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Challenging Prejudices toward Refugees: A study of the 'Humanity House' in The Hague

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Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

AFES	Agrarian Food and Environmental Studies
ECD	Economics of Development
EU	European Union
EUROPOL	European Law Enforcement Agency
GDP	Governance and Development Policy
HH	Humanity House
ICOM	International Councils of Museums
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SJP	Social Justices Perspectives
SPD	Social Policy for Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature
WWII	World War Two

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Abstract

Currently, policymakers and practitioners are searching for new strategies to address a variety of issues in the destination countries (not only in Europe but also in developing countries) concerning migrants. In addition, practitioners are also using artistic initiatives to tackle the issues of prejudices, change attitudes and negative perceptions towards them.

However, it is still unknown which of these processes are having an impact in the attitudinal change. One of the civil society organizations trying to change perceptions in relation to refugees, migrants and asylum seekers is the museum, 'Humanity House', through their permanent exhibition. It is an attempt to put people in the shoes of refugees, showing the experiences and paths they follow since the moment they had to leave their homes until their final arrival in Europe. Visitors of the exhibition are not only observers but active participants.

This research is focused on whether this as a piece of advocacy through creative means, in contrast to conventional campaigning, TV advertisements or protests and can it create awareness and change prejudices when people are confronted directly by the stories of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. It also looks at the visitor's social engagement and future actions toward migration issues.

Relevance to Development Studies

Due to the existence of armed conflicts in African and the Middle Eastern, many people have been arriving in European countries as refugees. However, new political discourses have linked them to terrorist acts resulting in a 'perceived' decrease in security for European citizens. Different programs have been created by the governments to try to integrate refugees, but they are still seen as outsiders and face prejudices from the host country communities. Also, the debates about refugees are largely rational discussions and perceptions can be affected due to some negative representations of refugees in media and political campaigns/movements.

An advocacy initiative through artistic means as the one presented from 'Humanity House' can contribute to a better understanding of the refugee and migrant situation. In particular, the understanding from a Master student of Development Studies perspective, who lives in The Hague, a city that is denominated as the centre for peace and justice. There has been research, controversy and conflict about the impact of advocacy campaigns to transform or influence perceptions. There are still a few types of research in the contribution of advocacy campaigns through artistic means into the interlinked fields of conflict, migration studies and peacebuilding that need to be undertaken. This research paper links different fields such as Politics, the Arts and Psychology. It looks at a new way to approaching peaceful conflict transformation, not only from a rational way but in an emotional way that can have a greater impact on people.

Keywords
Conflict transformation, Advocacy campaigns, Prejudices, Refugees, Awareness, NGO

Chapter 1
Introduction: Contextualising the Research Problem

1.1 Background

During the years of 2012 to 2015, the displacement of people increased substantially around the world. According to the UNHCR, by 2017 "68.5 million individuals were forcibly displaced worldwide as a result of persecution, conflict, or generalized violence" (UNHCR 2017: 2)"[1]. Other factors such as human rights violations or natural disasters also played a role. These people started to look for assistance and protection after being displaced. The countries with the highest percentages of people looking for asylum are from Syria, Iraq, Guinea, Tunisia and Mali. Some of the displaced people remained close to their home countries, but others have been looking for international protection (UNHCR 2017). After 2015, many of them crossed the Mediterranean Sea trying to find a safe place in the European Union (EU). These people acquired the entitlement of 'refugees', which according to the refugee convention of 1951, is a person who has fled armed conflict and is recognized as in need of international protection and assistance as it might be risky to return to their home country.

Table 1.1

Most common nationalities of the Mediterranean Sea and land arrivals from January 2018

Country of origin	Source	Data date		Population
Syrian Arab Rep.		31 Jul 2018	13.4%	**6,967**
Others		31 Jul 2018	11.0%	**5,696**
Iraq		31 Jul 2018	8.5%	**4,414**
Guinea		31 Jul 2018	7.5%	**3,890**
Tunisia		31 Jul 2018	6.4%	**3,321**
Mali		31 Jul 2018	6.0%	**3,116**
Morocco		31 Jul 2018	5.6%	**2,900**
Eritrea		31 Jul 2018	5.5%	**2,859**
Other (Sub-Saharan Africa)		30 Jun 2018	4.9%	**2,569**
Afghanistan		31 Jul 2018	4.7%	**2,444**

Source: 2018 The UN Refugee Agency.

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[1] The paragraph is based on the essay 'The Irish Times and migration in Europe' made for the class Violent conflict, media and the politics of representation.

The massive arrival of refugees in the European Union (EU) was denominated as the 'European migrant crisis'. To distribute people around the European Union, the Dublin regulation was established. A policy that "imposes the general rule that asylum seekers must apply for asylum in the first country of entry" (Sunderland & Human rights watch 2015: 79)[2]. According to Human Rights Watch, this created an inequitable distribution between the EU countries. The countries that first received more people were Italy, Greece and Spain since they are located in the Mediterranean Sea. This created an alert, which made them call for support from other countries in the EU. The EU member states, including the Netherlands, decided to receive more asylum seekers dividing 120.000 refugees across the different states. The distribution is also based on the number of inhabitants, national income, the number of asylum applications and unemployment figures. Specifically, the Netherlands decided that it will receive 7 000 refugees over a period of two years. Also, refugees could remain in The Netherlands until it is safe for them to return to their home countries (Government of The Netherlands).

Map 1.1
Map of Mediterranean Situation

Source: 2018 The UN Refugee Agency.

While a substantial number of refugees were arriving in the EU, a number of violent incidents (some reported as incidents of terrorism) were reported from eight of the EU countries. Most of these violent incidents were associated, particularly by the media, with the arrival of refugees to countries such as the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Spain, Greece, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. As stated by the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation (EUROPOL) the attacks included shooting and bombing incidents resulting in deaths and injuries. The attacks were classified as terrorist attacks and the main actors were identified as separatist extremists or from the so-called 'Islamic State' (EUROPOL 2017).

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[2] Ibid.

As a result, in many countries that were attacked, some citizens not only developed a feeling of rejection, prejudice or hostility towards Islam but also to refugees coming from the countries mentioned in the terrorist attacks and ultimately to the Muslim population, which can be described as 'Islamophobia'. This feeling has been reinforced in many cases by the media which emphasizes the ethnicity and religious background of the perpetrators of terrorist attacks including the use of language to imply a direct relationship between being Muslim and terrorist.

Refugees are also arriving in Europe from African countries, where violent conflicts have been rising. These refugees are mainly from the Central African Republic, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea and South Sudan. These countries are among "the poorest and least developed countries in the world, with limited resources to deal with the needs and challenges associated with hosting displaced people" (UNHCR 2017). One of the European strategies to contain the arrival of refugees has been an alliance with the African Heads of State and governments, to share the responsibility of migration. Their first meeting, 'Valletta Summit on Migration', took place in 2015 , where the EU Emergency Trust Fund was established to address better migration management from African countries and eliminate the causes of migration in African countries (Valletta Summit 2015).

Islamophobia has been translated into political movements and political parties of the extreme right in European countries and have promoted the attack of mosques or manifestations against Muslims. There has also been a rise in the Netherlands of the right, with the increase in popularity of Geert Wilders leader of the 'Party for Freedom' and member of the Dutch parliament (Wekker 2016). In the 2017 elections, he pointed to refugees as a problem and a threat to democracy and national security. His motto has been against Islam and Muslims. In 2018 Wilders started a campaign countrywide against Islam. The first campaign took place in Rotterdam, where the city's Mayor Ahmed Aboutaleb, who is Muslim and one of the most popular politicians in the country (Bodisey 2018). The refugees that live or have been arriving in the EU might be facing discrimination and stereotyping since they are now associated with words like terrorism, threat or problem to the countries. They could be dehumanized by a dominant discourse based on fear which also triggers intolerance and reduces or eliminates empathy in some citizens toward refugees.

 In Europe, after the Second World War (WWII), a number of initiatives especially museums started to play a significant role in raising awareness of war and its effect on people's lives. They are intended to be open spaces in which the past can be stood up to, examined, and discussed by various participants. Additionally, "they serve as centres for education, research, documentation, and truth-telling that can expand society-wide knowledge about the contexts and situations in which violence and injustice occur" (Sodaro 2018: 5).

Through creativity and interactive experiences, museums have sought to educate, inspire and advocate empathy in their visitors. Examples of these are: the Anna Frank Museum (Netherlands), Berlin Wall Memorial (Germany), European Museum for Peace (Austria), Imperial War Museum (United Kingdom) to name a few European examples. In the Netherlands, specifically in The Hague, is the 'Humanity House'. The Humanity House was created as an initiative from the Dutch Red Cross with the support of the City of The Hague and the European Regional Development Fund of the European Commission (Humanity House). They declared themselves a museum whose mission is to "raise discussion about humanitarian themes to enhance understanding, inspiring people to contribute positively to a life in peace and freedom for everybody" (Humanity House). Additionally, their goal is to make people aware of the impact of humanitarian themes that affects millions of people, through a human point of view, and in this sense to inspire action and involvement from their visitors towards these issues (Humanity House). Currently, the Humanity House has a

permanent exhibition in which participants slip into the shoes of a refugee. The exhibition is interactive and takes participants through the journey of a refugee from the moment they leave their countries until they arrive in Europe. At the end of the exhibition, people can virtually meet eight people who are refugees, who went through this process and are based in the Netherlands. Likewise, visitors can see pictures and details of the history and story of the person they are meeting virtually. The HH hosts students from primary, secondary and high school education and other regular visitors are people that live in The Hague.

1.2   Objective and Research Questions

1.2.1   Objective

The intention of this research paper is to understand whether visitors to the permanent exhibition of the 'Humanity House' have a different view in relation to refugees, migrants and asylum seekers and if this leads them to a personal and social transformation. In addition, whether an advocacy piece with an artistic spin such as the one from 'Humanity House', which is an interactive experience, has an effect in changing stereotypes, attitudes and perceptions towards refugees, migrants and asylum seekers.

Main Question

How can virtual confrontation with refugees, through an advocacy piece with an artistic spin, contribute to raising awareness about migration-related issues among visitors of the 'Humanity House' permanent exhibition?

Sub-questions

1. How do the prejudices of museum visitors change after experiencing a virtual confrontation with refugees?
2. How does the permanent exhibition of 'Humanity House' have an effect on the actions of its visitors on migration-related issues?

1.3   Methodology

The research is based on a case study, which is "a method of studying elements of the social through comprehensive description and analysis of a single situation or case" (O'leary 2004: 115). For this research, the case study is the 'Humanity House', which offers an interactive exhibition where participants have a live and simulated experience of what it is to leave home because of war and arrive in a foreign country. In addition, the exhibition allows visitors to virtually meet refugees, migrants and asylum seekers that went through this experience. This is an advocacy campaign from an NGO, the Dutch Red Cross, directed towards migration issues. Their strategy is to use artistic tools through a museum set up. An individual case study "can offer much in the production of knowledge" (O'leary 2004: 116), even though it is not generalizable. This case study has an intrinsic value, bringing a unique case in relation to advocacy campaigns. It also brings new understandings in relation to peaceful conflict transformation from different fields as politics, the arts and psychology. In terms of practical reasons, a case study makes it possible to "concentrate research efforts on one site… and

therefore one set of boundaries for the study" (O'leary 2004: 115). It also reduces costs, travel expenses and is easier to access.

