Slow Conflict on Display: on the Representation of Russophone Minorities in Baltic History Museums

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This article examines how major Baltic history museums represent post-WWII Soviet-era migration and the resulting Russophone minorities, conceptualising their relationship with titular ethnic groups as a slow conflict. Focusing on museums in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, the study explores how these institutions depict the Russophone other and the narrative strategies they employ. Methodologically, the analysis draws on critical museum studies and social positioning theory to understand the construction of historical subject positions and the interplay of antagonistic, cosmopolitan, and agonistic memory modes. The article is based on fieldwork at the respective museums from 2016 to 2024. While most museums still adopt an antagonistic memory mode, framing Russophones as collective entities within (forced) industrialisation or colonisation narratives, the study's sample museums as the Estonian National Museum (ENM) and the Vabamu Museum, are not alone in employing more nuanced approaches. These museums incorporate personal narratives and challenge traditional nationalist discourses, though they still struggle with fully integrating the Russophone perspective. The study highlights museums' complexities and challenges in representing inter-ethnic relations and memory politics in the post-communist Baltic context.

Keywords: Baltic history museums, Russophone minorities, Soviet-era migration, slow conflict, museological representation

Introduction

Memory studies concerns the aftermath of events, which significantly impacts on identity formation. However, trauma studies have shown slow transformations with the influential concept of insidious trauma (Root, 1992), have at least the same impact on identity formation. 'Slow-moving transformations', Jenny Wüstenberg maintains, 'are in fact the most fundamental "pasts" in terms of their impact on human experience. And even where violent conflict has persisted or re-emerged, the impact of hostilities is entangled with the effects of environmental, economic, and cultural change' (2023: 61). This article focuses on Baltic history museums' approaches to Soviet-era migration and its legacies. We conceptualise the controversial and uncomfortable history of Baltic-Russian inter-ethnic relations since the second half of the twentieth century, i.e., after the occupation and annexation of the Baltic states by the Soviet Union, as a slow conflict. This slow inter-ethnic conflict is characterised by long-term insidious trauma, resistant 'defensive minority' identity construction practices from both sides, subsequent life-world segregation, and vulnerability to national and transnational political transformations.

Museological representations of migration across Europe and beyond are characterised by a 'discursive restlessness' (Kaiser, Krankenhagen, Poels, 2014: 181–182), because political and social arguments about migration constantly shift the boundaries and relations between self and other, local and mobile, national and transnational. By including or excluding the topic of Soviet-era migration in the representation of the twentieth century past, Baltic museums are in constant negotiation with the post-communist memory regime and the changing power boundaries in ethnic relations, particularly those of titular ethnic groups and Russophones. The twentieth century state-induced migration to the Baltic republics from other regions of the Soviet Union cannot be unambiguously categorised under any single concept of migration, e.g. labour, educational, social, political or military-led migration (Whitehead, Eckersley, Mason, 2012: 28–29). Moreover, much of the migration under consideration occurred under conditions of Soviet colonialism for the Baltic peoples (Annus, 2012), the critical exposition of which is a challenge for a contemporary museum position sensitive and responsive to inclusion, diversity and mnemonic pluralism. How do major Baltic history museums represent identities related to post-WWII migration within the Soviet Union? Specifically, what are the museological strategies used in representing the Russophone other? What social, cultural, and political roles and options for choices are available to depict the Russophone population? How are they juxtaposed to other positions, and to what ends?

This article focuses on the main Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian history museums, which have had a significant role in shaping the national narratives since the post-communist turn. They are primarily government-funded institutions except for the "occupation museums" in Estonia and Latvia. Our analysis is based on

