

MASTER THESIS

Dealing with Contested Heritage: Educational approaches to Museums of Occupation in the Baltic states



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Abstract

This Master Thesis aims to provide a better insight into educational approaches, techniques and practices of incorporation and use of museums of occupation in history curricula in the Baltic states, i.e. how formal and informal education can co-exist in one domain and even cooperate. The thesis aims to provide knowledge about history education in museums of occupation and perceptions, attitudes and views on these museums of both the museum workers and history educators in the Baltic states. It also attempts to answer a more specific question, namely to what extent the notions of MPI (multiperspectivity, plurality and inclusivity) are reflected in museums' exhibitions as well as educational approaches (e.g. dynamic approach to heritage education) to these museums from the perspectives of both the museum and school history educators.

Keywords: Baltic states, Russia, minority, museum education, heritage education, history education, museums of occupation, Soviet occupation, sensitive heritage, contested heritage, multiperspectivity, plurality, inclusivity, dynamic approach.

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Next, I would like to show appreciation to my research internship's supervisors - EUROCLIO staff: Steven Stegers and Jonathan Even-Zohar for bringing me in contact with associations and assisting me with gathering the information for the research. Apart from that, I would like to thank the EUROCLIO ambassadors in the Baltic states, namely Sonata Dziaveckaitė (Lithuania), Dzintra Liepina (Latvia) and Mare Oja (Estonia) for their fruitful cooperation both during common projects as well as for assisting me with conducting my Master thesis research (spreading the questionnaire and finding interviewees) in the Baltic states.

Last, but not the least, I would like to specially thank the museum staff of the Museums of Occupation in the Baltic states, namely Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione, Darius Indrišionis (Genocide Victims Museum), Inguna Role, Kārlis Dambītis, Kārlis Krēķis (Museum of Occupation of Latvia), and Sander Jürisson, Ivan Lavrentjev (Museum of Occupations of Estonia). Additional thanks go to history educators who filled out the questionnaire and specifically three educators who agreed to be interviewed: Jelena Ryazantseva (Latvia), Igor Kalauskas (Estonia) and Audrone Janaviciene (Lithuania).

The Honours Programme

In conjunction with the Master thesis, I did the Honours programme worth extra 20 ECTS. The Honours programme is comprised of four components which are related to the Master thesis. I took a course *Text and Context: From Source to Science* (5 ECTS) at Erasmus University Rotterdam in order to master narrative and discourse analysis and improve my analytical skills when it comes to working with primary sources. In my case, primary sources for this research were website texts, exhibitions' texts, interviews and questionnaires.

Next, I became a guest student at Leiden University and took a course *Critical Museology* (5 ECTS). This course gave me a better understanding of museums, their visitors, curators' choices etc. This was necessary for my Master thesis because the main subject of this research are museums of occupation in the Baltic states.

In addition to this, I extended my research internship (5 ECTS) at EUROCLIO – European Association of History Educators in The Hague for three more months. The internship at EUROCLIO was useful for this Master thesis because not only did it bring me in contact with history educators in the Baltic states to conduct interviews and administer questionnaires, but it also gave me a better understanding of history education in Europe, its past, present and future challenges and opportunities.

Finally, I decided to extend my Master thesis with a chapter on the questionnaires mentioned above. At first, I wanted to focus only on interviews. Later, I realized that it could be useful to obtain more data to draw broader conclusions and more universal insights into the attitudes, perceptions and opinions about the museums of occupation. Apart from devoting a separate chapter to the questionnaires, I refer to the data obtained from the questionnaires throughout the entire thesis. The work load for preparing the extra chapter (Chapter 5) corresponds with the 5 ECTS intended for this component. It included studying quantitative methods, preparing the questionnaires, translating them into two languages (English and Russian), administering them in Google Forms, searching for respondents, analysing the results separately for each questionnaire, counting percentages, working with open-ended question responses separately, writing the chapter, and using the information obtained from the questionnaires to support certain findings in the thesis.

Personal motivation

It would be fair to introduce myself as a researcher and elaborate on how my own background must have influenced this research. I am a Master student of Global History and International Relations with an Estonian-Russian background, raised in Saint-Petersburg, Russia. The motivation for this research came from my own family history. My great-grandfather from my mother's side fought with the Red Army in WWII, while my grandfather and his brother from my father's side fought in the 200th SS Luftwaffe division of Eesti Legion¹ with the Finnish Army against the Red Army. One side of my family fought with the Nazis for the independence of Estonia against the Soviet Union, another side of the family was with the Soviet Red Army and fought against the Nazis. I have never had any contestation about this issue in either of my families, however I have been always interested in uneasy aspects of Baltic history, especially in regard to the most recent periods – the Soviet period and the period of independence. I was raised being surrounded by the media outrage that all people in the Baltic states are Nazis and abuse the Russian minorities. I have had a lot of contact with both the titular nation representatives and the minority people in the three Baltic states. One can say that I had been biased in a certain way before actually starting this research because of all the stories and opinions I had heard from my off the record conversations with Baltic people. At the same time, I see this bias not as a negative thing. I am very familiar with the historical, political, social and cultural contexts of both the titular and minority sides, and for this reason, I am able to conduct this research without emphasizing or overlooking one or another perspective on history. Nevertheless, for the sake of transparency, it is important to acknowledge my own background.

¹ Estonian Legion

1. Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Contextualization of the research

The Baltic States have been recently incorporated into the European Union. Their integration as well as their citizenship policies (e.g. the problem of statelessness) towards Russian speaking minorities have been criticized by both the European Union authorities and Russian Federation.² As Katrin Kello, research fellow in Cultural Communication at the University of Tartu stated in a recent article, educational practices and history teaching can be important components of successful integration, development of citizenry and democracy of non-native youth. Learning about contested heritage and the incorporation of this heritage in educational practices is an important part of history teaching and shaping of historical culture of the



young generation and may contribute to the improvement of the integration process.³ At the same time, the experience of Soviet related heritage sites as biased and oppressive may cause tensions between native Estonian/Latvian/Lithuanian and Russophone youth, spread and escalate conflict and hostility of Estonians/Latvians/Lithuanians towards the Russophones and the other way around, confuse mixed youth (half

Baltic states Russophone minority map. Source: The Economist

Estonian/Latvian/Lithuanian half Russophone) and complicate the integration process of the Russophone youth into the Estonian/Latvian/Lithuanian societies. Generally speaking, clashes between the native Baltic people and Russophones have been caused by language-of-instruction education reforms, the statelessness issue and a general troubled past that is

² Nida Gelazis, "The European Union and The Statelessness Problem In The Baltic States", *European Journal of Migration and Law* 6:3(2004): 227; Annelies, Lottmann, "No Direction Home: Nationalism and Statelessness in The Baltics", *Texas International Law Journal*, 43:503 (2008): 505.

³ Katrin Kello, "Sensitive and controversial issues in the classroom: teaching history in a divided society", *Teachers and Teaching*, 22:1 (2016): 37.

experienced and remembered differently by these groups. Conflicting historical representations, especially the ones about the recent communist past, are the most prevalent sources of current conflicts in the Baltic states, especially Latvia and Estonia.⁴ The problem came to exist in a form of an escalating conflict between Estonians and Russophones around the Soviet World War II memorial in Tallinn in 2007: the so-called Bronze Soldier riots.⁵ The April events of that year once again signaled the differences in perceptions of Soviet contested heritage among Russophones and natives. Mare Oja, an Estonian history educator and didactics scholar, stated in a private conversation that the Bronze soldier conflict has created a bigger abyss between the locals and Russophones, and acknowledged, that since then it has become more difficult to sustain critical dialogue between the two communities.⁶ As Russian historian Alexander Daniel commented on the Bronze soldier riots: “The problem lies in searching for a solution on how two peoples with such different historical memories can coexist together”.⁷ For the Russophone population, the Bronze soldier represents a liberating figure from the Nazi aggression, while for Estonians this monument symbolizes the beginning of the Soviet occupation after the Nazi one.⁸



The Bronze Soldier Monument, Tallinn, Estonia. Source: Wikimedia Commons

⁴ Kello, “Sensitive and controversial issues in the classroom: teaching history in a divided society”, 36.