The research was done through a qualitative methodology which included surveys and semi-structured interviews, with the purpose of collecting primary data. Additional information in relation to the HH was collected through the panel 'Social Museology and Social Role of Museums' at International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), where the director of the HH was present and gave a presentation in relation to their work. Through qualitative data it is possible to learn from participants, capture the meaning of their individual experiences, and analyze the interpretation they give to their own experience. Also, it is possible to learn about their emotions and feelings (Bernard 1994).

1.3.1 Data collection and generation

Initially, the research was planned with regular visitors of the museum who were residents of the Netherlands. They were to be contacted and invited to be interviewed. However, in a meeting with a member of the museum staff it was explained that it was not possible to share HH visitor's information due to a European regulation established in 2016 for data protection[3]. As a consequence, it was necessary to look for a group of people that could participate in this research by attending the museum. The methodology therefore changed as with an invited group it could be possible to apply surveys and semi-structured interviews. The intention was to invite Dutch students at university level, but they were difficult to reach during the summer season. Invitations were extended through social media to attend the museum for free but not a single Dutch student responded[4]. The decision was then made to invite students from the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)-Erasmus University Rotterdam[5]. Consequently, the research direction was affected due to the participants being much more aware of refugees and migration as they are highly informed with a superior educational level.

The students from ISS come from all over the world. Most of them had been awarded scholarships and others are self-financed. They had previous access to higher education and speak English as a second language. All students from ISS are pursuing an MA in Development Studies, however, they have additional majors as Social Justice Perspectives (SJP), Social Policy for Development (SPD), Governance and Development Policy (GDP), Economics of Development (ECD) and Agrarian Food and Environmental Studies (AFES). During the time this research was developed, the students were in the final phase of their masters, which means that they had previous theoretical awareness of topics related to conflict and/or migration.

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[3] "On the protection of natural persons with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data" (Regulation (EU) 2016).

[4] Students from the Netherlands were difficult to reach out. Based on the interview made to a student from the Netherlands, the possible causes might be that the museum is not well known in The Hague. Also, some people might consider the museum's topic is sad and they will not be willing to challenge their comfort zone.

[5] "ISS is an international graduate school of policy-oriented critical social science. It brings together students and teachers from the Global South and the North in a European environment. Established in 1952 as the International Institute of Social Studies by Dutch universities and the Netherlands Ministry of Education it does research, teaching and public service in the field of development studies and international cooperation" (International Institute of Social Studies, n.d).

Twenty students from ISS and one student from Erasmus University[6] accepted the invitation to visit 'Humanity House'. They were given free access to the museum since their tickets were subsidized[7]. The participants are from different nationalities, backgrounds and have high knowledge or experience of social related issues. All of them expressed having prior knowledge in relation to refugees, migrants and asylum seekers as well as towards the current 'migration crisis'. Four of them participated in the course 'Migration and Development: Globalisation, Livelihood and Conflicts' offered at ISS. The students expressed their feelings, thoughts and future actions in relation to refugees, migrants and asylum seekers before and after going through the exhibition.

The fieldwork was carried out in the city of The Hague, during the months of July and August 2018. Participants were divided into two groups: the first group was composed of 12 students who attended the museum on the 26th of July. The second group was composed of 9 students who attended the museum on the 3rd of August. Of the 21 students, 11 accepted to be interviewed one or two weeks after attending the permanent exhibition at HH.

1.3.2 Surveys

The surveys were used to explore the knowledge, thoughts and feelings of 21 international students towards refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. Two types of surveys were conducted in this research to gather whether ideas, attitudes, knowledge and representations of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers changed or were influenced after going through the permanent exhibition at the 'Humanity House'.

Before going through the permanent exhibition of 'Humanity House', the students were asked to fill a survey, which had nine questions and was self-administered. The survey was descriptive and included basic demographic information such as age, gender, educational background and nationality. The survey was also used to gather attitudinal information to identify previous knowledge, perceptions, and actions of the students toward refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. After completing the survey, the students received an explanation by a member of the museum's staff about the exhibition. Then, the students joined the exhibition in groups of two.

After going through the permanent exhibition of the 'HH', the students were asked to fill in a second survey, which had eight questions and was self-administered. This survey as before included demographic information. The purpose of this survey was to gather attitudes, emotions and future actions toward the refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. In the first group of twelve students, the time spent by the different students in the exhibition varied significantly. The first student completed the exhibition in approximately 30 minutes, while the last student spent two hours inside the exhibition. In the second group of nine students, more of the students spend around an hour and a half in the exhibition, except for one student who spent three hours.

Both surveys included open questions which are useful in allowing "respondents to construct answers using their own words […] offer any information/express any opinion they wish" (O'leary 2004: 159). Surveys also included closed questions where participants

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[6] The student was part of the class Migration and Development: Globalisation, Livelihood and Conflicts.

[7] The tickets were subsidized by the ISS Major Social Justice Perspectives.

chose from a range of responses. The categories of the questions were: yes/no and Likert-type scaling[8].

1.3.3 Semi-structured interviews

The interviews were conducted in a conversational and informal style to promote a comfortable space where conversation could be more natural. Some questions were set to delve deep into the information obtained through the surveys. The semi-structured interviews were applied to 11 students who accepted to be interviewed after visiting the museum 'Humanity House'. For the first group the surveys were made two weeks after visiting the exhibition and for the second group, one week after, and took place at the ISS building in The Hague. The interviewed students were from the following countries: Bangladesh, Brazil, Canada, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Netherlands, United Kingdom, United States, and Zimbabwe. They were majoring in Social Justice Perspectives (SJP), Social Policy for Development (SPD) Mundus Mapp and from the Master on Migration from Erasmus University (See Annex 1).

In addition, three people who are part of the museum's staff were interviewed. Two of the interviewees graduated from Master's programme in Governance of Migration and Diversity at Erasmus University Rotterdam. Their principal duties are related to welcoming the visitors and giving a brief introduction of what they will see at the HH. They give talks to groups of students about humanitarian issues. Both have already been working with the museum for almost a year and formed part of the 'museum team'. The third interviewee holds a bachelor's degree in Public International Law and Human Rights from The Hague University of Applied Sciences. She used to be part of the 'museum team' but was recently promoted to the educational department.

1.4   Limitations

The day the first group of students visited the museum was one of the hottest days in The Hague. Therefore, the museum environment was not comfortable and some of the students were impatient. This may have affected the time spent in the museum tour and the attention they paid to the exhibition. I requested from the HH in advance for a group of ISS students to be taken through the educational part. However, I did not realise that this would come at an additional cost of 100 euros that was not included in my budget.

The process to find students from ISS to participate in the surveys was not easy. Many students left the city to do their fieldwork in other countries during this time. Students that stayed in The Hague were busy as well and some of them never responded to invitations to participate. It was particularly difficult to obtain access to students from the Netherlands and Africa.

The participants are my peers; some of them were classmates and a few of them my friends. This might have influenced the way they answered the surveys and interviews. They could have tailored their answers to help my research process or not been totally honest due to our relationships.

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[8] "Likert scales offer a range of responses generally ranging from something like 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. (O'leary 2004: 160)

During the interviews, only one person from the staff museum did not allow me to record the interview. I had to take notes by hand only, which implies I might have lost some information during the process.

1.5   Positionality

I am from Colombia, a country that has faced armed conflict for over 50 years resulting in many people migrating to other countries. Currently, there is an influx of people from Venezuela into Colombia because of the crisis they are facing. This has created a number of xenophobic incidents in the country, where people from Venezuela have been discriminated, attacked, murdered and exploited. My understanding of this phenomenon is that people from Colombia have prejudices, that are usually reinforced by media (using fear, disinformation and unrealistic affirmations) and subsequently they tend to dehumanize the ones they see as the 'other'.

I am also a student of the International Institute of Social Studies like the participants of this research. Most of us are migrants in the Netherlands. For this reason I had suppositions about my peer's answers and I expected they will have minimum prejudices towards refugees, migrants and asylum seekers since many of us might have faced situations where we feel different or discriminated against based on our appearance or country of origin.

I attend many of the same classes as the participant's and we are developing in the same academic process. Some of them might read the results of this research, which made it difficult for me to analyse their answers from the surveys and interviews. It is unknown what bias could be present in their answers since they were interviewed by a peer.

Chapter 2
Theoretical Framework

2.1   Transforming Relationships

After the world wars and the increase in violent conflicts around the world; there has been an attempt to establish an enduring peace. During this process, one of the dominant academic fields has been Peace Studies which specifically appeared after the Second World War (WWII). Along with Peace Studies came the concept of peacebuilding, first formulated by Johan Galtung (Zarkov and Hintjens 2015)[9] who proposed that to transform violent conflict, one must address structural, direct and cultural violence, overcoming the latter as embedded in the other two working as a dynamic system. Peacebuilding has been addressed from different approaches as conflict resolution, conflict management and conflict transformation.

Conflict transformation has been linked to two main authors: John Lederach and Johan Galtung. For Lederach conflict transformation "is to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships" (Lederach 2014: 19). The focus is then on the restoration of relationships through dialogue, which makes possible the transformation of societies in the future. For Lederach, it is central because "the immediacy of hatred and prejudice, of racism and xenophobia, as primary factors and motivators of the conflict means that its transformation must be rooted in social-psychological and spiritual dimensions" (as quoted in Fetherson 2000: 204). This suggests the importance of going further than conflict resolution and in an attempt to transform relationships that will allow the change of systems, cultures, and spaces in the long term.

Also, Lederach considers society as divided into three levels: top leadership, mid-level leadership and grassroots level. Each of these levels can be reached through different initiatives as "mediation at the state level, help of partial insiders (prominent individual in society) or community dialogue projects" (Paffenholz 2005: 5). Civil society then plays an important role as an actor of change and promoter of peace. Communities that involve themselves in the promotion of social change will have a tendency not only in maintaining the status quo but "to change the way human societies respond to conflict" (Lederach 2014: 129). In this sense, practitioners and communities can change from violent patterns toward "creative, responsive, constructive, and nonviolent" (Lederach 2014: 129) capacities. Then at the grassroots level it is possible to create awareness and understanding about the ones that are being seen as 'the other' and contribute to a reduction in stereotyping (Lederach 1998).

Another important author of conflict transformation is Galtung who has pointed to the different types of violence. Structural violence is referred to as "invisible, not with a will to harm, killing slowly but may be as much or more destructive" (Galtung 2000: 102), direct violence is referred to as "visible, destructive, with a will to harm, is the form most feared" (Galtung 2000: 102), and cultural violence is referred to as "also invisible, but with clear intent to harm, even kill, indirectly, through words and images; in short, symbolically", it also legitimizes the other two as good (Galtung 2000: 102). In addition, Galtung formulates the

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[9] Johan Galtung 'has been described as the father of Peace Studies' (Zarkov and Hintjens 2015: 6)

ABC triangle which establishes three key components in every conflict: behaviour (constructive/deconstructive), contradiction (incompatibility of goals) and, attitudes and assumptions (cognitive and emotional).

