyes Rio Olympics (March 18)		Syria	Germany	F	
2016	A dream to Rebuild (March 29)		Syria	Portugal	F	
2016	You've Got a Friend in Me (May 11)		Syria	Germany	M	
2016	German Scheme opens door to higher education for young asylum-seekers (May 30)	Arabic	Various	Germany	M	
2016	Meet #TeamRefugees: Rami Anis and Yonas Kinde (June 3)		Syria & Ethiopia	Belgium & Luxemburg	M	
2016	Greek Syrian mayor and refugees bring tourist village back to life (June 9)	French	Syria	Greece		O
2016	Young Syrian footballer aims high in Germany (June 10)	Arabic	Syria	Germany	M	

1.1. Table of Articles



1.2. Chart: Number of Articles Published by Year