⁵ Der Spiegel Online, Germany. 2007. "Deadly Riots in Tallinn: Soviet Memorial Causes Rift Between Estonia And Russia ". *Der Spiegel Online*. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/deadly-riots-in-tallinn-soviet-memorial-causes-rift-between-estonia-and-russia-a-479809.html>.

⁶ This conversation happened between Mare Oja and me during the consortium meeting organized by EUROCLIO in The Hague on the 7th and 8th of January, 2017.

⁷ Daniel Alexander, 2007. "Российский Историк: Проблема В Том, Как Жить Рядом Двум Народам С Такой Разной Исторической Памятью". *ИА REGNUM*. <https://regnum.ru/news/issues/823273.html>.

⁸ Martin Ehala, “The Bronze Soldier: Identity Threat and Maintenance in Estonia”, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 40:1(2009): 140.

As all three Baltic states refer to the communist periods of their statehood as “occupation by the Soviet Union”, museums of occupation in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were founded after the fall of the USSR to make sense of the Soviet period in their histories.

Before starting the actual research, I tried to investigate the phenomenon of museums of occupation as such by searching for museums of occupation in other parts of the world. Apparently, the museums of occupation are a very typical post-Soviet phenomenon. Apart from the museums of occupation in the Baltic states that are under research in this Master thesis, I was able to find museums with similar names in Georgia and Ukraine (Museum of Soviet Occupation). There is an intention to create a museum of Soviet Occupation in Moldova.⁹ The only European countries that had museums of occupation were the UK (Guernsey island) and Denmark (Aarhus). Both museums commemorate the Nazi Occupation. In other countries, museums that are dedicated to commemoration of WWII events, are usually called the Museum of Liberation (e.g. Rome), the Museum of Military History and the Museum of Resistance (Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, etc). An interesting question that rises in this regard is how perceptions and understanding of history may impact the choice for naming certain heritage sites in different European historical cultures. It could be assumed, for instance, that the Baltic states, due to the prevailing victimization narratives, opt for names that have a word *occupation* in it. Meanwhile, North European countries focus on strength and heroism of the local population in response to the Nazi occupation, and do not stress the occupation, but the resistance, which is also present in the names of the museums.

Annually, museums of occupation are visited by thousands of Baltic students in the framework of heritage education, telling the narrative of the Soviet occupation both to native and Russophone children. When it comes to majority schools, where children are primarily Estonian, Latvian, or Lithuanian, there seems to be no problem at stake, because it is likely in this case that museum, governmental and home narratives will be harmonized. However, how does an educator deal with a visit to a museum of occupation if his/her class consists of pupils predominantly from the Russophone environment?

This particular issue is the subject of the given research. Defining and outlining the sensitive issues that make up contested heritage and signify troubled past is one thing; studying and knowing how to deal with contested heritage in educational settings is another. As heritage and museum education have both grown popular around the world and there is a

⁹ See more <http://gucaravel.com/moldova-builds-museum-commemorating-soviet-occupation/>

constant collaboration between heritage sites, museums and educational institutions, more attention should be given to the ways heritage and museum education is incorporated in history curricula and used by school teachers and museum educators.¹⁰ In this research, the use of dynamic approach to heritage education by history educators, a relatively new concept that stresses multiperspectivity, plurality and inclusivity of different narratives and interpretations in history and heritage education, will be assessed and reflected upon.

1.2. Central question and sub-questions of the research

The central research question of this research is the following:

To what extent are the notions of multiperspectivity, plurality and inclusivity¹¹ (dynamic approach to heritage education) in regard to the Russophone population reflected in educational approaches to the museums of occupation in the Baltic states?

In order to answer the central research question properly, the four following sub-questions are asked:

- 1. What kind of museums are the three museums of occupation selected for this study and what are their educational approaches?*

The answer to the first sub-question provides the general introduction into the three museums of occupation that are subjects of this research: The Genocide Victims Museum in Vilnius, Lithuania, the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, Riga, Latvia, and the Museum of Occupations in Tallinn, Estonia. Furthermore, educational activities that these museums provide to schools are described.

- 2. What are the dominant narratives of the three museums of occupation selected for this study?*

This question attempts to define the specific narratives of museums of occupation in order to define the dominant narrative, using the theoretical framework of James Wertsch – the

¹⁰ Carla van Boxtel, Stephan Klein & Ellen Snoep, *Heritage education: Challenges in dealing with the past*, Amsterdam: Erfgoed Nederland, (2011): 15.

¹¹ Further referred to as MPI

concepts of specific narratives and schematic narrative templates. For the sake of transparency, it should be indicated that the textual analysis of dominant narratives was performed on the basis of exhibitions' texts, partially due to limitedness of the research. My assumption is that knowing the story the museum tries to tell would help to understand why it can be conflictual and contested for one part of the society and not so problematic for another. The section also reflects on the earlier research of dominant narratives of museums of occupation by Aro Velmet. Additionally, I will come back to his article throughout the research.¹²

3. *What are the perceptions, opinions and attitudes of the museum staff towards the museum of occupation they work at, also in regard to the notions of multiperspectivity, plurality and inclusivity?*

This question provides insights into how the museum staff of museums of occupation perceive their work at the museum, how they reflect on different issues, e.g. the notions of citizenship, ethnicity, multiperspectivity, inclusivity and plurality, what they think about the divide between the titular nation and the Russophone population, what difficulties they face and how the museum can be improved. The data will be gathered using qualitative research methods, namely in-depth semi-structured interviews. It will be assessed with the help of discourse analysis, in the process of which the common themes will be outlined.

4. *What are the perceptions, opinions and attitudes of school history educators towards the museums of occupation that they have visited with their school classes?*

This question is subdivided into two chapters. One chapter provides a broader vision of history educators on the museums of occupation, because the data was gathered using quantitative research techniques – a questionnaire administered in two languages, English and Russian. This chapter is also a part of the Honours Programme, namely the Master thesis extension. It will reflect both on the factual information regarding the incorporation and usage of museums of occupation in history curricula, and on educators' perceptions and opinions on the museums.

¹² The article by Aro Velmet, "Occupied Identities: National Narratives in Baltic Museums of Occupations", *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 42:2 (2011): 189-211.

Another chapter is comprised of three in-depth semi-structured interviews, in which history educators from three Baltic countries were interviewed to get a deeper understanding of the educational methods and techniques they employ to teach history in and with the help of a museum of occupation.

The research methods will be elaborated upon and explained in more detail in the corresponding chapters.

1.3. Contested heritage education and dynamic approach: working definitions

In this section, the main working definitions of the research will be defined and elaborated upon. Due to the fact that this research is aimed at studying how history educators in the Baltic states deal with contested heritage, it is necessary to define what is understood under contested heritage and heritage education in general.