Particularly in the attitudes to tackle violence it is important to increase empathy in the parties involved, which allows for an understanding of the other's position. It is possible to develop this through creativity from academics and activists, with different non-violent tools (Johansen 2007). Moreover, to achieve transformation is important "to support a process of self-reflection, to strengthen the capacity for empathy, to awaken the creative potential for imagining a new reality and to empower nonviolent strategies, through dialogue" (Graft et al. 2007: 127). Three factors must be involved to influence behaviours: empathy, non-violence and creativity, which at the same time help to reduce emotional distance.

Moreover, transformation can be possible if deeper attitudes and assumptions "which form the deep culture, the sum of unconscious, usually unspoken, directives, rules, assumptions and prejudices about the self and the other" (Graft et al. 2007: 127) are challenged and become a conscious part of the individual. This eventually will allow for an influencing of the deep structure[10], which affects power relationships in different stages of society.

Practitioners of conflict transformation continue to strive to put these ideas into practice whereas policymakers strive to develop policies that can address the angles of violence that Galtung and Lederach mention. Among the practitioners, there are attempts, especially to use creative strategies for the same purposes. Through creative initiatives that appeal to human emotions, people's discourses can be challenged or transformed, since it brings new dynamics that are verbal and non-verbal in the long-term process, which allows for the building of new relationships.

2.2 Prejudice and Stereotypes

In addition to scholars from the fields of peace and conflict, the study of prejudice has been undertaken by different scholars after WWII, particularly by social psychologists who aimed to solve social problems related to racial discriminations and genocides among others. The concept of prejudice is understood in many ways. Saenger defines prejudice as "a process whereby we judge a specific person on the basis of preconceived notions, without bothering to verify our beliefs or examine the merits of our judgments" (Saenger, as cited in Dixon and Levine 2012: 2).

Allport understood prejudice as being more related with being antipathy towards others and thinking bad about others without having enough information (Allport, as quoted in Dixon and Levine 2012: 2). His work based on ethnocentrism, is related to the idea "that human groups have a general tendency to view aspects of their own groups as better than those of other groups" (as cited in Reynolds et al. 2012: 54). Authoritarian views proposed by Dollard and other authors of the concept consider prejudice to be more a question of personality related to "unresolved inner conflicts" (as cited in Reynolds et al. 2012: 52), "closed-mindedness" (Rockeach, as cited in Reynolds et al. 2012: 52) and "intolerance of ambiguity, rigidity and concreteness" (Oakes, as cited in Reynolds et al. 2012: 53). However, Kruglanski claims that prejudice is less about the personality and more about a cognitive style, which does not have a political content (as cited in Reynolds et al. 2012).

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[10] The Deep structure is understood as "an asymmetry of power between the different segments of society and violations of the basic needs of others occurs is structurally violent. It is then linked to discrimination and exploitation" (Graft et al. 2007: 132).

An alternative view of prejudice has been proposed by social identity research. They propose three arguments. The first one is the self-process, where people are individuals and at the same time members of a group and they "have social identities that represent the group-based aspect of the self" (Reynolds et al. 2012: 56). The second is that stereotyping and prejudice can be the result of the position of one member's group "in the context of a particular set of intergroup relations" (Reynolds et al. 2012: 56). The third one is the understanding of "the dynamic nature of social identity processes" (Reynolds et al. 2012: 56) which can allow for changes in prejudices.

Investigations into prejudice have resulted in some researchers linking it with the concept of stereotyping. Traditionally in social-psychology, unflattering stereotypes are associated with prejudices towards an out-group, and flattering stereotypes are more associated with an in-group or to an out-group if presumably, they have the same kind of ideals (Fiske et al. 2002). However, Fiske et al. (2002) state that stereotypes are related to two dimensions: warm and competence. In this sense, positive stereotypes can also be accompanied by negative stereotypes "of low competence to maintain the advantage of more privileged groups" (Fiske et al. 2002: 878). Also, "relatively unprejudiced people have automatic stereotypic associations" (as cited in Fiske 2004: 128). This can happen when people are requested to do lexical choices about an outgroup, then stereotypically terms that are negative can be associated. As discussed by Fiske (2004) stereotypes can show up as a response of an internal conflict between ideals and biases that have been acquired through culture and exposition to different sources of information such as media.

Lippman understands stereotypes like prejudice as an "outset to constitute an inherently flawed way of representing the social world" (as cited in Reynolds et al. 2012: 53). For him, the individuality of each person is denied when the individual characteristics are associated only with a group. Prejudice is also associated with dehumanization, particularly when groups of people are associated with violent conflict. Esses et al. "indicates that people commonly dehumanize immigrants and refugees, perceiving them as immoral barbarians" (as cited in Haslam and Loughnan 2012: 89). Dehumanization can be associated with ideological orientations and emotional responses.

Islamophobia is seen as a contemporary phenomenon and is a form of extreme prejudice based on Islamic religious identity. The concept became popular in Europe during the 80's and 90's with anti-racist movements and grew after the events of 9/11. Different researchers have defined the concept; Rana defines Islamophobia as the "fear or hatred of Islam and Muslims" (Rana 2007: 149), whilst Rummynede sees it as an "unfounded hostility towards Islam', the result of certain 'closed views' about Islam" (as cited in Saaed 2016: 6).

In relation to the concept, there has been a big debate on whether it is a form of racism or not. For US scholars the concept is necessarily related to race and racism, while for European academics it is demarcated in terms of xenophobia and prejudice. According to Saaed (2016), the concept of Islamophobia is not a static phenomenon, and it has been changing over time. After the 80's a new form of racialization was established based on "ethnic and cultural differences" (Saaed 2016: 9). Islamophobia as a form of racialization has not been only focussing on the body, but also on religion, culture and history (Sayid, as cited in Saaed 2016: 9).

Moreover, in relation to prejudice and Islamophobia, the concept of xenophobia is vital. UNESCO established that the word comes from Greek "xénos, meaning 'the stranger' and 'the guest' and phóbos, meaning 'fear'" (UNESCO 2001). According to the Declaration on Racism, Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance against Migrants and Trafficked Persons the concept is described as "attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners

to the community, society or national identity" (UNESCO 2001). Xenophobic ideas as transmissible impacts not only an individual but a group of people (Mushakoji 2004).

Anthias and Yuval-Davis affirm that xenophobia can become "racism when power relations are involved" (as cited in Mushakoji 2004: 20). In the literature different dimensions in relation to xenophobia have been explored as the psychological, social, historical and symbolic with the central focus being on the "opinions, sentiments and attitudes toward foreigners" (Galariotis et al. 2017: 2).

2.3 Advocacy campaigns

In relation to the rise of intercultural tensions, the need for creative approaches has increased. According to Pedersen et al, in order to reduce prejudice, a facilitation of intercultural relations is needed knowledge acquisition (as cited in Walton et al. 2016). In accordance with this idea, Pettigrew and Tropp affirm that for positive intercultural contact what "is required is a more reflexive understanding of one's own sense of identity and belonging" (as cited in Walton et al. 2016: 872).

NGO's have looked for different ways to raise awareness and do advocacy toward the injustices they work on and help transform relations and attitudes to positive ones, as Galtung and Lederach's work suggests. A way of doing it is through artistic initiatives that make it possible to have more critical approaches. Advocacy can be understood as "the pursuit of influencing outcomes-including public-policy and resource-allocation decisions within political, economic and social systems and institutions-that directly affects people's life" (Cohen et al. 2001:7). In other words, advocacy can be defined as an activity that seeks to influence political, economic or social decisions including institutions or civil society. Additionally, it is used as a "tool for generating public support for particular topics that NGO's focus on" (Pinar 2012: 25). The main goals of advocacy can include "resist and challenge the status quo, raise critical issues, place issue and policy demand on political and policy-making, ask others to act and do something, initiate action, create space for public argument and actively engage members, supporter and affected in advocacy efforts" (Cohen et al. 2001: 9).

Different strategies and interventions can be used such as lobbying, media campaigning, public speaking (including petitions, protests, and demonstrations), and think tanks, amongst others. Some advocacy campaign topics such as Hudson (as cited by Pinar 2012) can be related to civil rights, human rights, environment, gender, peace and all related injustices. In these strategies and interventions, NGO's have been using artistic tools as a means of communication. Some examples are the campaign called 'Abused Goddesses' promoted by the NGO Save the Children India "to highlight domestic violence in India" (Shanmugham, 2016). The campaign used real models and "recreated scenes from old hand-painted images of Indian goddesses" (Shanmugham, 2016) to show how goddesses are venerated while women are mistreated in daily life. Another campaign is 'Turn up the Volume of Nature' promoted by WWF where people were asked to write and send a song to politicians to prevent changes in the European Union Laws (WWF, n.d.). Also, UNHCR has created different campaigns using art to empower and give a voice to children refugees, including art photography and mural painting (Parater, 2015).

In addition, NGO's have also looked for new strategies or partnerships including with museums. NGO's work "to secure social and economic change in favour of marginalized populations" (Lewis 2001: 1) and to improve their impact in society with the aid of different sectors. The International Councils of Museums (ICOM, n.d.) defines museums as a "non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public,

which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment" (ICOM, n.d.). NGO's and museums share common goals to contribute to development in society.

According to Sandell, museums are spaces where people can reflect on themselves and their bias "through meaningful intercultural encounters" (as cited in Walton et al. 2016: 872). In museum exhibitions, people have the opportunity to relate themselves with the world around them, denominating this as an intimate encounter (Bonnell and Simon 2007). Moreover, museums can create confusion among visitors, since Witcomb mentions they are creating a challenge "to rethink who they think they are and who they think they are viewing" (as cited in Walton et al. 2016: 872). Museums also play a role in relation to culture, education, and representation. They are "active in shaping knowledge; using their collections, they put together visual cultural narratives which produce views of the past" (Hooper-Greenhill 2008: 2).

There has been research on how people interact with museum exhibitions, where museums become a place to "address and intervene constructively in social realities" (as cited in Walton et al. 2016: 872). However, authors such as Pedwell argues that small places like museums only promote superficial feelings that allow the visitor to remain untouchable within a privileged position from the related issues or suffering of the less privileged (Pedwell 2013). For Sandell, the way in which people interact with exhibitions in museums can be variable, dissimilar and uncertain. This makes it difficult to see the agency of museums in challenging prejudices (Sandell 2006).

Furthermore, museums can be immersive spaces where exhibitions seek at "engaging the audience in the narration on an intellectual, emotional and also physical level" (Lanz 2016: 182). These exhibitions are usually large scale, including interactive and walkable spaces "where the visitor does not recognize himself/herself anymore as a spectator but rather becomes a character in the story" (Lanz 2016: 182). Museums that particularly have this type of setting cover topics such as migration. Some examples are the memory and migration exhibition at the Gala Museum in Genova-Italy, Red Star Line Museum in Antwerp-Belgium and the History of Immigration Museum in Barcelona-Catalonia.

Chapter 3
'Humanity House'

3.1   Humanity House background

Humanity House (HH) is located in the city of The Hague, Netherlands. It was founded in 2010 by the Dutch Red Cross in partnership with the city of The Hague and the European Regional Development Fund of the European Commission. The partners of HH includes international organizations such as Zoa, PAX, Terres des Hommes, One World, Oxfam Novib, Amnesty International, VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, Stichting Vluchteling, ICCO and Kerk in actie, Hivos, Cordaid, Care and Unicef. Among the funds and sponsors many international and governmental organizations are included such as Fonds 1818, Janivo foundation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Red Cross, Euronews and others.