permanent exhibitions of the Estonian National Museum (ENM, exhibition opened in 2016), the Estonian History Museum (EHM, 2018), the Vabamu Museum of Occupations and Freedom (Vabamu, 2018) in Estonia; the National History Museum of Latvia (NHMLv[1], 2014 to 2024) and the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia (MOLv, 2022) in Latvia. We also analyse temporary exhibitions in the NHML, the National Museum of Lithuania (NMLt)[2] and the Museum of Occupations and Freedom Fights in Lithuania (MOFF) and, for the sake of comparison, temporal exhibitions of city museums in Vilnius (Lithuania), Tallinn and Tartu (Estonia). Whereas the museums opened their permanent exhibitions either before Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 or shortly afterwards, they opened most of the temporary exhibits after February 2022. The documentation of the exhibitions from 2017 onwards, in the order in which they were conducted out, is based on the critical visitor approach (Lindauer, 2006). Between 2017 and 2024, we interviewed (repeatedly, if necessary) the curators of all the permanent exhibitions, and the curators of some of the temporary exhibitions and took part in public curatorial tours (see Appendix on pp. 486–487).

From migration to slow conflict

The resettlement of populations was one of the most significant policies implemented by the Soviet Union. Following the re-occupation of the Baltic countries by the Soviet Union in 1944, a significant wave of large-scale immigration occurred. The greatest influx of Russian-speaking settlers happened until the late 1950s, with the majority originating from Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine. A slightly lesser flow followed from the mid-1960s. By the late 1980s, the proportion of Russian speakers in Latvia was 33.9 per cent, in Estonia 30.3 per cent, and in Lithuania 9.4 per cent (Carpinelli, 2019: 169). The influx of Russian migrants to Lithuania was considerably less than to either Latvia or Estonia due to disparate economic policies and the scale of urbanisation. The manufacturing and construction industries employed most of the immigrants who thus settled in major urban areas, particularly in the capital cities of Riga and Tallinn. Substantial heavy industry and construction projects, including power plants, employed other immigrants. To illustrate, the proportion of ethnic Estonians declined to below 20 per cent in the mining region of northeastern Estonia between 1945 and 1989 (Tammaru, Kulu, 2003: 105–110). The professional characteristics of the native Baltic population and the Russophone immigrants exhibited notable differences. Furthermore, the Soviet policy of nation-building promoted asymmetric bilingualism, with a preference for the use of the Russian language (Delgrande, 2019: 73–74). This long-term policy resulted in the natives' ontological sense of insecurity and reinforced

1   Lv (Latvia)
2   Lt (Lithuania)

resistant subaltern identity practices, which combined both fear and a sense of superiority (Annus, 2012: 26). The 'native' and 'newcomer Russian' spheres, separated by language as well as identification and socialisation practices, developed into 'parallel cultural worlds' (Lember, 2016: 12–13).

After the restoration of sovereignty, the trend of Russian-speaking migration declined. In 2018, Russian speakers accounted for 30 per cent of Latvia's population, 27 per cent of Estonia's population and 5 per cent of Lithuania's population (Kuczyńska-Zonik, 2024: 135). Research had addressed the Russophone minority as a vital societal security issue, especially in Latvia and Estonia, where their population is high and includes numerous non-citizens. The Baltic states, in the initial decades after regaining independence, implemented recognition policies while navigating tensions between Russia's political manipulations and European integration. The status of ethnic minorities played a crucial role in this process. Since the beginning of the post-communist transition, 'identity security' (Ozoliņa, 2016: 22) has been the guiding principle behind the language and citizenship laws of the Baltic states, which Sovietization helped to shape with the tensions it created horizontally and vertically between the native population and the Russophone minority. Memory politics as a means of increasing national identity security tended to othering the Soviet era newcomers, treating them as 'henchmen of the occupation regime' (Seljamaa, 2016: 31). In the 'memory wars' of the 2000s, the incompatibility and confrontation of the cultural memories of the Baltic peoples and the Russophone minority came to the fore (Mälksoo, 2009; Kõresaar, Jõesalu, 2016). Creating a common political space and reducing the ethnolinguistic divide is an ongoing challenge, particularly in segregated areas in east Latvia or northeast Estonia, complicated by limited inter-ethnic contacts, low national language proficiency vulnerable to Russia's 'cultural diplomacy', and well-established strategies of tacit separation (Ozoliņa, 2016: 18–22; Opermann, Vihalemm, 2017: 47).