There are many definitions and understandings of the term ‘heritage’. Cultural heritage, the type of heritage this research deals with, is defined by the UNESCO in several ways: *tangible cultural heritage: movable cultural heritage* (paintings, sculptures, coins, manuscripts), *immovable cultural heritage* (monuments, archaeological sites, and so on), *underwater cultural heritage* (shipwrecks, underwater ruins and cities); *intangible cultural heritage*: oral traditions, performing arts, rituals and *heritage in the event of armed conflict*.¹³ Heritage is heritage only when others recognize, acknowledge or discuss it as such, according to Hester Dibbits. It is the preliminary result of a complicated process of negotiation, appreciation and selection, which involves power relations and many other factors, including some very practical ones.¹⁴ An interesting question to ask in this regard would be how museums of occupation fit in the framework of cultural heritage. Museums of occupation combine the features of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage – objects and narratives of the period of Soviet and Nazi occupations. Museums of occupation and the issue of occupation itself have stayed a heated subject of discussions both in the local Baltic and international press, making them contested.¹⁵

¹³ "Definition of The Cultural Heritage: United Nations Educational, Scientific And Cultural Organization". 2017. *UNESCO.Org*. <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/unesco-database-of-national-cultural-heritage-laws/frequently-asked-questions/definition-of-the-cultural-heritage/>.

¹⁴ Hester Dibbits, *Sharing the Past Heritage and Education in the 21st Century*, (Erasmus University Rotterdam: National Centre of Expertise for Cultural Education and Amateur Arts, 2015), 3.

¹⁵ There are plenty of articles in online newspapers and websites on the topic both in the past and in the most recent time, for example: Pierre Hazan, 2016. "Comment Les Musées Représentent L'Histoire Des Crimes Communistes Et Nazis". *Slate.Fr*. <http://www.slate.fr/story/124043/musees-histoire-crimes-communisme->

Contested heritage studies have been present for at least twenty-five years in anthropology, archaeology, history, geography, architecture, urbanism, and tourism and have continued to reach out and occupy other contiguous disciplines.¹⁶ In the literature, contested heritage is also referred to as troubled, dissonant, sensitive, weighty, or difficult heritage depending on the choice of the author and his or her understanding of the definition. Some scholars consider all heritage as contested and do not distinguish between a regular heritage and a contested heritage. For example, John Tunbridge and Gregory Ashworth addressed the issue by introducing the concept of “dissonant heritage”, in which they imply that each example of heritage is someone else’s and therefore logically is not someone else’s – that means, it cannot belong simultaneously to each and everyone, as each community would attempt to attribute it as their own. So, it is contested by default. Whether specific groups associate one thing or place with entirely different stories depends on what historical event in history the *lieu de mémoire* is associated with and whether it causes pain and negative emotions.¹⁷

Each mnemonic community decides for itself what to remember and what to forget, resulting in issues of commemoration, remembrance, inclusion and exclusion of certain events, places, figures and entire narratives.¹⁸ These notions make heritage contested – both when it comes to which things make up contested heritage, who, when and where decides on these issues, and who they belong to. Some heritage sites are more contested than others because of the associated sense of trauma.¹⁹ In this research, I would stick to the latter notion of “all heritage is contested but some heritage is more contested than the other”, as the example of museums of occupation clearly corresponds to this interpretation.

The general tendency of difficult heritage, according to Sharon Macdonald, is that there is evidence of a fundamental, not of a universal, change in how national identity is

[naziisme](http://inosmi.ru/sngbaltia/20090401/248231.html); Kristina Hudenko, 2009. "Оккупация По-Прибалтийски". *Иносми.Ру*. <http://inosmi.ru/sngbaltia/20090401/248231.html>; Adam Maisel and Wil Duval. 2016. "The Ghosts of Soviets Past: Unearthing The Memory Of Occupation In Estonia". *War On The Rocks*. <https://warontherocks.com/2016/09/the-ghosts-of-soviets-past-unearthing-the-memory-of-occupation-in-estonia/>; "Okupatsioonide Muuseum Meenutab Küüditamise Ohvreid". 2016. *Delfi*. <http://www.delfi.ee/news/paevauudised/eesti/okupatsioonide-muuseum-meenutab-kuuditamise-ohvreid?id=74803321>. The listed articles are in French, Russian, English and Estonian.

¹⁶ Helaine Silverman, "Contested Cultural Heritage: A Selective Historiography". In *Contested Cultural Heritage: Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, And Exclusion In A Global World*, 1st ed. (Springer, 2011): 1.

¹⁷ John.E Tunbridge and Gregory.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*. (Chichester: Wiley, 1996): 21.

¹⁸ Clarence Mondale, "Conserving a problematic past." In *Conserving culture. A new discourse on heritage*, ed. Mary Hufford, Urbana, IL, (University of Illinois Press, 1994): 15-23.

¹⁹ For more insight, see Silke Arnold-de Simine, *Mediating Memory in the Museum. Trauma, Empathy, Nostalgia* (Palgrave Macmillan: Houndmills 2013).

performed in relation to troubling pasts. Macdonald suggests that the representation of a troubling past should not be seen as a disruption to positive identity formation and that in most countries it is not experienced this way anymore. Countries like Germany can offer lessons on how to create public representations. She stresses less polarization of victims and perpetrators as a necessary direction to follow. Stuart Hall refers to the same idea but in other words, namely proposing a model that acknowledges and embraces the cultural contingency and ambiguity of identity creation.²⁰ This model of identity creation and public representation will be, according to Aro Velmet, “mindful of its own instability, its reliance on the presence of the Other, and accept the inevitability of always resisting sharp divisions, clear and incontestable definitions, and constancy of any sort.”²¹ However, Macdonald acknowledges that there is still a large degree of unsettlement caused by this difficult heritage.²² Visits to museums of occupation unarguably cause unsettlement in most visitors who somehow relate to this topic. It would be interesting to see how identity and narratives in these museums will be made with the flow of time – will it become less contested as a result of this process?

Heritage education is commonly described as an approach to teaching and learning that uses tangible and intangible heritage as primary instructional resources to increase students’ understanding of history and culture.²³ Since this research studies museums of occupation, the definition of museum education would be also helpful. Museum education is a field which primary goal is to develop, ensure and strengthen the educational role of non-formal education spaces and institutions such as museums. According to Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, its main objective is to engage visitors in learning experiences to enhance their curiosity and interest in their objects and collections. Education is one of the prime functions of a museum and the reason for museums’ existence in the first place.²⁴ Incorporation of museums of occupation in history curricula may be seen as relying on both heritage and museum education, as can be concluded from both terms of heritage education and museum education.

²⁰ Stuart Hall, “Ethnicity: Identity and Difference”, *Radical America*, 23:4 (1989): 9–20.

²¹ Aro Velmet, “Occupied Identities: National Narratives in Baltic Museums of Occupations”, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 42:2 (2011): 195-196.

²² Sharon Macdonald, “Is ‘Difficult Heritage’ Still ‘Difficult’? Why Public Acknowledgment of Past Perpetration May No Longer Be So Unsettling to Collective Identities”, *Museum International*, 67:1-4 (2015): 6-22.

²³ Van Boxtel, Klein & Snoep. *Heritage education: Challenges in dealing with the past*, 9-10.

²⁴ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, "Museum Education". In *The Educational Role of The Museum*, 1st ed., (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 229.