The entry fee to HH for the permanent exhibition has a standard rate of 9, 50 euros for individuals over 18 years old, 6,50 euros for students and individuals between 11 and 18 years old and is free for individuals under 10 years old. The entry fee for the temporary exhibition is free. Besides the exhibition other packages are offered such as 'group visits' with a price of 6,50 euros for groups of 10 people or more, 'life stories' where visitors can meet in person a refugee and choose specific topics like human trafficking or asylum policy, 'pub quizzes' that includes the understanding of disasters, conflicts, peace and safety with a price of 100 euros per group for a duration of 1 hour and 'International Humanitarian Law' a talk given by the Red Cross to humanize conflicts, the price is 150 euros per group and a duration of 1 hour. The HH is usually open every day except on Mondays.

Humanity House portrays itself as "a museum that lets you experience what it's like to live through a disaster or conflict and explores related themes in temporary exhibitions" (Humanity House). Further, they are a platform, which brings a space where agencies, organizations, and people can meet for discussions on humanitarian issues, and educational programs for people of all ages. The Humanity House activities include, "collaboration with national and international organizations, permanent and temporary exhibitions, education programmes, provision of a place of gathering (both physical and virtual), lectures and debates" (The Humanity House, n.d.). After the twenty-first century with the increase of technology and globalization, museums had to start to reinvent themselves. Their roles are now not only to preserve objects but to "promote a more egalitarian and just society… that entails a sense of social and ethical responsibility" (Hooper-Greenhill 2008:1).

The vision of HH is to provide a place of understanding of humanitarian issues and to inspire people "to contribute positively to a life in peace and freedom for everybody" (The Humanity House, n.d). Its mission is to make people aware of disasters and conflict that occur around the world and to motivate visitors to take action either directly or indirectly. Bennet argues that places that position themselves as museums can have the ability to show processes and the consequences for those involved in the processes (as quoted in Walton 2016: 872). The HH intends to involve visitors through "images, engagement, debate, music, and discussion from the perspectives of various participants, from journalist to victim and from relief organization to soldier" (The Humanity House, n.d.). The target population is people of all ages. However, specific educational programs appeal to the population between 10 and 40 years old.

The HH has a permanent exhibition and a number of exhibitions that are regularly changing and are related to topics such as migration, integration and refugee camps, amongst

others. It as hosts film screenings, workshops and discussions related to humanitarian issues. As Dixon and Levine affirm a type of intervention to reduce stereotypes and promote positive emotional responses can be made through "cooperative learning, re-education, common identification, empathy and intergroup contact" (Dixon and Levine 2012: 11).

3.2   The permanent exhibition

The permanent exhibition presents the experience of someone who has been forced to leave their home. It allows visitors to have an interactive experience where they become an active agent. Immersive spaces that display interactive scenarios with iconic objects have a "strong visual impact that makes it easier to understand and remember what's on display" (Lanz 2016: 187). In this way the experience is more personalized and visitors will remember details from an emotional side through the senses. The experience starts at the entry of the museum where visitors must fill in their personal information in order to obtain an identification paper which must be carried throughout the experience. The visitors receive a short explanation about what they will see and the purpose of the exhibition. They then usually do the tour individually or in pairs. The first room shows the entry of a house where the visitors receive a migration paper, which should be delivered later at some point during the journey. Next, the visitor encounters a laundry room with the sounds of children crying. This is followed by a room which displays a typical Dutch living room, where an announcement on the radio plays over and over with the message that all the inhabitants of The Hague must leave the city. In this room other details are present such as a laptop with the Facebook page open, wine spilt on the floor and unpacked suitcases.

In the following part of the journey, visitors must cross narrow, dark corridors that generate a sense of claustrophobia. In the corridors, visitors will find several holes. Some show images of people in boats or different representations of those who have lived the experience of leaving their country. Visitors are able to listen to several testimonies that are in different languages. This allows the visitor to vividly experience the life of a refugee, which might be an attempt to reduce prejudices; according to Allport (as cited in Dixon and Levine 2012:2) a person can have a tendency to judge others when they do not have enough information about them. The exhibition then introduces new information about refugees, in the form of their life stories which are usually not represented in the media. The next step is a small room with a mirror where the visitors cannot see their own reflection. The mirror is accompanied by the message 'You don't exist'. Next the visitor can access the border crossing where they have the option to go through four doors, which leads to a little cabin where the visitors will find a border officer. In this step, the visitors must deliver their documentation which includes their identification and migration papers. They are not able to see anyone, only listen to an officer speaking in a different language.

In the next section of the exhibition, visitors find the Red Cross office which shows piles of paperwork that correspond to all the people that have crossed the border. The visitor needs to find their own file and attach the paper they received at the beginning of the exhibition. Many pictures of real people that have under gone this process are displayed across the room. The Red Cross helped them reunite with their families and loved ones. The following and final room starts with an interactive video of eight people. One of them says to the visitors that the journey continues and invites them to get to know their stories. A big room is shown in eight different containers that have a house shape. Theorists of conflict transformation (Graf et al. 2007: 123) argue that to transform attitudes and assumptions about others, it is necessary to become aware of their reality. In this sense, the exhibition

attempts to make visitors conscious about refugees' experiences through feelings since they try to strengthen their capacity of empathy.

3.2.1 The Stories

Eight stories are presented at the end of the permanent exhibition. The stories represent eight different topics: reconciliation, dictatorship, statelessness, conflict and child soldiers, shelter in neighbouring countries, human rights and emergency relief. Each person represents a different country; Yugoslavia, Eritrea, Palestine, Nigeria, Syria, Jamaica, Bhutan and Iraq (see Annex 2). The stories are shown in a big room in eight containers with a house shape. On the inside walls of the container are pictures hanging, facts and parts of the person's story and journey since they left home until the day they arrived in the Netherlands.

In addition, there is a screen in the containers with video-recorded interviews. The visitor has 6 questions that can be answered by the person displayed on the screen. This is done in a realistic format which gives the impression that the visitor is talking to the refugee. Most of the questions and answers are in English, but some of them are presented in Dutch. As stated by Arnold-de Simine (2013) a way to induce empathy is through video testimony, which has the power to show to visitors how the individuals represented in the video were affected by different events. It is also a way to "let them speak for themselves and to foster affective and imaginative engagement" (Arnold-de Simine 2013: 94). This makes it possible to raise awareness because a dialogue is created among the visitors and the refugees.

The Humanity House aims to achieve a process of identification from visitors and encourage a feeling of empathy towards the refugees displayed on the screens, who are also from different nationalities, ages and sexual orientations. Moreover, as said by Tibbles (cited by Arnold-de Simine 2013: 95) visual images such as testimonies are more likely to be remembered in the future and sometimes motivate people to mobilize. However, this can be variable depending on whether visitors watch all the stories, on the questions they choose and the stories they decide to watch.

3.3 Museum staff perspective

In the interviews conducted with museum staff it was possible to understand their role at the museum and their perspective about the work they do and the museum's role. Two of the interviewees are usually at the main entrance of the museum and work as part of the 'museum team'. The third interviewee used to have the same role but recently moved to the educational team. The role of the museum's staff is to welcome visitors and give them an explanation about the exhibition they are about to visit. Their job also includes hospitality and an educational presentation for schools. They give an introductory talk of ten minutes to students about migration and refugees. For this last task, they receive training on how to give the presentation and the data they should include such as the number of refugees in the world, the reasons why they fled their countries or the humanitarian assistance that is present in different regions.

According to the museum's staff, the visitors are from a broad range of ages. In recent times the number of international visitors has increased since the museum has started to be more visible in media and apps such as TripAdvisor. Visitors also come from different regions in the Netherlands, but not many people are from The Hague. The most regular visitors are primary and secondary school students that join the museum through the educational program. The official visitor's data for the museum indicates that in 2017, 40 817 people visited the permanent exhibition, which included 543 school groups (Humanity House, n.d.).

For the interviewees, one of the greatest contributions of the museum is that it provides a human side on the issue of refugees. The two interviewees agreed that most of the information related to migration is currently obtained through the media. But much of this information is often misinformed, exaggerated, or incorrect which has made the issue of refugees and asylum in Europe a very controversial issue. However, they consider that through the museum, it is possible to get to know the situation of a person who has had to leave his/her home and his/her country. This is achieved not only by means of information but also by providing an experience where the visitor can imagine how it would be to be in this kind of situation. For Landsberg, this type of space, as the one presented by HH, allows people "to identify and empathize with the suffering of others" (as cited in Arnold-de Simine 2013: 91). Therefore, the interviewees also agree that the exhibition allows for creating awareness and evoking emotions, with empathy being one of their most important words.

> I think is very important since people are usually hard listeners. We want people to experience and kind of go through, to think about others situation (Staff member 2018, personal interview).
>
> So, it gives people a very different perception or like experience of what this issue is about. To not only read about it, because I think a lot of people don't do it or they are tired. But they do it and go through it and they get confronted with it (Staff member 2018, personal interview).
>
> Like no one even thinks about the human side of a refugee, is only about what they experience, what they do to us in the sense that they take space in our country. That's part of the discussion. Is not about what they actually experience, and I think that's essential and it's the empathy that is really important (Staff member 2018, personal interview).

The museum does not have a formal assessment of visitors experience in the museum. Although, the interviewees from the 'museum team' stated that they usually ask visitors how their experience was. Depending on the person, some want to have a conversation and express their thoughts, others just make a brief comment and then leave. The interviewee's perception is that most people are emotionally impacted by the exhibition. For some of them by the feeling of what it would be like to be a refugee and some others by the stories of the eight people presented at the end of the exhibition. According to one of the interviewees, there are also people who do not engage with the exhibition at all. This can happen because the visitors can feel untouchable by the experience and stand in their privileged position toward the issues they encountered (Pedwell 2013).

For the educational part, there is only one evaluation of the student's reactions and perceptions that is carried out by a staff member after the school guided visits. The interviewee that is part of the educational team expressed that students usually have positive reactions to the exhibition. Depending on the group, the students will be more curious or active in asking questions. In this way, as Sandell mentions (as cited in Walton et al. 2016) the exhibition is making it possible to create spaces where visitors have the opportunity to reflect about themselves and their biases. Students seem to be more surprised at the causes to flee (that not only includes war) and the neighbouring countries that are receiving the most refugees compared with Europe.

> Some people you can really see they are affected by and they want a conversation. But, some also they just think they want to leave, or they don't open the conversation themselves and

I always try to at least ask what they felt and how they experience it (Staff member 2018, personal interview)

They feel quite sad and it is really confronting and it's really good to kind of show that...we can be so lucky that there are people that endure all these horrendous situations... and they are really shocked. You can really see it has an impact on people, like emotionally as well (Staff member 2018, personal interview).

In relation to the further work of the museum to keep raising discussions about humanitarian themes, interviewees agreed that the museum should continue working with the educational programs. They consider it to be very successful in creating awareness together with different events such as conferences, movies, and exhibitions. They feel that the HH should be better known in The Hague because not many people have heard of or know their work. Overall, all the interviewees perceived the museum's work as very good.