Historical subject positions as mnemonic affordances

The study focused on specific examples of museums, in which migration in the second half of the twentieth century related to the formation and role of the Russophone minority in Baltic societies. Treating their relationship with the titular ethnic groups as a slow conflict, we asked what kind of mnemonic affordances museums provide today to deal with this past societal conflict. How do different memory media relate to each other in the representation of slow conflict, and what kind of narrative is created by it? What are museums' ethnopolitical positions and aims in the ways the museums represent Russophones as historical subjects? How do museums relate to the post-communist memory regime in this respect?
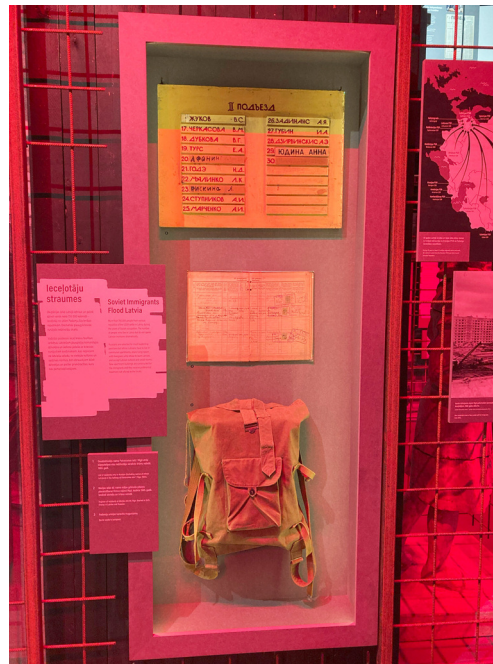
Methodologically, the analysis draws on the one hand on critical museum studies, which increasingly concerns the ways museums' agency shapes how society understands and copes with socially, culturally and historically 'difficult' issues,

contested belonging and prejudice (Walton, Paradies, Mansouri, 2016). On the other hand, we combine the recent discussion on antagonistic, cosmopolitan, and agonistic memory modes with the methodology of social positioning (Törrönen, 2013). This methodology provides tools for understanding whose identity is rhetorically strengthened and whose weakened. How is a boundary created between the 'own' and the 'other' by categorisation and classification? On whose perspective are the roles categorised and assigned, and with whom there is a dialogue? How do the roles of participants manifest themselves in narrative trajectories? How intertextual relationship evolves with other possible positions, voices, perspectives, categories, and storylines? In the positioning process, subject positions made available by the cultural

Photo 1: Showcase from the section of the MOLv permanent exhibition dedicated to Soviet-era migration. The curatorial text – Soviet Immigrants Flood Latvia – is in Latvian and English. Author: Ene Kõresaar.

master narratives or discourses can be followed or opposed, and the initial positioning can be disputed (Törrönen, 2013: 92–93). As we have shown elsewhere (Kõresaar, Jõesalu, 2023), memory modes can be differentiated according to how subject positions are categorised, which space is allocated to them in a memory narrative, how the experiences are framed, which identities are made available for the participants of the mnemonic community. Hence, we analyse ways of creating historical subject positions in museum exhibitions as mnemonic affordances that mould, enhance or hinder the memorability of the slow (inter-ethnic) conflict (Savolainen, 2023: 59–60).

Existential threat

The antagonistic mode of representing the past (Bull, Hansen, 2016) remains prevalent in history museums, which often depict the story of immigration from the perspective of the titular nation. The museums typically frame this portrayal within either an industrialisation narrative, as seen in EHM and NHMLv, or a colonisation narrative, as exemplified by the newly opened exhibition of MOLv, which strongly emphasises the latter. The curatorial texts in MOLv speak of the colonisation of

Latvia, underlying the power role of Moscow in 'flooding Latvia with Soviet immigrants'. All these narratives view immigrants as a collective entity; personal stories of Russophones have not been added, nor does the museological discourse assign them any agency. Russophones come to the fore only as part of the political processes of colonisation and industrialisation. In the Lithuanian context, Soviet-era immigration has not found its way into permanent exhibitions, but in the exhibition *Homo Sovieticus*, which is part of the Museum of Occupations and Freedom Fights, a similar othering of Russophones is visible.