As a Master student in the Netherlands, I familiarized myself with the existing discourse on heritage education in the country that has started since 1980s and used a theoretical base that the Dutch scholars created in their studies of heritage education. According to some scholars, advantages of heritage education involve personal identity creation, stimulation of curiosity, enhancement of historical consciousness and value development.²⁵ Among disadvantages of heritage education fostering of the presentist approach to the past is usually mentioned – that is, minimization of historical distance.²⁶ Heritage education is also criticized by its possibility of cultivation of conflict and exclusion.²⁷ What can overcome these issues is a dynamic approach to heritage, as argued by the authors of the article “Heritage education: Challenges in dealing with the past”. It presupposed breaking the categories of victims and perpetrators, enhancing teachers’ training, critical engagement with heritage and development of critical thinking (the ability to critically evaluate, consider and reconstruct certain historical episodes), creating common knowledge, not common identity (an argument against the enhancement of patriotic education and history education as a means to creation of loyal subjects) and adding plurality (a number of interpretations and visions that result in multiperspectivity) in heritage education.²⁸ Apart from that, entrance narratives (narratives that students possess on the topic before participating in a heritage education class) and contextualization of sources (e.g. personal stories of students and broader context history engagement by the teacher) are other important aspects of dynamic approach. Other important concepts that will be considered as a part of dynamic approach in this research will be multiperspectivity (the presentation of multiple perspectives, i.e. views on a historical event that can contribute to critical thinking and are supported by plurality) and inclusion (the extent to which history curricula, history lessons, topics, subjects and museum and heritage education include various perspectives, views, positions, categories and groups of society in their covering of history and the making of heritage). The notion of inclusion is a concept that I borrowed from the theoretical framework of British social scientists Alan and Carol Walker, who focused on the exclusion and inclusion mechanisms in different dimensions. In a comprehensive definition of social exclusion, they presented a framework of political, social, economic and cultural dimensions

²⁵ Maria Grever and Carla van Boxtel, “Introduction. Reflections on heritage as an educational resource”, in van Boxtel, Klein & Snoep.ed.s., *Heritage education: Challenges in dealing with the past*, 9-13, 10.

²⁶ Maria Grever, Pieter de Bruijn, and Carla van Boxtel, "Negotiating Historical Distance: Or, How To Deal With The Past As A Foreign Country In Heritage Education". *Paedagogica Historica* 48:6 (2012): 874.

²⁷ J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, 312.

²⁸ Grever and Van Boxtel, “Introduction, Reflections on heritage as an educational resource”, 11-12.

of social exclusion. I would like to give special attention to the cultural dimension. The cultural dimension consists of three elements: representation, which is to which extent an individual's cultural heritage is represented within the museum; participation, which is to which extent an individual can participate in the process of cultural production at the museum; and access, which presupposes both representation and participation, as well as the ability of an individual to enjoy and appreciate the cultural services.²⁹ In the given research, I will refer to inclusion as 'inclusivity' and see this term as an inseparable and intertwined phenomenon with multiperspectivity. In this thesis, inclusivity and multiperspectivity are deeply interconnected and co-influence each other, as the reader will be able to see in the process of reading the text. I believe that presenting multiple perspectives on a certain event will inevitably result in inclusion of a certain community, for or against its wish, and another way around – including a certain perspective on history or an entire community into a historical narrative will enhance multiperspectivity.

Throughout this research, it will be evaluated to which extent the museums of occupation entail the notions that make up dynamic approach, and whether or how museum and history educators apply these notions in their work with the three selected museums of occupation.

1.4. Contributions of this research to academic debates

This research will contribute to a vast collection of researches that were performed in the United States, Western Europe, South Africa and other post-colonial countries in order to study the practices and techniques employed by educators as well as impact and consequences of the usage, incorporation and visits to contested heritage sites both by adults and school children. The incorporation of newly established heritage sites such as museums of occupation into history school education is a practice that has been used in the Baltic states for a long time. While performing the historiographical introduction into the topic, it turned out that there is no or little research done in the field of heritage education and studies of incorporation and implications of contested heritage in history curricula in the Baltic states. Most research is focused on history education as such, or didactics – national narratives, formation of history curricula, history textbooks, language of instruction and minority and

²⁹ Alan and Carol Walker, *Britain Divided: The Growth of Social Exclusion in the 1980s and 1990s*, (Child Poverty Action Group London, 1999).

majority perceptions of sensitive issues.³⁰ Thus, my entry will be beneficial for the development of heritage education research in the Baltic studies.

This research is supposed to be positioned in a broader heritage and history education debate, as there is little known about practices involving heritage education in the Baltic states. The topic of this research is relatively new as the questions concerning heritage and history education became especially relevant following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, but they got even more attention in the beginning of the 2000s when it became clear that the dominant national narrative could not serve and satisfy a multicultural society created by the Soviet Union and preserved in its aftermath.³¹ What is more important, this research will study the phenomena in a situation of a changing socio-political context. As it was mentioned before, the Bronze Soldier conflict caused deterioration of understanding and mutual dialogue between two mnemonic communities in Estonia. In Latvia and Lithuania, different governments share different stances on history education, civic enculturation and processes involving the local population and the minorities. Also, there has been a deterioration in the EU-Russia relations, which has influenced the position of the Baltic governments towards Russia and Russian speaking minorities. This way, the socio-political context as well as the state of history education is constantly changing and adopting according to the needs and decisions of the governments in charge.

As far as methodology is concerned, this research will differ from other related research in the field of heritage and history education studies. Usually researchers use qualitative data only, thinking by default that quantitative data is excessive and that in-depth interviews can give more room for interpretation, which is unarguably true. In my opinion, relying only on qualitative research is not enough. Combining qualitative and quantitative methods (interviews/questionnaires) will provide better insights, more reliable and statistically significant results, and indicate those topics that require more attention.

As the study of historiography since the 2000s has showed, the problem of minority narratives, inclusivity, multiperspectivity and critical history education is still relevant for the Baltic states to a greater and lesser extent.³² Another innovative aspect of this research will be

³⁰ See Bibliography for articles on these issues (Ahonen, Asser, Birka, Golubeva, Hogan-Brun, Kello, Tamm, etc).

³¹ Sirkka Ahonen, "Politics of identity through history curriculum: Narratives of the past for social exclusion - or inclusion?", *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 33:2 (2001): 180-182.

³² Elisabeth H. Erdmann and Wolfgang Hasberg, *Facing, Mapping, Bridging Diversity : Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education; Pt. 1*. History education international, vol. 1. (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag 2011), 33; and Erdmann, and Hasberg, *Facing, Mapping, Bridging Diversity : Foundation*

the contribution to the discourse of difficulties related to the implementation of a dynamic approach to heritage education from a more subjective and anthropological points of view – based on opinions, attitudes, and views of the interviewed museum and history educators.

The limitations and shortcomings of the research will be elaborated upon throughout the given thesis in the chapters that follow.

of a European Discourse on History Education; Pt. 2. History education international, vol. 2. (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2011), 259.

2. Chapter 2. Museums of Occupation(s) and Education

2.1.Introduction

In order to answer the central question of the given research, which is to what extent the principles of multiperspectivity, plurality and inclusivity (further referred to as MPI) in regard to Baltic ethnic minorities (with the focus on the Russophone population) are reflected in the exhibitions of museums of occupation in the Baltic states as well as in the educational approaches to them, the following sub-questions need to be answered: what kind of museums the selected museums of occupation are, namely the Museum of Genocide Victims, the Museum of Occupation of Latvia and the Museum of Occupations of Estonia?

This chapter attempts to tackle the general questions such as when, how and by who the museum of occupation was founded, who the past and current sponsors are, who runs the museum and who works there, and whether the museum has got an educational department and if so, what its activities, responsibilities and goals are. This will provide not only the broad picture of the museums of occupation, but will also disclose some implicit information such as where motivation, vested interests and influences on the museums' agenda come from and what impact it may have on the choice of narratives for the exhibitions.