In the panel discussion 'Social Museology and Social Role of Museums' at ISS, the 'Humanity House' director emphasized that one of the museum's strengths is its educational program. Through the program students of different ages also have the opportunity to meet with a refugee at the end of the exhibition and ask him/her questions. The refugees that participate in this activity are volunteers and are trained answer questions they are uncomfortable with. During the panel discussion the political position of the museum was questioned. The director stated they do not represent any political view or act as a 'propaganda machine'. Their main intention is to show the human side of refugees in a way that any person can relate to their experiences. Yet, showing only one side, in this case, the refugee's experience, can be problematic and perpetuate certain stereotypes.

Chandler (2001) mentions that in this particular context not taking a position can be deceiving since it doesn't show clearly their positionality towards human rights abusers or perpetrators of violence. The neutrality the Humanity House posits ends up in an uncritical view of migration in Europe and the Netherlands, which will be reflected on the visitor's views and maybe future actions. The exhibition does not show reported cases of discrimination, what happens when a person coming from a hostile environment's residence permit gets rejected, cases of violence and child trafficking in refugee camps in Europe. The effects of new migration policies and the discourses from political parties of the extreme right across Europe on refugees are not discussed. This is contradictory to the aim of an advocacy campaign since through them NGO's expect to "take part in the processes of policy-making as active and powerful agents" (Pinar 2012: 25).

We only try to do is to give refugees a human face. We tried to not make it political and that is maybe easier for us because we are not talking about certain war or certain conflict. (Panel 'Social Museology and Social Role of Museums' at ISS, August 2018).

According to Pinar "as a method, NGOs also tend to organize advocacy campaigns that target wide public support" (Pinar 2012:24). In this case, the Red Cross as the main founder and supporter of the museum, organizes their advocacy for refugees, migrants and asylum seekers through the permanent exhibition. However, the director and one interviewee from the museum team recognize that visitors might not change their political views in relation to migration issues. Nevertheless, after going through the exhibition one can understand refugees, migrants and asylum seekers experiences beyond the facts that are usually presented. This can be explained through the idea that is variable, dissimilar and uncertain how different people interact with exhibitions (Sandell 2006:71).

Additionally, the director mentioned that the museum has the independence to talk about humanitarian issues from the perspective they want to address it since only 5% of its funding comes from NGOs. The Humanity House was supported by the municipality of The Hague to be consolidated as the Museum of Peace and Justice, but since 2017 the municipality decided to withdraw its financial support. Currently the museum receives support from its founder NGO the 'Red Cross' and many other NGO's. They have also focused on new partnerships to be financially sustainable and had initiated cultural entrepreneurship to offer their expertise in development and other commercial services (Humanity House, n.d.). Considering that the Red Cross is their main funder, it is important to ponder whether the HH house position toward humanitarian issues is totally independent. Since the Red Cross is an NGO, they might seek to maintain certain relationships with different actors as other NGO's, government agencies and the private sector (Lewis 2001: 140). The work of the Red Cross is presented in the permanent exhibition in one large room, as the first contact for refugees when they arrive in Europe. This implicitly can be a way to advocate visitor's involvement with the work of the NGO.
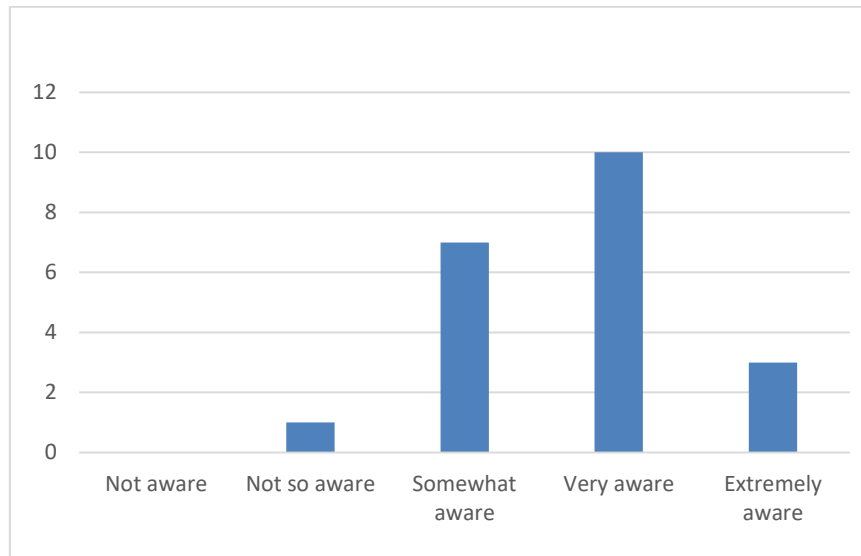
Chapter 4
Empirical findings

The following two chapters will present the findings of the surveys conducted with 20 students of the ISS and 1 student from the Master in Governance of Migration and Diversity at Erasmus University before and after visiting the permanent exhibition in the 'Humanity House'. In addition, the results of interviews with 11 students who agreed to have further discussions one or two weeks after visiting the museum will be explored. Most of them were aware of the current 'Migration crisis', but have different perceptions toward refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. After the exhibition most of the student's perceptions were changed through emotions, particularly empathy. Some of them showed a potential involvement in social action.

4.1   Understanding the 'others' path

Before going through the exhibition in the 'Humanity House', students expressed in the first survey that the main reason to visit the museum was to collaborate with the research paper. Usually, people will have a higher tendency to be more collaborative with those they consider to be part of their in-group (Reicher 2012). This might be related to the fact that the students themselves were going through the process of writing their own research papers and could identify with the process. When people are invited to visit an exhibition, they usually expect a traditional setting such as "objects, paintings, photographs… that present a story and produce resources of learning" (Hooper-Greenhill 2008: 2). Only 3 of the students have attended the exhibition before. Their expectations were based on acquiring new knowledge or information about refugees in the Netherlands through the exhibition while some of them did not have any expectations. Taking into account the academic background of the students, they might already be aware of refugee's experiences. Their expectations were either mainly related to knowledge acquisition or no expectation. However, they did not expect to be active agents of the exhibition.

The kind of awareness we have about others usually depends on individual factors such as our level of interaction with them and environmental factors such as living experiences or culture (Marková: 2017). In relation to the 'migration crisis', students placed themselves between being somewhat aware and extremely aware (See figure 1). The three students that positioned themselves as extremely aware come from Germany, India and Nigeria, which had been hosting a great number of refugees. They might feel extremely aware because they are probably in contact with information related to refugees on a daily basis. In addition, they would have acquired knowledge through their masters studies. Fifteen students felt that the crisis might have a solution while 8 of the students have worked with organizations that deal with migration and related topics.

Figure 4
ISS student's awareness of the 'migration crisis'

After visiting the exhibition, thirteen of the twenty-one students said that the exhibition was not what they expected. They either did not have any expectations of the exhibition experience or expected something different from what they experienced, which some described as 'engaging' and 'emerging'. Others thought it would be a typical museum format with a gallery or that there will be real people talking about their experiences. Through the interviews, it was possible to identify that they were able to remember what they saw in the exhibition, some of the stories presented and how they felt while they were going through the journey of a refugee. They remembered specific elements of the exhibition that impacted them while they were listening to the stories of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers.

> Was even better, had no expectations toward the 'tour' on how is to live as a refugee, what shocked me from the start even when mentioned 'The Hague'. And the life stories were amazing, all the interaction makes a difference (Respondent 2, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands).
>
> It was way more immersive of an experience than I had expected. Not as much factual info throughout, but as someone who has studied conflict I appreciated its representational intention and effect (Respondent 13, fieldwork notes 2018, The Hague, Netherlands).
>
> It was much beyond my expectative. I felt like I loved the experience of the refugees (Respondent 15, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands).

The exhibition appears to have an effect on the students, at least in the short term, where art audio-visuals and technology presented in the exhibition favours their "capacity to establish a connection" (Arnold-de-simine 2013:188) with a situation or a person. For eight of the students, the exhibition was what they expected because they were hoping to encounter a different insight to refugees, migrants and asylum seekers that are not usually presented in the media. Some students have worked with refugees and expressed that the exhibition is a good representation of the refugee's experiences. Three students had already visited the museum and knew what to expect. Not all students seemed to be interested in investigating new information in relation to the stories presented at the end of the exhibition. They probably

felt they already have enough information about refugees through their work and experiences or there was not a full engagement with the exhibition.

> I was expecting to have a close experience of the lived realities of the refugees and this was as close as I have ever been to a refugee camp (Respondent 18, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands).

Most of the students, except one, found something at the exhibition that caught their attention. One of the things was related to the visual impact of seeing blood on the floor or little holes in the walls. Another was the experience of walking through spaces which gave a claustrophobic feeling or trying to find out how to go from one room to another one, which seemed to be very confusing and elicited a feeling of being lost. Additionally, some of the students were impressed about the experience of becoming a refugee and they identified it as a situation that anyone or they could experience. According to Marková (2017: 44) it is possible to empathize with others if there is an "attempt to feel oneself into the situation of the other person" (Marková 2017: 44). In this sense, many elements of the exhibition helped the students to position themselves in the refugee's situations, without talking directly with them and at the same time allowing them to be more empathetic and aware.

> I did not really know what to expect but overall it was better than I expected. Impressive stories that touch you on a basic human level (Respondent 21, fieldwork noted, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands).

An outcome of the interviews was the acquisition of knowledge which contributed to being more aware of migrants and migration-related issues. The students already had some academic knowledge about refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. However, they expressed that only through the exhibition were they able to get to experience where the refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers are coming from, what the process was of leaving their countries and what the process to settle in a new country entails. In addition to the above, there are also the difficulties of identifying legal processes and language barriers. As Lederach (1998:57) mentions, it is possible to reduce prejudices towards others when we understand their situation and become aware. Also, raising awareness is important to "educating people about conflict" (Lederach 1998: 47). Some of the students felt they could have been even more engaged if some facts in relation to refugees, migrants and asylum seekers were present in the exhibition. The exhibition seemed to lack information on what the situation of refugees in Europe is or the origins of conflict in the countries they come from.

The composition in the exhibition (how it was organized, the materials that were used and the arrangement of each item) and its effect was also mentioned by more than one student in the interviews. To have an influence in a behaviour toward another person (preventing any future type of violence) it is necessary to have at least two factors ie. empathy and creativity (Graf et al. 2007). The exhibition created a visual and physical effect since it allows students to immerse in it and identify themselves with the refugees and migrant's journey. Moreover, the idea of the museum having a different setup which is interactive contributes to the process of identification and allowed the students to find commonalities with the people they saw as 'the others'. This can challenge certain assumptions, rules, prejudices or ideas that are unconscious that become conscious, which later could influence power relationships (Graf et al. 2007: 123).

> There was a Palestinian man in the videos, who was 28 years old, almost my same age, but he had gone through a lot of terrible and dangerous situations. It seemed as if he was forty-something years old instead of twenty-something. There was also a 16 years old girl who described how it felt to be relocated to different asylum centres and I felt that I could relate

with those feelings, even though I felt them under completely different circumstances (Respondent 17, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands).

According to Trout "empathy is the capacity to accurately understand the position of others – to feel that "this could happen to me" (as cited in Betts et al. 2015: 22). The students exhibited the presence of different emotions in the interview that they experienced while going through the exhibition. Empathy mentioned as the most common feeling among students irrespective of gender. "Just that you have to understand why in the first place they came to your country and only then you can have more empathy for them (Respondent 18, 2018, personal interview)". It's possible to identify that refuges are seen as the other, but now is more likely to identify the reasons of moving to a new country, based on acquisition of information and their experiences. The exhibition is also identified as a good alternative to comprehend closely refugees' lives and imagine realities that are usually seen from a long distance perspective.