A rupture and the consequent tension between viewing communism as an everyday lived experience and as a totalitarian, occupational regime characterised by political repression and criminal behaviour frames the remembrance of communism in Eastern Europe (Iordachi, 2021). This tension between the two approaches is also evident in history museum representations of the Soviet past. Incorporating everyday objects into exhibitions may soften the totalitarian discourse.

Particularly the EHM has an intriguing symbiosis of portraying immigration as an existential threat alongside the nostalgic representation of Soviet-era goods. The latter offers a potential shift in meaning for non-Estonian visitors, providing an alternative identification option beyond the narrative of industrialisation. The curators at the NHMLv show a similar tendency by scattering Soviet-era products throughout the exhibition, including a fully re-created Soviet-era living room. This hybridity of discourse – combining the collective threat with nostalgic displays – could be linked to the incoherence of museum exhibitions (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998) and the constraints museums face. Both leading history museums cover extensive historical periods, particularly the NHMLv, and the available exhibition space and design possibilities significantly influence the outcome. Limited space also dictates the selection of themes and objects – curatorial texts are concise, and in the EHM, the text space is very restricted.

On the other hand, the curators at the MOLv recognized the influence of nostalgic everyday objects and were aware these could relativise their main message about the Soviet occupation – 'you need to be like depressed and think never again about Russia' (curator interview). Consequently, the exhibition of the MOLv purposefully omits any nostalgic Soviet objects.

Humanistic perspective

The Estonian National Museum (ENM) adopts a different perspective from the above-analysed history museum narratives by embracing an anthropological understanding of everyday life (Rattus, 2016). This approach allows the museum to address sensitive issues related to the memory of communism, such as state-enforced migration, without being constrained by grand narratives (cf. also Kõresaar, Jõesalu, 2023).

By utilising first-person narratives in the subsections *Goings and Comings* and the *Parallel Worlds, Parallel Lives* of the permanent display *Encounters*, the ENM succeeds in individualising the actors whom historical narratives previously portrayed as a group fulfilling the ambitions of the Soviet regime. This approach presents previously marginalised Russophone immigrants as historical agents equal to ethnic Estonians. The subsection presents three biographical stories of a deportee, refugee and newcomer using a voice-over and images.[3]

The ENM situates Russification and the us-and-them binary within a specific historical context, and throughout the section *Goings and Comings* shows that both groups have struggled to adapt in the post-World War II world. Through biographical accounts and object labels, the ENM emphasizes the

Photo 2: View of the ENM permanent exhibition's section Goings and Comings. *In the foreground: showcases with objects of Soviet newcomers (left) and Estonian forced deportees and refugees (right and behind). Background from left: screens with the illustrated post-war life narratives of (from left) an Estonian deportee, a Russian-speaking newcomer and an Estonian refugee. Author: Anu Ansu. Courtesy Estonian National Museum*

similar experiences of hardship and violence, love, and family, which opens up possibilities for solidarity and enables inter-ethnic and cross-cultural identification. Moreover, the re-politicization of the us-and-them rhetoric re-emerges in depicting the restoration of independence in the voice of a Russophone newcomer in *Goings and Comings*, thus potentially allowing the visitor to re-evaluate its impact at the time.

The NMLt employed a humanistic approach similar to the ENM's in the temporal exhibition *I Am a Vilniusite* (2022–2023), in which the history of Vilnius was told from the perspective of fifty-five individuals. When presenting Soviet-era Vilnius, the exhibition introduces two Russian speakers: (i) an Old Believer who is an icon painter from pre-World War II Vilnius and (ii) a newcomer, an excavator driver who arrived from Russia as a youngster in 1947.

An understanding of the commonality of human experience across political and group boundaries supports the multiperspectivity of the Soviet past portrayed

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3   On the other hand, Seljamaa (2021: 86–87) interprets the multi-layered nature of the exhibition *Encounters* as emphasizing the role of ethnic Estonians, citing the design as the reason the section *Goings and Comings* promotes a distinctive rather than a comparative or communicative interpretation.