2.2. Genocide Victims Museum, Vilnius



The Genocide Victims Museum, Source: Wikimedia Commons

The Museum of Genocide Victims was established on October 14, 1992 by the order of the Minister of Culture and Education of the independent republic of Lithuania and the President of the Union of Political Prisoners and Deportees. The museum was given a building in which KGB, the Soviet Security Services, had been operating since 1940 until August 1991. As it is stated on the official website of the Genocide Victims Museum, “for the Lithuanian nation this building is a symbol of the fifty-year long Soviet occupation, therefore it is of special importance that here the museum is founded to remind the present generation and to tell the future generations about the years 1940-1991, difficult and tragic for Lithuania and its people”.³³ The fact that the museum was founded with the support of the Ministry of Culture and Education as well as taken over following an official decree issued by the government suggests that the museum is highly influenced by the government and its vision on history. In the interview with Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione, museum’s educator-in-chief, she explicitly stated: “*The museum is part of the research centre for Genocide and Resistance of Lithuania, and the centre’s head is the head of the parliament of Lithuania, so we have strict government heads above us. We belong to the Parliament, unlike other museums in Lithuania, we have some instructions about what we have to do, e.g. about ten thousand students have to come for a visit, guided tours, participate in a competition or to come to educational activities.*”³⁴ This fact should be kept in mind when assessing the museum’s activities and analysing historical narratives that the museum aspires to transmit.

The museum’s director, Eugenijus Peikštenis, was born in 1957 and holds a History degree from Vilnius Pedagogical University. Throughout his life, he has been working for the local department of culture and the Ministry of Finance, as well as an ethnographer and scientific worker.³⁵

Since 1999 the museum has been working on the project for museum exhibitions. The former layout and authentic design details of the KGB cells and offices were preserved as much as possible; some former premises were re-constructed. The former KGB prison remained completely authentic, “as it was left by the Soviet security men when moving out of the building in August 1991”.³⁶

³³ “History.” Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/695/c/>, (accessed May 17, 2017).

³⁴ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

³⁵ “Eugenijus Peikštenis.” Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/694/c/>, (accessed July 5, 2017).

³⁶ “History.” Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/695/c/>, (accessed May 17, 2017).

The museum occupies the entire building, but the exhibitions take three floors: the basement, the ground floor and the first floor, designed in a thematic way to represent different topics and periods of the Soviet occupation. In the basement, the ex-KGB prison³⁷ and the former execution camera³⁸ are located. One prison cell is dedicated to the Vilnius ghetto and commemorates the Holocaust in Lithuania and the Nazi Occupation³⁹. Another prison cell, at the moment of my visit to the museum⁴⁰, accommodated a temporary exhibition about political prisoners in Belarus. According to Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief, the museum frequently hosts temporary exhibitions that are dedicated to political freedom and oppressions.⁴¹ The ground floor displays three exhibitions: *Lithuania in 1940 and 1941*⁴², *the Partisan War between 1945 and 1953*⁴³, and *An Unequal Fight*⁴⁴. On the first floor, there are more exhibitions: *Lithuanian civilians in Soviet prisons and labour camps: 1944–1956*⁴⁵, *Deportations: 1944–1953*⁴⁶, *Life goes on*⁴⁷, *The KGB: 1954–1991*⁴⁸, *The Popular Anti-Soviet Resistance: 1954–1991*⁴⁹ and *Eavesdropping room*⁵⁰.

³⁷ “The KGB Prison”. Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/380/a/>. (accessed May 17, 2017).

³⁸ “The Former Execution Camera”. Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/381/a/>. (accessed May 17, 2017).

³⁹ “Nazi occupation and the Holocaust in Lithuania”. Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/1896/a/>. (accessed May 17, 2017).

⁴⁰ I visited the Genocide Victims Museum on February 15, 2017.

⁴¹ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišionė (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

⁴² “Lithuania in 1940 and 1941”. Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/382/a/>. (accessed May 17, 2017).

⁴³ “The partisan war between 1944 and 1953”. Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/383/a/>. (accessed May 17, 2017).

⁴⁴ “An unequal fight”. Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/384/a/>. (accessed May 17, 2017).

⁴⁵ “Lithuanian civilians in soviet prisons and labour camps: 1944–1956”. Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/386/a/>. (accessed May 17, 2017).

⁴⁶ “Deportations: 1944–1953”. Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/387/a/>. (accessed May 18, 2017).

⁴⁷ “Life goes on”. Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/388/a/>. (accessed May 18, 2017).

⁴⁸ “The KGB: 1954–1991”. Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/390/a/>. (accessed May 18, 2017).

⁴⁹ “The Popular Anti-Soviet Resistance: 1954–1991”. Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/563/a/>. (accessed May 18, 2017).

⁵⁰ “Eavesdropping room”. Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/389/a/>. (accessed May 18, 2017).



Exhibition *the Partisan War between 1945 and 1953*, Photo by Vera Ande, February 2017.

2.2.1. Educational department of the Genocide Victims Museum

According to the age of students and teachers' requests, the Genocide Victims Museum's educational department offers thematic guided tours, educational workshops and documentary film screenings. The thematic guided tours include visiting the former KGB prison, the exhibition about guerrilla war in Lithuania, and national resistance in 1954-1991.

The museum's educational department is responsible for a large number of educational workshops that are given to school children and that cover the historical period of oppressions between 1940 and 1960. The programmes include '*Partisan*



KGB prison cell, Source: Wikimedia Commons

military organization in 1944-1953, *'Freedom fighters' everyday life: the struggle for freedom and survival*, *'Exile and imprisonment geography of the Soviet Union*', *'Soviet prisons, labour camps and exile: distinctive features*', *'Lithuanian clergy in Soviet labour camps and exile'* which is currently not functional yet due to the fact that educational materials are under consideration, *'Children in exile*', and *'We are looking for a light in the kingdom of darkness'*.

The museum possesses and presents for viewing more than sixty documentaries about exiles, armed resistance and Lithuanian revival theme. The most popular ones, according to the official website of the museum, are *Gyveno senelis ir bobutė* (Grandpa and Granma), *Birželio ledas* (On ice), *Ginkluotas pasipriešinimas* (Armed resistance).⁵¹

2.2.2. *The name of the museum*

The name of this museum deserves a separate paragraph for two reasons: one is the fact that it does not have the word *occupation* in it as two other museums in Riga and Tallinn, two is the fact that instead, the words *genocide* and *victims* are used. The names of the museums in Riga and Tallinn will be commented upon in the chapters that follow.

Lithuania is one of the few countries that classifies crimes committed against the local population during the Soviet occupation as genocide. This phenomenon is usually framed as 'double genocide' term, suggesting that the victims of a genocide committed genocide against the perpetrators.⁵² Some people hold an opinion that this is a technique of denial of the fact that Lithuanians actively participated in the Holocaust during WWII themselves and, by attributing to themselves a victim status, partially got rid of a mnemonic label of perpetrators.⁵³ Dovilė Budrytė gave an account of the development of the term in Lithuanian historiography and historical consciousness. The idea that the Soviet crimes were equal to the Nazi crimes and could both be coined as genocide came to Domas Jasaitis, a Lithuanian emigre public figure in the United States, after he compared the methods deployed by the Nazis and the Soviets in their tortures and overall methods. This notion was picked up by the freedom fighters in resistance movements such as samizdat publishing, when they described

⁵¹ "Edukacija". Genocide Victims Museum. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/lt/177/c/>. (accessed May 20, 2017).

⁵² Dovilė Budrytė, *"We call it Genocide": Soviet Deportations and Repression in the Memory of Lithuanians*. In Robert Seitz Frey. *The genocidal temptation: Auschwitz, Hiroshima, Rwanda, and beyond*. (University Press of America, 2004), 80.