"I wish every single person can experience the exhibition. To have a better understanding of refugees and migrants situations (Respondent 3, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands)".

Even though some of the students felt the experience was designed for Dutch visitors, through the set-up of the museum they were able to position themselves in the situation of people that have been through the experience of leaving their country. "Because you cannot imagine that someone had to pass for such a horrible situation of leaving your own country and never coming back (Respondent 20, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands)". Most of them remembered one or two stories from the museum, not necessarily the names of the people presented in the video stories, but the countries from where they came, their life-stories and their perception toward different topics such as war, peace or reconciliation.

Twenty of the twenty-one students agreed that this exhibition is a good method to raise awareness about the situation and experiences of refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers. There were many commonalities in their responses about how the exhibition raises awareness. First, it enables people to understand the life-experiences of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers, their reason to move from their country of origin, what it would be like to face a war and the problems/struggles they have encountered through the process of fleeing and upon arrival. Secondly, it provides a face and a voice to refugees, migrants and asylum seekers, as they see them to be portrayed beyond numbers showing the human side of their story. Also, their life stories become educational, bringing knowledge and reflection. Finally, the students reported being impacted on an emotional and physical level. Emotions such as sympathy, compassion, fear, and empathy were evoked. The only student that considered that the exhibition did not raise awareness felt that it evoked empathy as being a relational experience.

4.2   Feelings of Refugees, Migrants and Asylum Seekers Experiences

During the first survey, students were asked to write down the first three words that came to their minds when they think of a person that is a migrant, a refugee and an asylum seeker, generating nine words per student. For the students, the stereotypes toward refugees, migrant and asylum seekers are divided between positive and negative, which "are captured by two dimensions (warmth and competence)" (Fiske et al. 2002: 878). This means that positive stereotypes are congruous with derogatory stereotypes and do not necessarily eliminate prej-

udice (Fiske et al. 2002: 878). The most common adjectives mentioned by the students associated with refugees were those that are related to low competence such as 'vulnerable', 'crisis', 'marginalized', 'dependent' or 'trauma'. Some other adjectives such as 'bravery', 'strength', 'faith' or 'trust' were also mentioned but with low frequency among the students.

In relation to asylum seekers, some of the adjectives with the highest frequency were also those associated with low competence such as 'desperate', 'victim', 'deprived', 'endangered' or 'troubled' and the only two positive adjectives mentioned among students were 'empathy' and 'person' (figure 2). Also, they were associated with legal procedures. For migrants, the adjectives mentioned by the students were divided into two categories. The first, in relation to low competence, were 'deprived', 'displacement', 'oppressed' or 'marginalized'. The second category, associated with an economic factor, was described by words such as 'wealth inequality', 'economic crisis', 'opportunity seekers' or 'labour migration'.

Figure 2
Before the exhibition: Refugees, migrants and asylum seekers

Source: Fieldwork 2018.

Furthermore, the student's opinions were divided on the reasons given by refugees and migrants regarding the problems in the countries they came from. Eleven students did not find refugees and migrants to be a problem because they feel there are more important issues that need to be solved in their countries or that the migrants provide the opportunity to make their countries better by exposure to different cultures. In general, the perceptions toward refugees, migrants and asylum seekers were divided between people that see them as being good people but not necessarily with the agency as capable to act independently. In addition, they might represent a problem in terms of economic or security issues. In contrast, they could be a positive influence on the country's economy while introducing multiculturalism.

Albeit there are a number of refugees and migrants in my country, there are still more urgent issues in the social-political aspect, especially intolerance and radicalism that can hamper national unity. This needs more attention in order to create inclusivity towards minority groups

as well as migrants and refugees (Respondent 6, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands).

Britain's identity is contingent on its multiculturalism and the only "problem" that is created is done so out of a) ignorance or b) political motives. Migration makes our country a better place (Respondent 10, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands).

Ten of the students see refugees, migrants and asylum seekers as a problem due to the distribution of the countries' resources, the increase of violence and xenophobia, political tension and the lack of government's capacity to integrate them into society. "An influx of refugees and migrants puts pressure to limited resources. It has led to xenophobic violence in nearby South Africa (Respondent 4, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands)". There is an attribution to refugees as the causes of economic and social problems as xenophobia, without taking to account the origins of these problems, that are not only related with refugees' arrivals. Saenger affirms that prejudices are formed when we judge others based on preconceived notions, which we do not verify (as cited in Dixon and Levine 2012). However, in the case of ISS students, the importance of all individuals has been emphasized in their academic classes through conversations and readings, even of those that face hazardous and difficult situations. It is possible that the influence of media and new political discourses is stronger and prevails over educated people. Additionally, the integration of refugees ends up being in one direction, where the responsibility to integrate is attributed only to refugees, instead of being a mutual contribution with the host society.

The political climate due to increases in migration coinciding with the economic decline of certain domestic groups lead to massive societal problems. The problem is how to integrate them effectively into the domestic population (Respondent 8, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands).

After finishing the exhibition, students were asked once again to write down three words that came to their minds when they thought of a refugee, a migrant and an asylum seeker. In this case, as Fiske et al. (2002: 881), mentions the paternalistic stereotype may have been reduced since the competence attributed to the three groups were higher. The perceptions of refugees changed from people with little capabilities to people who are capable of accomplishing their goals. Adjectives associated with paternalistic stereotypes such as 'desperate', 'deprived', 'vulnerable' and 'traumatized' were still used to describe refugees. However, new adjectives that denote competence were also included such as 'determined', 'adaptive' and 'resilient'. Similarly, the frequency of other adjectives that were mentioned before the exhibition increased among the students. For example, the adjective of being 'strong' was one of the most common.

For asylum seekers, the paternalistic stereotypes persisted with adjectives such as 'deprived', 'need help', 'endangered' and 'vulnerable', the latter being one of the most persistent among the students. Before the exhibition, only two positive adjectives were attributed to asylum seekers, however, after the exhibition many new words that denote competence appeared. Some of them were 'determined', 'survivors', 'will', 'resilient', 'person' and 'dreamer'. Also, the adjectives related with legal procedures were present but with less frequency.

The adjectives attributed to migrants changed even more in comparison to those attributed to refugees or asylum seekers. Some paternalistic stereotypes were still present as 'vulnerable', 'uncertain, 'misunderstood', 'unwanted, and 'sadness'. But, adjectives that denoted competence increased in frequency and were more predominant than those associated with paternalistic stereotypes. Some of the adjectives were 'perseverance', 'fighters', 'achievers', 'warriors', 'ambition' and 'hard-working'. It might be possible that many of the students could identify with the stories and felt they could be in the same position since they are

migrants in the Netherlands. Furthermore, adjectives associated with an economic factor were barely present with only 'economic' and 'economic crisis' being identified (Figure 3).

Figure 3
After the exhibition: refugees, migrants and asylum seekers

Source: Fieldwork 2018.

Students' opinions were divided on whether their original perceptions were influenced after visiting the exhibition. The answers of the 13 students for whom there was no change in their previously held ideas, were divided into three categories. Firstly, there are those who have either previously worked with refugees, read about it or are writing their research papers in relation to refugee topics. Therefore, they already have enough knowledge about the life histories of refugees and the difficulties they have gone through. Secondly, others felt that the exhibition did not offer information about what a refugee, a migrant or an asylum seeker is, so their ideas have not changed.

To this extent, Lanz (2016: 188) remarks that museums or exhibitions that address migration topics can fall into "oversimplification and ultimately be unable to raise questions or…reflection and serious contemplation" (Lanz 2016: 188). The students, through the exhibition, had the opportunity to learn more about refugee's experiences but still didn't reflect on what they saw or felt. Therefore, they might feel more aware but not necessarily a deeper change in their thoughts, which is a more rational process. However, they perceive that there was an impact on their feelings creating empathy, sympathy, and awareness through experiencing and understanding the refugee's journey. Thirdly, those who had already visited the museum expressed that they already knew the type of information and exhibition they would be exposed to but acquired new understandings.

I have interacted with refugees and migrants before at a personal level and therefore most of the exhibition played into what I know already (Respondent 4, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands).

Not really, because I think my ideas previously were sympathetic to the challenges and pressures faced by refugees and asylum seekers. But I gained awareness of why certain people from certain countries flee-through the exhibition at the end (Respondent 7, 2018, personal interview).

There were two categories of opinions for the 8 students who felt that their previously held ideas were influenced by the exhibition. Firstly, there are those who perceived that they were able to understand different issues related to migrants and what it means to migrate from one country to another. Secondly, there were those who could identify with the life experiences of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. Sandell (2008: 28) mentions "prejudice is directed against members of those communities who are believed to be not only different from but also inferior" (Sandell 2008: 28). They stopped being an outside group and became ordinary people with a story that inspires empathy and respect and with whom the students can identify themselves. Here power relations are important because refugees, migrants and asylum seekers are not completely in an inferior position for the students. In addition, refugees cease to be identified as an object of academic study, but as human beings who must have gone through an unexpected situation.

The ideas captured in refugees/asylum seekers has always been depicted as negativity on security. However, some take opportunities for these outcomes to negatively influence society. The issue of LGBT, crisis, economic, displaced and lack of opportunities were all discussed in the exhibition (Respondent 11, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands).

It was a really humbling experience. Getting a sense of what they go through, and at the end reading about their accomplishments and obstacles they had to overcome. Really inspiring and humbling, gave a great example of how strong and resilient people can be. Another angle to the puzzle that was truly great to witness (Respondent 14, fieldwork notes, The Hague, Netherlands).

Through the interviews it was identified that one of the ways to change some of the stereotypes toward refugees, migrants and asylum seekers was to experience what it would be like to suddenly leave the country where you live. Prejudice and stereotyping toward refugees can be associated with dehumanization, that also creates "distancing and social exclusion" (Haslam and Loughnan 2012: 90). But, through the exhibition students affirmed to be able to identify a human side in relation to refugees, migrants and asylum seekers issues which makes it possible to diminish the social distance. The stories they saw and heard appealed to their emotions and were very personal. Refugees no longer a single entity, but became an individual that has different ideas, feelings, thoughts, and characteristics like anyone else.

I always had this feeling about when somebody is talking about a refugee or migrants or things or anyone that is marginalized you think ok this person is portrayed him them worse than they actually are and when you hear them talking about themselves it is kind of like truer you know… they are just like humans (Respondent 2, 2018, personal interview).

Congolese most of them there are known to be like very stereotyping like they are crook but at the same time now I think I can give them the benefit of doubt, try to hear their story. I just try to have the patient to listen to their story (Respondent 4, 2018, personal interview).

Also, the representation of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers that is usually presented in the media as being poor, uneducated or only coming from war torn countries was challenged. The students had an academic background that has allowed them to understand many different conflict contexts around the world. But the fact that students are in a more privileged position can contribute to prejudices based on socio-economical disadvantages, as

Haslam and Loughnan (2012: 100) affirm, people that are perceived to be from a lower class can be seen as "objects of condescension and patronization" (Haslam and Loughnan 2012: 100). However, the students were able to identify refugees as inspirational people who were able to overcome difficult situations and start a new life in a foreign country, as a diverse group that can't be homogenized in a single category.