Photo 3: View of the Recovery *section of Vabamu's permanent exhibition. Screens with audiovisual stories on the left wall, second and third from the left are the two Vladimirs from Narva, next to an Estonian artist and a cultural worker. Author: Anu Vahtra. Courtesy Museum of Occupations and Freedom Vabamu.*

through first-person narratives. By incorporating biographical stories, it is possible to portray immigrants as individual actors rather than a monolithic group.

Agonistic possibilities

In the exhibition section *Recovery,* the Vabamu advances the ENM's humanistic approach by enabling the equality of opposing subject positions representing Russophone new dissidents not as enemies of the nation but as independent political actors for whom the freedom of speech applies equally to ethnic Estonians. *Recovery* tackles the topic of re-independence and the transition years from a critical viewpoint and mediates the contrasting perspectives through short video-recorded first-person statements. Among the eight selected 'grassroots activists' (curator interview), there were two Russian men, both called Vladimir, who hailed from the Estonian-Russian border city of Narva, and represented the Russophones' fights for their rights in the early 1990s.

The touch screen exhibit titled *The Years When Estonia Changed* supports the first-person stories, introducing the road to re-independence and the post-communist transition. Vabamu explains the transition from the perspective of political choices and social opportunities, and thereby locates the nationalist rhetoric

of othering on the touch screen in a concrete historical-political context. In this part of the display, the curator(s) created a space for meaningful intercultural encounters (Sandell, 2007), allowing the visitor to reflect on different options and goals in Estonia in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

By denoting the processes of post-communist transition with phrases such as 'new dissidents' and 'transnational society', Vabamu translated the stories of the two Vladimirs into contemporary political discourse and brought them to the same actor level as the Estonian narrators. Thematising the Estonian transitional society divided by linguistic, geographical and mnemonic boundaries and unequal economic opportunities and by critiquing its nationalist discourse of othering, created the possibility of positively re-politicising the past (Mälksoo, 2009). So, indeed, the exhibition attempted to extend the Estonian-centred and restorationist approach of the 1990s. However, although Vabamu aims to broaden the understanding of the choices of the transitional years of the 1980s and 1990s, the narrators representing the Russian-speaking population are still politically active male Russian speakers from northeast Estonia. They provide only one way of understanding this ethnic minority of Russian speakers, which is of the opposing position.

The NHMLv exhibition *Latvia's Century* (2018 to 2020) also included opposing positions while mediating the restoration period of independence. Using photographs, the curators juxtaposed the demonstrations of the ethnic Latvian national movement with those of the primarily Russophone International Front. However, none of the additional curatorial texts would help to understand the motives of the International Front.

Although Vabamu enables juxtaposing positions regarding the re-independence period by offering an agonistic representation of the post-communist transition, other parts of the exhibition, especially noticeable in the section on the late Soviet period, silence Russophone voices.

Silence and forgetting

The Vabamu exhibition raises the question of the marginalisation or even silencing of the Russophone minority and the issue of Soviet-era migration in the Baltic museums. The state-centred antagonistic narrative of migration in the central history museums is a form of silencing, too, fostering new social oblivion as a long-term reaction to the Soviet 'repressive erasure' (Connerton, 2008: 60–61). Indeed, museums silence Russophones as historical agents and treat them collectively as part of an alien regime. This links to the contrasting framing of Soviet-era immigration to and (forced) emigration from the Baltics within the 'occupation paradigm' that informs dominant narratives of the twentieth century past.