⁵³ Jonathan Freedland, 2010, "I see why 'double genocide' is a term Lithuanians want. But it appals me". The Guardian.com. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/sep/14/double-genocide-lithuania-holocaust-communism>. (accessed May 25, 2017).

the russification process in Lithuania, which was aimed at “stifling of Lithuanian nation”. Moreover, the idea that the Soviet crimes were genocidal in nature was actively supported by Lithuanian emigres in Western Europe and the United States.⁵⁴

When I asked Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief of the Genocide Victims Museum, why the museum received this name, she said that she did not know. Also, she stated that she did not know why Lithuania actually referred to the Soviet crimes as genocide:

*Maybe Lithuanians wanted to be different from others, maybe also because the Russian minority in Latvia is bigger than in Lithuania.*⁵⁵

It struck me that she, as a historian and a worker of this museum, did not know why the museum was named this way. She indicated that some visitors, especially Jewish and Russophone ones, have troubles accepting this term:

From teachers or schoolchildren - no. They totally agree with the term. But sometimes we have Jewish people of course, and they say then that only one genocide happened - the Holocaust, and also Russians and Byelorussians say it is not a genocide. One incident with a Belarussian tourist could tell more about it - he accused [the guide] of lying about the genocide. The group asked how many people should be killed in order to recognize something as a genocide⁵⁶?

The issue of framing a crime against humanity as genocide and genocide memorialization has been a heated subject in transitional justice, scholarly sciences and public debates. The fact that states use a genocidal past to construct or support a particular national narrative, is beyond doubt.⁵⁷ An open question that stays in this regard is why similar crimes against Estonian, Latvian and Russian citizens in Estonia, Latvia and Russia are not coined as genocide, while in Lithuania they are. What is the motivation behind this and what

⁵⁴ Dovilė Budrytė, ["We call it Genocide": Soviet Deportations and Repression in the Memory of Lithuanians](#)", 81-86.

⁵⁵ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 2017.

⁵⁷ Rebecca Jinks, Thinking comparatively about genocide memorialization, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 16:4 (2014): 423-424.

approaches should be used – comparative, holistic, or both, to study the complicated process of the making of a genocide and its commemoration and memorialization? There are the questions that cannot be fully explored within the frame of this research. What seems relevant in relation to the main question of this research, is the difference between my own response/experience/perception on the one hand, and the educator’s response on the other hand. Nevertheless, the questions that arise throughout this research can offer relevant ground for future studies.

2.3. Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, Riga, Latvia



The Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, Riga, Latvia. Source: Wikimedia Commons

The Museum of the Occupation of Latvia is a state-accredited private museum, founded in February 1993 by a professor of history from the University of Wisconsin, a Latvian émigré, Paulis Lazda, at the request of Latvian Ministry of Culture. It maintains and manages a public benefit organization called the Latvian Occupation Museum Society (LOMB). In 2006, Latvian Saeima (Parliament) approved the legislation for the museum regarding public relations with the LOMB, public financial support for the museum, the museum's right to use the buildings and the land ownership. In 2010, 2011 and 2012, the museum received only about 10% of the museum's operating budget expenses from the government, the remaining

funds were visitors and supporters' donations. The biggest supporters of the museum are foreign Latvian societies - both organizations and individual donors. The museum is visited by many foreign leaders, diplomats and other representatives with official visits. According to the introductory video, it holds more than 50 000 objects. Since 2005, the Museum annually hosts more than 100,000 visitors, including state protocol official guests.⁵⁸

It is interesting to see that the Genocide Victims Museum and the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia are both museums dedicated to the occupation period and correspond with the governmental historical narrative, while the centres of support are different – one museum is supported and owned by the Parliament of Lithuania, while the other museum was an initiative of the Latvian Ministry of Culture, which is obviously much less political than the Lithuanian example. In the former case, the museum in Vilnius was founded by a political force, while in the latter case, the museum in Riga was founded by a foreign individual. Both museums were founded in the beginning of the 1990s, which suggests their pioneer role in constructing the new national identity in the conditions of a re-established independence. Running ahead, the Museum of Occupations in Estonia was established only by the end of the 1990s. Does it have to do simply with logistical difficulties involved in founding a museum or is there another issue at stake, e.g. the increased sensitivity towards the subject from both the titular and Russophone communities or unpreparedness to launch a certain national narrative in such a short period of time after the collapse of the USSR?

As far as the actual building is concerned, the so-called Future House⁵⁹ was designed by a well-known American-Latvian architect Gunars Birkerts. He planned the rebuilding and extension projects of the museum and the associated creation of the museum's new exhibition. The idea to build an additional bright extension of the black former Latvian Red Riflemen Museum Birkerts described as a metaphor: from the dark past to the bright present and enlightened future. During my field trip, I was able to visit only the temporary exhibition which is located in another building on Raiņa bulvāris 7. The reconstruction of the original building is paid by the state, but the exhibition and museum interior will be arranged from the donated funds.⁶⁰ It is difficult to provide more information on the museum, because the temporary exhibition is small, and the permanent one is closed and will be re-conceptualized after the re-opening of the museum.

⁵⁸ “Par muzeju”. Museum of Occupation of Latvia. <http://okupacijasmuzejs.lv/lv/par-muzeju/>. (accessed June 1, 2017).

⁵⁹ the name of the building where the permanent collection is located

⁶⁰ “Nakotnes Nams”. Museum of Occupation of Latvia. <http://okupacijasmuzejs.lv/lv/nakotnes-nams/>. (accessed June 1, 2017).



Temporary building of the museum on Raina Bulvaris 7, Source: LatviaTravel.lv

2.3.1. Educational department of the museum

The educational department has already existed and been operational for twenty years.⁶¹ It even has got its own website separate from the official website of the Museum of Occupation of Latvia. Apart from information describing the opportunities for school visits and descriptions of various educational programmes, the website also contains educational materials on the topic of the Soviet occupation. The department offers a variety of educational activities, both indoor, outdoor, in schools and community centres – so-called travelling exhibitions. The museum organizes seminars for teachers to support them in teaching controversial historical issues of the 20th century and contests and competitions for students. Moreover, the museum provides financial support to schools outside Riga and in distant parts of Latvia to come for a museum visit.⁶²

The educational programmes listed on the website of the educational department include: *How to study history*, *Refugees in History and Today*, *Our Baltic way*, *Barricades*:

⁶¹ Inguna Role (Head of Education Department, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

⁶² “About the Education Department”. Museum of Occupation of Latvia. <http://www.omip.lv/en/about-the-education-department/>. (accessed June 1, 2017).

20th January 1991, *Life in Soviet Latvia, Soviet deportations, World War II Propaganda, The loss of Independence, Exam at the museum.*⁶³

It is interesting to mark that the timeline of events that the educational programmes cover is longer than the one in the museum in Lithuania. Additionally, some programmes make a connection with the most contemporary events such as *How to Study History, Refugees in History and Today, Our Baltic Way and Barricades: 20th January 1991*. Another point to make is that guided tours for educational purposes are given in two languages: Latvian and English. The language of the biggest minority of Latvia, Russian, is not mentioned among the available languages for tours. I will come back to the language issue in all museums in the upcoming chapters that analyse the interviews.

During the interview, a history educator from Jelgava, Latvia representing the Russian minority, told me about the documentaries that the museum makes and marked their outstanding quality. In particular, she told me about one documentary titled *Contradictory History*, in which the events of WWII were shown through the eyes of a Red Army Russian veteran, a Jewish survivor and a Latvian soldier who served in Latvian SS Legion. She stated that documentaries take a neutral stance, look at the events from multiple perspectives and invite the viewer to draw his/her own conclusions.⁶⁴ The approach of the documentary produced by the Museum of Occupation of Latvia clearly corresponds with the notion of multiperspectivity, one of the central concepts of this research – when the past is presented and studied using multiple perspectives, speaking with earlier underrepresented voices.