> When they talk about their lives back home, so then I started understand especially with people who are close to my age, they are just people like me, probably had a degree, they had plans of setting their lives, certain goals and suddenly this war comes and then everything is just upside down so again they are choosing to do something new and that takes a lot of courage (Respondent 1, 2018, personal interview).

> They make really difficult decisions, but they make the journey and now they yeah they really made something out of their life here in Holland and that was kind of inspiring to see that even if you go through a lot of drama then people still bounce back and can make something beautiful out of it (Respondent 21, 2018, personal interview).

> I think that it could change your mind because… refugee are also necessarily people not to be pity…the first story I read in the intercom you know he was like yes I went to college I am like educated I speak three languages… so reducing also the stereotypes I think of like poor uneducated, not able to help themselves (Respondent 14, 2018, personal interview).

Chapter 5
What comes next?

5.1 Previous involvement and actions

The students were questioned about their previous job experiences working with organizations that deal with migrant-related issues. Eleven students did not have any experience related to this type of job. Eight students did have previous experience in migrant-related work. Some of the organizations mentioned were UNHCR, USAID, Migrant Voice UK, Unity in Diversity and volunteer work.

Students were questioned about the 'migration crisis' and whether it has a possible solution. The most common solution is attributed to entities that have positions of power such as governments and the international community which may have decision making authority. In addition, policies that provides refugees, migrants or asylum seekers to go into processes of reunification, integration, resettlement, and protection of their human rights. For a decrease in violence there is an important need for cooperation between nations and their policies. Two students proposed having a universal citizenship or opening of borders under strict policy conditions related to criminal records. Here prevails the dominant discourse on security where access to asylum must be differentiated and restricted without reflecting that a refugee is coming from a situation of violence or discrimination and is looking to secure their right to live.

> Because the police records are not checked before receiving these people and this only increases the crime rate that is possessed. In addition, there are economic problems that the country is going through and having such a migration these problems are further deepened due to the lack of employment (Respondent 20, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands).

Another possible solution proposed is related to the respect of human rights and the achievement of world peace. However, it is not mentioned how it would be possible to ensure the protection of human rights or the promotion of world peace. Only one student referred to a change at a personal level as a solution. This means a change in attitudes and behaviour. None of the students mentioned solutions from the local level, social mobilization or any other type of initiatives that can allow citizens to speak out in relation to migrant-related issues. The proposed solutions or possible solutions are based on knowledge coming from an academic side, without considering that policies will have an effect on real people.

> Developing an inclusive policy, which allows the migrant/refugees to integrate with the society in terms of socio-economic and political aspects (Respondent 6, fieldwork notes, 2018, The Hague, Netherlands).

> There is no single solution, but there could be a set of multiple, globally coordinated policies to tackle both the causes of migration and the integration of such (Respondent 8, fieldwork notes, The Hague, Netherlands).

For six students there is no solution to the current 'migrant crisis' because of two main reasons. Firstly, they feel that instead of a solution, an improvement should be made in the management of the problem. Secondly, they feel that there is no single solution considering different factors are involved in the current 'migration crisis' such as economics or war. However, they mention that there is no single solution and that the search for new strategies

might be important. They also point out that the causes of migration should be examined in the countries where recipients come from.

> Humans have always been migrants. I don't see a reason why it will stop. The real question should be how can we manage migration to maximize rights, security, and peace (Respondent 9, fieldwork notes, The Hague, Netherlands).
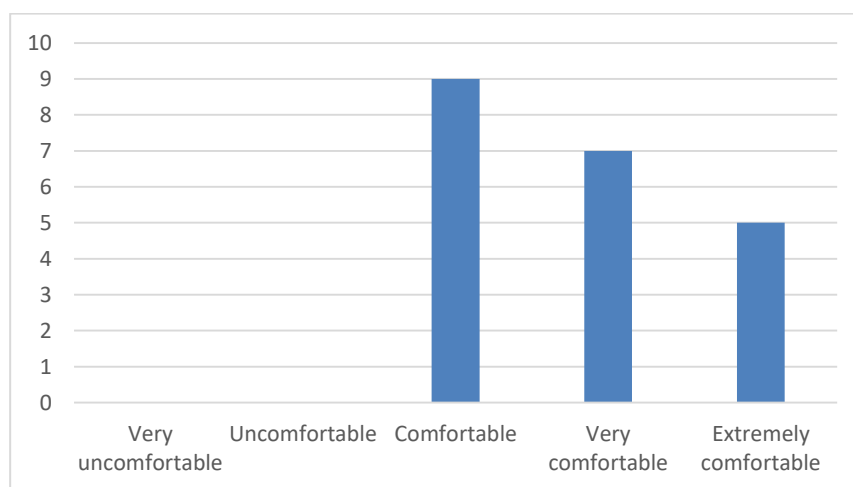
> There is no single solution to a heterogeneously rooted, contextually varied set of issues. Framing them as having a 'single solution' decontextualized and trivializes the complexity of the problem (Respondent 10, fieldwork notes, The Hague, Netherlands).

> I think it is very important to look at the specific circumstances where problems take place and find out how it can be managed on a local scale. Besides that, there is, of course, a lot of ground to be won by countries and world organizations to step up their game and bring relief to the ones suffering due to migration issues (Respondent 21, Netherlands).

The students from ISS, through their academic program, are encouraged to be very critical and take initiatives to work towards different social issues. ISS identifies their community as one "that challenges and debates with conventional, mainstream approaches that tend to oversimplify the study and practice of development" (International Institute of Social Studies, n.d). It is possible that students, even if they feel there is no solution to the 'migrant crisis', are not addressing the human side of the issue. There can be a tendency to base discussions and form opinions on mere technical aspects and ignore the human aspect of it. This can lead to dehumanizing the people affected by social injustices. Hence, prejudices can still be reinforced because with dehumanization the group identified as the 'others' are seen with "indifference or even with superficially positive attitudes" (Haslam and Lougnan 2012: 101).

Students were asked how they will feel participating in activities associated to migrants and refugees. The answers were classified in Likert type scaling with 1 being very uncomfortable and 5 extremely comfortable. The trend among students was comfortable (9 students), very comfortable (7 students) and extremely comfortable (5 students) (Figure 4). None of the students declare to be uncomfortable. This proves some sort of social distance, since only five of the students reported to be very comfortable. Some students might have ideas or conceptions about refugees and migrants, as prejudices and stereotypes, which do not allow them to be more open to sharing spaces with them.

Figure 4
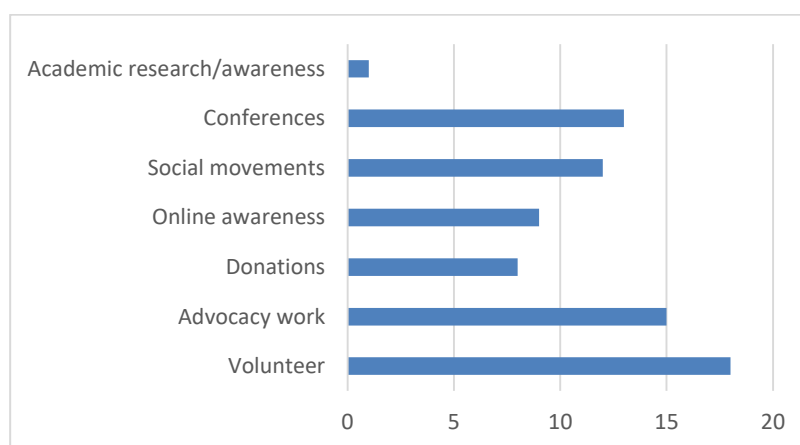Students comfort participating in activities with refugees

Source: Fieldwork 2018.

5.2 Future actions

After going into the exhibition at Humanity House, students were asked to identify which type of activities they will be willing to participate in with refugees and migrants. The most common was to join volunteer activities, which imply direct contact with refugees and migrants (Figure 5). This is interesting since before the exhibition most of the students expressed to be comfortable, but not extremely comfortable around migrant issues. According to Allport's (as cited in Wright and Baray 2012: 229) contact theory, prejudices come from unfamiliarity and ignorance, but once members of different groups establish contact, prejudices can be reduced. It is surprising that online awareness was not one of the most common activities since most of the students are involved in social media. It is possible that even if the students empathize with the refugee's issues, they do not want to make a public political standing, because this might have an effect on their relationships with other people and they may receive negative feedback. However, it is unknown for what purpose they use different platforms.

Figure 5
Activities in which ISS students would participate with refugees

Source: Fieldwork 2018.

Through the interviews, it was possible to delve into what type of actions the students would participate in and the reasons why they would do so. Their answers have been divided into two groups. The first group, composed of six students, would like to take some action in relation to the issues of refugees and migrants. Almost all of them have previously participated in voluntary activities with refugees and after visiting the exhibition they feel that this interest has been reinforced. Others haven't participated as volunteers but would be willing to socially engage, whether at the professional level through the work they are doing or at the individual level with their own voluntary actions. Three students expressed explicitly the importance of continuing to raise awareness about this issue.

It's probably because I am already interested in this topic, so I already have a sentiment towards them, so what this exhibition did, it just adds more spark into it…we need to raise awareness, a lot of countries don't want refugees to be let in and they have very strict policies, they don't care if the refugees will die or not (Respondent 1, 2018, personal interview).

I think when you are coming out of there you begin to think about things like this is something that someone has to go through as a refugee… I may try to influence in my peers, I think we need to take a different approach when we are dealing with refugees we need to have empathy,

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an informed point of view and now I have some kind of insight to the life they experience (Respondent 4, 2018, personal interview).

I think if I would work with refugees, I would do awareness campaign because that is the basic step that anyone should take about any issue make people aware that these are the reason and the effect of it (Respondent 18, 2018, personal interview).

The second group, composed of four students, are either willing to work toward refugee and migrant issues through the expertise they already have in another field or from another minority they are coming from such as LGBTIQ+. One of the students expressed not looking specifically at taking any action but is willing to work towards refugee and migrant issues in case there is a job opportunity. Even though the students gained deeper knowledge about refugees' stories, they do not completely engage with their cause and prefer to remain in their field of expertise. This can be related with the fact that students did not have a space after the exhibition to reflect on the experience and information they obtained.

It is not something that I would necessarily go out and look for but if I had an opportunity to work with an organization that did that sort of work and my particular skills would be helpful to that I would be definitely open (Respondent 14, 2018, personal interview).

Especially trying to see about the young people experience so it is good to learn from another issue because children who face this condition will have different needs than the adult what they experience is maybe more traumatic compared to the adult (Respondent 6, 2018, personal interview).

I think I would want to work with refugees in whatever capacity, even if involves teaching that's fine. Perhaps I could be more… because where I am now and who I am now, I think I could be more inclined towards refugees who are LGBTIQ. Just because at some extent I am able to empathize better, to understand better and provide some assistance (Respondent 7, 2018, personal interview).