However, the obstacles for museums to bring the stories of the Russophone minority into the exhibition space are not necessarily ideological but epistemological, stemming

from long-term museum practice. According to our fieldwork conducted from 2020 to 2024, silence in museum collections (Mason, Sayner, 2019: 6–8) regarding the Russophone minority is notable in all major Baltic history museums. The treasurers argued that the collecting work focuses on Soviet everyday life, which was 'the same for everyone'. Yet by doing so, they are rendering invisible the non-majority. Silence at the level of the collections may lead to 'forgetting as annulment' (Connerton, 2008: 66–68) unless the museum assumes the ambition of social change, as in the case of the ENM, which deliberately undertook to represent the Russophone minority both in its collections and in its permanent exhibition. The ENM's experience also shows how arduous and bumpy this process can be and how much resources it requires from the museum (Rattus, Anepaio, 2019). The idea of museum neutrality is also quite common among Baltic curators, which can contribute to the museums' 'collusion in society's silences' (Mason, Sayner, 2019, 9–10), reproducing ethnic separation. Curators may also feel they have 'nothing to say' on the topic (Ibid.: 11) because ethnopolitical issues fall outside the profile of their museum.

Exhibitions that emphasise the 'commonality' of the Soviet everyday experience, including temporary exhibitions, which are usually more dynamic in representing controversies of migration (Whitehead, Eckersley, Mason, 2012: 36), also downplay ethnopolitical issues, as the temporary exhibition *Trapped (With Central Heating)* (2023 to 2024) at the NMLt showed. However, legacies of Soviet state-induced migration may be present in more hidden forms in local museums and museum initiatives, especially in localities that owe their existence to this type of migration, such as the cities built for heavy industry (Dovydaitytė, 2022). Museums in larger cities have also recently initiated exhibitions of neighbourhoods with multi-ethnic histories, such as the Vilnius Museum's *Stories of Krasnucha* (2023) and *Maybe to Viršuliškės?* (2022) and Tartu City Museum's *Our Tartu* (2024). The exhibition at the Russian Museum,[4] a branch of Tallinn City Museum, called *Museum Laboratory* (2019) explored the development and differences of Estonian Russophones in the city.

Conclusion

This article analysed how Baltic history museums represented the Russian-speaking minority that was an outcome of the Soviet-era state-induced migration. We understood the inter-ethnic relations between the natives and the Russophone newcomers during the communist and post-communist periods as the slow conflict that informs and filters how museums create mnemonic affordances to remember.

The dominant slow-conflict mode of remembering in the Baltic's central history museums remains antagonistic and securitising. This, in turn, also contributes to the 'forgetting' of the Russian-speaking minority in the museological conception of

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4   Renamed in 2024 September to People's Museum of Tallinn.

twentieth century national history. However, it is also evident that the representation of the Russian-speaking minority in museums is diversifying, offering humanistic and, fragmentarily, agonistic affordances.

As we have shown elsewhere (Kõresaar, Jõesalu, 2023), the mnemonic affordances offered by museums relate to their stated mission, the curators' choices as members of memory communities, and the media chosen. In museums that tell the national story from the state's perspective, a securitising view and a historiographical (usually chronological) approach predominate. Museums represent Russophones as a collective body. Museums that offer alternative ways of understanding the Russian-speaking population tend to turn to an anthropological and individual-centred approach and use a biographical perspective. This allows human motivations and worldviews to emerge and provides a more nuanced insight into socio-political processes (Bull, Reynolds, 2021; Kõresaar et al., forthcoming).

Most importantly, museums that offer alternative options have critically assessed and redefined their mission. The ENM has changed the concept of its permanent exhibition by abandoning the previous idea of ethnic nationalism in favour of the concept of territory, which allows opposing processes and relations between ethnic groups to be treated on an equal footing and in dialogue (Rattus, 2016). Vabamu did the same, replacing concept of national with those of democracy and freedom (Jõesalu, Kõresaar, 2022). In doing so, both museums changed their ethnopolitical position. In addition, they also reached out to the Russian-speaking community through collection work and engagement (ENM) and invited an artist from the community to be one of the curators (Vabamu). Focusing on local history also allows the museum to consider belonging in a detached manner from the dominant memory narrative, as a temporary exhibition of the NMLt on the capital city's history demonstrates.

The analysis also showed that history museums concentrate individual agonistic fragments in the exhibitions around the period of regaining independence (1988 to 1991). This suggests that the agonistic perspective depends very much on what discursive strategies are extant and available to curators, especially on understanding the role of citizens and political parties in contemporary democracy. As we have shown elsewhere, museums are not as successful outside the political discourse in bringing out the agonistic potential of first-person narratives (Kõresaar et al., forthcoming).