Left: an example of a text stand, picture by Vera Ande; right: a piece of the exhibition in the old building, Source: Wikimedia Commons

⁶³ “Museum visit and School activities”. Museum of Occupation of Latvia. <http://omip.lv/en/museum-visit-and-school-activities/>. (accessed June 1, 2017).

⁶⁴ Jelena Ryazantseva (history educator, Jelgava Russian school), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

2.4. The Museum of Occupations, Tallinn, Estonia



The Museum of Occupations, Source: Wikimedia Commons

The Museum of Occupations in Tallinn, Estonia, was founded by a private institution the Kistler-Ritso Estonian Foundation in 1998. The museum's task, according to the description on the website, is to collect, process, study and present the history of the occupations of Estonia in the period between 1940-1991, the national resistance movement and the return of independent statehood. The purpose of the museum, according to the official website, is “to raise the interest, awareness and attention of youth towards the society in order to prevent history's repetition”.⁶⁵ The Museum of Occupations provides an overview of Estonian society during three periods of occupation: the first Soviet occupation 1940–1941, the German occupation 1941–1944, and the second Soviet occupation 1944–1991. Audio-visual displays and photos highlight the events of the era, repression and national resistance, as well as showing how people coped with the day-to-day realms of this difficult period.

The museum has smaller exhibitions and a less developed educational department (in fact, no officially established educational department) and not many texts accompanying the museum artefacts in comparison to the Lithuanian and Latvian museums. This made it difficult for me to present an equal textual analysis of the three exhibitions. Since I decided to focus on the texts to keep the scope of the analysis narrow and suitable for a Master thesis research, I had to work with what I had – even if it meant not having enough text. Nevertheless, it may be useful to know for future research, that the museum has got its

⁶⁵ “Who We Are”. Museum of Occupations of Estonia.
<http://www.okupatsioon.ee/index.php/et/home/whoweare>. (accessed June 2, 2017).

documentaries and entire collection of artefacts online.⁶⁶ The Genocide Victims museum had some photographs and objects digitized and posted on its website.⁶⁷ The Museum of Occupation of Latvia has got most of their educational materials, artefacts and primary sources online.⁶⁸

Apart from the permanent exhibition, the museum regularly hosts temporary exhibitions. At the moment of my visit, the museum had an underground exhibition curated by the ex-museum guide Ivan Lavrentjev (who I interviewed for the next chapter) about the Narva referendum in the beginning of the 1990s and a small travelling exhibition about Hungary and the Soviet regime there. Currently, the museum hosts temporary exhibitions *Stories of Migration – then and now*, *Miranda - the Roma Holocaust*, *Woman who founded the Museum – Olga Kistler-Ritso*.⁶⁹ Like the Museum of Occupation of Latvia in Riga that developed an educational programme about migration, Tallinn also dedicated an exhibition to migration, connecting forced migration during the Soviet period with the current migration and refugee crisis. It seems that all three museums try to stay modern and use the historical content and themes to connect with the contemporary events.

The museum has got ambitious plans for its future. Recently, the Campaign Vabamu⁷⁰ was launched, which presupposed a complete reconceptualization of the museum. According to the Vabamu website, the future vision of the museum is to become a freedom's house, encouraging people to value freedom and inspiring them to cherish and strengthen it. Noteworthy, a Russophone history educator from Estonia who I interviewed for the final chapter had a similar vision on the future of the museum, but it will be discussed later. Among other things, Vabamu defines its mission as to educate, engage and inspire Estonians and other visitors to reflect on recent history, sense the fragility of freedom and promote liberty and justice. On their website, the ex-president of Estonia and the current minister of foreign affairs were specified as honorary fundraising committee members.⁷¹ It indicates that this initiative has the governmental support, both financial and moral. Sander Jurisson,

⁶⁶ See the online collection catalogue <https://okupatsioon.entu.ee/public-fond> and documentaries on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cEckisw-e20&list=PLvQpE01dScn9OSjjsmVbliOirMcfOv-ij>

⁶⁷ <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/lt/206/c/>; <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/807/c/>; Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione, e-mail message to author, June 26, 2017

⁶⁸ National Museum Catalogue. Museum of Occupation of Latvia. <https://www.nmkk.lv/>. (accessed June 30, 2017). Kārlis Dambītis, e-mail message to author, June 30, 2017.

⁶⁹ "Temporary Exhibitions". Museum of Occupations of Estonia. <http://www.okupatsioon.ee/index.php/et/exhibitions-events>. (accessed June 14, 2017).

⁷⁰ *Vabadus* - Estonian for freedom, *muuseum* - museum

⁷¹ "Museum of Occupations and Freedom". Museum of Occupations of Estonia. <http://vabamucampaign.org>. (accessed June 14, 2017).

exhibits manager and museum educator of the Museum of Occupations in Tallinn, told me in our interview about this initiative in March, though not in so much detail. He mentioned the necessity and the plan to change the name of the museum. At the current stage, the new museum's name would be *The Museum of Occupations and Freedom*. Eventually, Sander suggested that the word *occupations* would drop out and only the word *freedom* would stay, but so far it has been impossible to negotiate it with the donors and the museum management team.⁷² Tallinn's museum is thus the only museum out of three that has considered the change of the name, even though the head of education department of Riga's museum mentioned a troubled aspect of perception of the name in our interview as well.⁷³ Another aspect concerning the name that I found peculiar to mention is that the name of the Estonian museum contains the word *occupations*, which stresses not only one occupation (e.g. Soviet), but the occupation by the Nazi as well, unlike the names of the museums in Vilnius and Riga.

2.4.1. Educational department of the Museum of Occupations

There was no available information online about the details of the educational activities provided by the museum, for this reason the information from the interview with the exhibits manager will be used. In the interview with Sander Jurisson, he told me that the museum has never really had an educational department. At the moment of the interview, he stated that he had been busy with designing educational programmes. Before that, there was



one educator who would make programmes for incoming groups upon request. He explained this with the lack of financing and the fact that the museum is a small and private organization. The museum has got a mailing list of schools which they invite to participate in guided tours and educational programmes. The educational programmes are usually given using a holistic

Part of the exhibition, Photo by Vera Ande, February 2017

⁷² Sander Jürisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

⁷³ Inguna Role (Head of Education Department, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

approach in a broader historical context and include topics about migration, deportation, life in Soviet Union and the Cold War.⁷⁴

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the general information about the museums and their educational departments as an introduction before proceeding to the analysis of dominant narratives. For the concluding remarks, I tried to summarize the key points learnt about the museums – what is different and similar in these three museums, and what these differences and similarities mean to this research. How should we perceive these museums?

All three museums were founded in the 1990s, at the time of the regained independence in the Baltic states. They have different platforms of support and different founders, which makes one museum more political than the other. The most political museum is the Genocide Victims Museum that is in direct supervision of the Parliament of Lithuania, the less political museum is the Museum of Occupations in Estonia that was founded by a private foundation with the explicit governmental support, and the least political museum is the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, founded by a private organization and supported by the Ministry of Culture.

In all three museums, there is a similar understanding of the Nazi and Soviet occupations. The general idea is that the Nazi occupation of the Baltic states was less detrimental than the Soviet occupation. For this reason, the content and even the museum names cover only one occupation – the Soviet one. The only museum that acknowledges and stresses two occupations in its name is the one in Estonia, though in terms of content the museum explicitly stated that the Soviet occupation was worse than the Nazi.