In general, it can be said that students will take some sort of action in relation to refugees and migrants' issues. This might have been influenced by the visit and experience to the 'Humanity House'. According to Chapman and Fisher (2000: 159) individual motivation is crucial for advocacy campaigns effect, but this may be varied among people "some may make the issue their life's work or crusade out of strong moral conviction; others may be in it for a short period before moving onto another issue which appears more pressing" (Chapman and Fisher 2000: 19). Among ISS students, those who show more motivation to work towards migration-related issues due to the fact that they have already worked on this topic before their masters or in their research papers. There are also students that are interested in the topic but are already involved with other causes which they might consider more urgent on a personal or job level.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

This paper set out to investigate how virtual confrontation with refugees through an advocacy piece with an artistic spin can contribute to raising awareness about migrant-related issues among visitors of the 'Humanity House' permanent exhibition. The students from ISS seemed to be more empathetic toward refugees after the exhibition than before the exhibition, even though they have learned about migrant issues through their academic program or previous jobs. They were more aware of the process a person can go through from the moment they leave their house until the moment they arrive in Europe. This was possible through being active agents of the exhibition, where they had the opportunity to interact with different scenarios which allowed them to have a more real experience. The exhibition also aimed to give a human face and voice to refugees beyond the statistics and the information that is portrayed in the media.

Part of being aware depends on how much the visitor engages with the exhibition, especially with the refugee's stories that are displayed at the end. Visitors had the choice to watch all the stories, a few or none of them. Moreover, visitors were not more aware of some migrant-related issues such as the current situation of refugees in Europe or Europe's intervention in conflicts from where refugees are coming from. The exhibition seemed to portray the Netherlands as a great diverse and inclusive place where everyone is respected and people should be grateful to have the opportunity to live in. However, the rise of right political parties in Europe or the diverse aggressions and discriminations refugees have faced is never mentioned.

In terms of prejudices and stereotypes, it was found that after visiting the exhibition, the previous attributes students gave to refugees were slightly changed. New characteristics that denoted competence were attributed to refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. This was possible because the students were able, through the exhibition, to get to know more about the life story of some refugees. They were able to identify with them on a more human level, where they are not seen as a single entity that lacks humanity but as humans that have goals, dreams or desires. In addition, students were able to identify with refugees as educated people that deserve a good quality of life as they themselves deserve. Some paternalistic stereotypes where refugees are seen as victims persisted, which can be associated with the harsh experiences they shared in the exhibition.

The students expressed their interest to participate in activities that involve direct contact with refugees such as volunteering and some other more indirect avenues such as advocacy work, after visiting the exhibition. Their reasons to join these types of activities were variable, but those who had previous experience or interest in migrant-related issues were more interested in taking future actions. The Humanity House does not have space after the exhibition to debate the possible ways to engage with refugee's issues.

The study of the permanent exhibition of the Humanity House is important theoretically because it contributes to the theories of conflict transformation where the restoration of relationships through dialogue is central to prevent and reduce different types of violence in the future. Particularly, violence that is not necessarily visible as discrimination. A way to tackle this type of violence is addressing attitudes and assumptions both in the cognitive and emotional level, from more creative and non-violent tools. The case study presented in this paper reveals how an effective advocacy campaign with an artistic spin, in this case in a museum setting, can create awareness and reduce prejudices. A methodology is used that appeals

more to human emotions and intends to mobilize people in relation to migrant-related issues through empathy. This case can be a good example to motivate new initiatives among policymakers to influence migration policies, using other types of understandings.

This type of advocacy campaigns can have a short-term effect if they do not offer immediate ways for people to mobilize or join the cause they are trying to fight. In the short term, visitors can empathize, but these feelings need to be addressed immediately otherwise in the long-term people will tend to forget. Once they are back in their normal daily activities, surrounded by the same political discourses and media information, the effect of advocacy campaigns can easily be forgotten. In the literature about NGO's effectiveness campaigns has been stablished that long-term campaigns will have a better effect and influence in policy and practice. Also, a single campaign is not enough, and collaboration is always needed to reach different arenas. In this sense, it is important that advocacy campaigns, as the one presented by HH, need to move one step forward and promote their work not only among civil society but in government institutions, where policymakers are currently working on migration policies. This approach could influence reducing violent structural conditions and negative assumptions and attitudes on the societies that are receiving refugees and migrants.
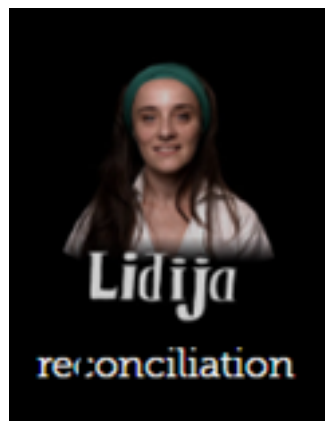
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Appendix 1

Partici-pants	Age	Gender	Country	Major	Inter-view
1	27	Female	Bangladesh	Social Justice Perspectives	Yes
2	27	Female	Brazil	Social Policy for Development	Yes
3	32	Female	Korea	Economics of Development	No
4	31	Male	Zimbabwe	Social Justice Perspectives	Yes
5	38	Male	Zimbabwe	Social Justice Perspectives	No
6	25	Female	Indonesia	Social Policy for Development	Yes
7	24	Male	Malaysia	Social Justice Perspectives	Yes
8	28	Male	Germany	Mundus MA in Public Policy	No
9	24	Male	USA	Mundus MA in Public Policy	No
10	24	Male	UK	Mundus MA in Public Policy	No
11	30	Male	Ghana	Social Justice Perspectives	No
12	27	Female	India	Social Justice Perspectives	Yes
13	23	Female	Canada	Social Justice Perspectives	Yes
14	28	Female	USA/Netherlands	Social Justice Perspectives	Yes
15	27	Female	Nigeria	Social Justice Perspectives	No
16	31	Male	Indonesia	Governance and Development	No
17	27	Male	India	Social Justice Perspectives	Yes
18	27	Female	Colombia	Social Justice Perspectives	No
19	29	Female	Ecuador	Governance and Development	No
20	28	Female	Ecuador	Economics of Development	No
21	25	Male	Netherlands	MA Track in Migration and Diversity	Yes

Appendix 2

Lidija Zelovic-Former Yugoslavia

Lidija was born in 1970 in the former Yugoslavia. In the exhibition, she represents 'Reconciliation'. She had to flee her country when she was 23 years old because of war. She arrived in the Netherlands in 1993 and currently works as a filmmaker. Through her job, she researches about reconciliation and the impact of the war on people's life. Some of the questions she answers in the exhibition are: How does war begin? What is your best childhood memory? What does trauma do to you? How do you look back in Bosnia?

Figure 6
Member 1 of the exhibition

Source: Humanity House.

Desbele Haile Kahsay-Eritrea

Desbele was born in 1993 in Eritrea. In the exhibition, he represents 'Dictatorship' since Eritrea has been ruled by this kind of regime. He fled his country with his friends when he was sixteen years old, leaving his family behind. Before arriving in the Netherlands by boat in 2015, he had to go through many countries in Africa and Europe. Some of the questions he answers in the exhibition are: How was your flight? How did the crossing go? Where is your family? What did you notice in the Netherlands?

Figure 7
Member 2 of the exhibition

Source: Humanity House.

Aihaam al Saadi-Palestine

Aihaam was born in 1998 in Syria. In the exhibition, he represents 'statelessness'. His grandfather moved from Palestine to Syria before he was born. He was never able to get any documentation or leave the country, neither could do it his children or grandchildren as Aihaam. After the war started in Syria, He fled to the Netherlands in 2011. His migratory situation is still uncertain since he only has a temporary visa with the status of 'stateless' that might not be renewed. Some of the questions he answers in the exhibition are: How did you find out you are Palestinian? Can you share something about your family? What was it like to arrive in the Netherlands? How do you see your future?

Figure 8
Member 3 of the exhibition

Source: Humanity House.

Bruce Cerew-Nigeria

Bruce was born in 1993 in Nigeria. In the exhibition, he represents 'Conflict and Child Soldiers'. He left his home being twelve years old because of family violence and poor living conditions. He ended up in Liberia and was recruited as a child soldier by rebel groups. However, he finds a way to scape and makes many attempts to flee to Europe. In 2000 he arrived in the Netherlands with the help of human smugglers. Some of the questions he answers in the exhibition are: What did your life look like, before? Did you make friends with the other child soldiers? Have you learned anything from being a refugee? What do you wish for your future?

Figure 9
Member 4 of the exhibition

Source: Humanity House.

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Shaza Manla-Syria

Shaza was born in 2003 in Syria. In the exhibition, she represents 'Shelter in neighboring countries'. Her family decided to flee in 2012 after the war started in Syria. She is a girl that loves playing music and during her journey always tried to keep studying music. Before arriving in the Netherlands through family reunification, first, they went to Egypt and then Turkey. Her mother was the first member of the family who fled to Europe by boat. Some of the questions she answers in the exhibition are: What's it like to be a refugee? What was your first impression of the Netherlands? How was life as a Refugee in Turkey? How did you hear about your permit for the Netherlands?

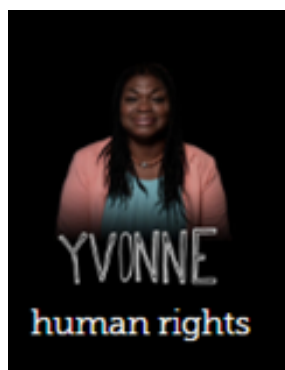**Figure 60**
Member 5 of the exhibition

Source: Humanity House.

Yvonne Artist Shaw-Jamaica

Yvone was born in 1962 in Jaimaica. In the exhibition, she represents 'Human Rights'. She is an activist in her country and openly defends LGBT rights. After, appearing on television talking about HIV and AIDS, she and girlfriend Denise are threatened by the community where they lived. Their safety is on risk and they decided to flee to the Netherlands where they get married two years after arriving. Some of the questions she answers in the exhibition are: What is it like to be a Refugee? What are Human Rights? How is life for Refugees in the Netherlands? What did you do as an activist?
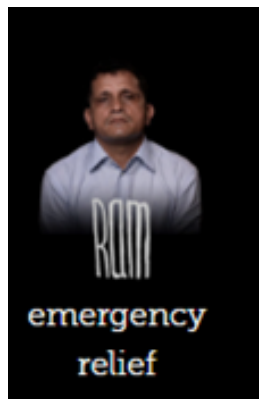
Figure 61
Member 6 of the exhibition

Source: Humanity House.

38

Ram Karki-Buthan

Ram was born in 1970 in Bhutan. In the exhibition, he represents emergency relief. He grew up as Hindu in a Buddhist community and became part of a resistance movement. Soon his life is putting into risk and he had to flee to India and later to Nepal, where he started a refugee camp. He lived in the camp for over 10 years until the situation became unbearable and making fled to the Netherlands in 2003. Some of the questions he answers in the exhibition are: How was living in Bhutan? How did you feel discriminated? Do you ever want to go back to Bhutan? How about the Bhutanese 'Happiness Index?

Figure 62
Member 7 of the exhibition

Source: Humanity House.

Akhrat Salavani-Iraq

Akhrat was born in 1999 in Iraq. In the exhibition, she represents the 'Dutch asylum system'. She and her family fled from war to the Netherlands in 2005. Upon her arrival, she started to live in asylum seekers centers until the age of sixteen when she and her family can remain in the Netherlands and get a residence permit. Some of the questions she answers in the exhibition are: How was your life in the asylum seekers' center? Do you have memories of Iraq? Did you go to school in the asylum seekers' center? What kind of people are your parents?

Figure 63
Member 8 of the exhibition

Source: Humanity House.

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