The silence about the formation of the Russian-speaking community during the Soviet-era migration is striking. Vabamu within the framework of political science discourse found an opportunity to present the agency of Russian speakers in the complex process of regaining state independence and publicly declared that museums and memory culture (in Estonia) are exclusive to Russophones. Nevertheless, Vabamu has overlooked the aspect of migration in the *Stalinism* and *Soviet everyday life* sections of its exhibition. The perspectives of the colonised and the coloniser currently seem incompatible at both the level of master narrative and social memory. It also seems beyond reach to reconcile the transformation of the status of the

Russian-speaking population from a Soviet coloniser to a post-Soviet minority in a single (museum) narrative.

Finally, the permanent exhibitions of the central history museums that the article analysed were prepared or opened before Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Also, neither the curatorial interviews nor the documentation of the temporary exhibitions reveal that the ongoing war directly impacts the representation of Soviet-era migration and the resulting Russian-speaking population in museums. Rather, the museological memory landscape is democratising in that the national story presented in museums has become more pluralistic. Yet, the challenge remains to predict the possibilities of further democratisation. The representation and inclusion of the Russophone minority is a topic that remains sensitive, to say the least, in the Baltic discursive space, which Saarts (2024) characterises as a defensive democracy after the 'memory wars' of the 2000s and especially after 2022. During the eruption of the Baltic states' defensive memory policy in 2022, the critics have argued that '[t]he two main victims that have been thrown on the security altar [...] are the Russian-speaking minority as an essentially equal community with Estonians and the democratic, bottom-up culture of memory' (Velmet, 2022). Currently, observers cannot see any direct pressure on museums. This does not mean, however, that museums do not apply self-censorship that is not always visible to researchers, and under its influence postpone or completely abandon projects aimed at the Russian-speaking community.

Appendix: Museums and exhibitions mentioned in the article

Museum	*Abbreviation*	*Exhibition analysed*	*Years*	*Fieldwork*
Estonian History Museum	EHM	Permanent exhibition *My Free Country*	2018 to present	Documentation 2018 to 2024 Interviews with curators 2019
Estonian National Museum	ENM	Permanent exhibition *Encounters*	2016 to present	Documentation 2016 to 2024 Interviews with curators 2017 to 2023
National History Museum of Latvia	NHMLv	Permanent exhibition Temporary exhibition *Latvia's Century*	2014 to 2024 2018 to 2020	Documentation 2019 to 2022 Interview with curators 2019

Museum	Abbreviation	Exhibition analysed	Years	Fieldwork
National Museum of Lithuania	NMLt	Temporary exhibition *I Am a Vilniusite*	2022 to 2023	Documentation 2023
		Temporary exhibition *Trapped (with Central Heating)*	2023 to 2024	Documentation 2023
Museum of Occupations and Freedom Vabamu (Estonia)	Vabamu	Permanent exhibition *Freedom Has No Borders*	2018 to present	Documentation 2018 to 2023 Interviews with curators 2018 to 2019
Museum of the Occupation of Latvia	MOLv	Permanent exhibition	2022 to present	Documentation 2022 to 2023 Interview with curators 2022
Museum of Occupations and Freedom Fights (Lithuania)	MOFF	*Project – Homo Sovieticus* at the Tuskulenai Memorial Park	2021 to present	Documentation 2022 to 2023 Interview with curators 2021
The Tallinn Russian Museum (since 2024 People's Museum of Tallin) (Estonia)		Temporary exhibition *Museum Laboratory*	2019 to 2020	Documentation in 2020
Vilnius Museum (Lithuania)		Temporary exhibition *Stories of Krasnucha*	2023	Interview with the curator 2023
		Temporary exhibition *Maybe to Viršuliškės?*	2022	
Tartu City Museum (Estonia)		Temporary exhibition *Our Tartu*	2024 to present	Documentation 2024

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