Another common issue is the attempt of the museums to establish a connection between the past and the present through the means of temporary exhibitions about political oppressions and educational programmes that thematically connect the past events with the present ones. All three museums have a more or less similar thematic layout which will be elaborated upon in detail in the next chapter which will undercover the schematic narrative template of the museum exhibitions.

The only museums that are renewing their concepts are the museums in Latvia and Estonia. There can be specific reasons for this. It can be the case that the increased Russian minority and the recent clashes between the communities due to increased participation and

⁷⁴ Sander Jürisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

potential threat from Russia and the internal political disruptions (e.g. the Bronze soldier riots) have caused the museum staff, as the civil workers, to reconsider their choices and move forward to the fashion of inclusion and multiperspectivity. The museum in Lithuania does not consider reconceptualising its view on the museum and the narratives presented there. It may have to do with the diminished perception of conflict, at least with the Russian community, and the smaller size of the Russian minority, in comparison to Latvia and Estonia.

Touching upon reconceptualization brings us to the change of the name issue that will be also discussed in detail in the upcoming chapters. Only the Estonian museum considers changing the name. This discussion also leaves one question open – why does Lithuania refer to the events as genocide, Latvia agrees with the occupation term and Estonia considers the name change, having a more or less similar socio-political context as in Latvia?

The final remark to make, which also comes not only from the research about the museums, but mostly interviews, is that the direction the museum takes is an interplay of the intertwined relationship between the stakeholders, like donors, and the museum staff – both influence each other's choices. As some key people in the museum seemed modern and extremely aware and friendly towards the issues of MPI and ready for re-establishing the dialogue, others seemed less concerned and alert about the issues between communities and how the museum can respond, and most importantly, whether the museum should respond at all to the emerging minority inclusion demands. How this complicated relationship may play out in the future is thus an open question.

3. Chapter 3. Occupation versus Liberation. Textual analysis of the dominant narrative(s) of museums of occupation

In terms of the number of lives lost and the intensity of oppression suffered by the people, the German occupation was not actually as harsh as the previous and subsequent Soviet occupations (quote from text, Museum of Occupations, Tallinn, Estonia).

Before reflecting upon the perceptions and attitudes towards the museums of occupation of both the museum staff and the school history educators in the next chapters, it is essential to introduce the reader to the dominant narratives of the researched museums of occupation in the Baltic states. This chapter will attempt to answer the following sub-question: What are the dominant narratives of the three selected museums of occupation in the Baltic states? This will enable the reader to better understand how and, most importantly, why the interviewees perceive, comprehend and reflect on the museums in the way they do. Moreover, research into dominant narratives of the museums of occupation will make it possible to draw conclusions whether the museums under research embody the principles of MPI based on the stories told by the museums' exhibitions.

In this chapter, the content of the museums will be studied by outlining stories that are either emphasized, deemed mainstream or omitted. The analysis will be performed in a broader context using a holistic approach that will take into account the multiplicity of factors, from stylistics to semantics. The subject of the analysis is the text of the museums' exhibitions.

A similar research was already done by Aro Velmet in 2011. He published the article "Occupied Identities: National Narratives in Baltic Museums of Occupations" in the *Journal of Baltic studies*. In his article, Velmet tried to analyse the museums of occupation on the subject of representations of national identities. Velmet looked at the Museum of Occupation of Latvia in Riga and Museum of Occupations of Estonia in Tallinn that corresponds to my research focus. He found out that in the Museum of Occupations of Estonia, representations of national identity reproduce dominant forms of nationalism. In the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, alternative discourse is given the floor, however due respect is paid to established identities.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Aro Velmet, "Occupied Identities: National Narratives in Baltic Museums of Occupations", 189.

In the beginning of this chapter, it is necessary to clarify what is meant under the term 'dominant narrative'. First, the Museum of Genocide Victims in Vilnius, Lithuania will be analysed with the use of pictures of the exhibition stands that were made by me during the field trip to the Baltic states. Second, the Museum of Occupation of Latvia in Riga, Latvia, will be looked at, specifically focusing on the exhibition text that I received as a PDF document from the museum's curator Karlis Dambitis. Third, the Museum of Occupations of Estonia in Tallinn, Estonia, will be studied based on the pictures of the exhibition stands that I also made during the field trip. Finally, the museums of occupation will be compared in order to define similarities and differences in dominant narratives and stories that the museums would like to tell the audience in the concluding remarks to the chapter.

3.1.Dominant narratives and schematic narrative templates

For this chapter, it is necessary to elaborate on two things: namely, what is meant under narratives, and define what schematic narrative templates are.

To put it simple, historical narratives are narrations about the past. According to Jay M. Winter, telling specific stories about the past or communicating historical experiences involves both describing, challenging and (re)creating what happened.⁷⁶ This process includes the production, (re)mediation, appropriation, dissemination and transmission of substantive interpretative frameworks by people who share in the present specific human experiences of the past. These substantive interpretations can be articulated through various means: history textbooks, myths, recounted memories, and any other form that relates the past and present in certain configurations.⁷⁷

One of the forms to bridge the past and present by narrating the past to make sense of the present is a history museum. The museums of occupation, which are subjects of this research, serve a perfect example of so-called lieux de mémoire, or sites of memory as Nora called it, which are certain mental or, in our case, physical 'sites' where memory is fixated to counter oblivion and generate national collective identities according to a certain schematic narrative template.⁷⁸ The assumption prior to the actual research is that after the search and

⁷⁶ Jay.M Winter, (2010). The performance of the past: Memory, history, identity. In K. Tilmans, F. van Vree & J. Winter (Eds.), *Performing the Past. Memory, History, and Identity in Europe*, (Amsterdam: AUP, 2010), 11.

⁷⁷ Maria Grever and Robbert-Jan Adriaansen, "Historical culture: a concept revisited", in M. Carretero, S. Berger, M. Grever eds., *Palgrave Handbook of Research in Historical Culture and Education* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming).

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 8.

analysis of dominant narratives told by the museum of occupation, it will be possible to discover and define a particular schematic narrative template to which museums in all three countries tend to adhere in their narration of the past.

According to James Wertsch, who is the author of the concept, schematic narrative templates are abstract structures that can underlie several different specific narratives, each of which has a particular setting, cast of characters, dates, and so forth. This viewpoint suggests that collective memory comprises not a long list of specific narratives about the past as separate items, but a cultural tool kit that includes a few basic building blocks.⁷⁹ In the analysis of this chapter, the reader will be provided with specific narratives first, which will be combined and presented in a schematic narrative template in the concluding remarks for the chapter.

3.2. Analysis of museums' dominant narratives

During the study of exhibitions' texts, it was possible to define ten dominant specific narratives that could be traced in both the Genocide Victims Museum in Lithuania and the Museum of Occupation of Latvia. The Museum of Occupations of Estonia contained only some narratives in its exhibitions' texts due to the small size of the exhibition and consequentially small size of texts provided on display. The narratives that were identified are the following:

1. The country was doing good before the Soviet and Nazi Occupations
2. Demonization of the USSR and Nazi Germany, but the Soviet Occupation was still worse
3. The country still did its best to protect itself and its citizens
4. Heroization of the resistance movements
5. Country still tried to protect the Jews during the Holocaust
6. Victim narrative
7. Stressing nationality of the titular nation as victims
8. Stressing nationality of the titular nation as oppressors
9. The democratic West abandoned the country
10. Generalization

⁷⁹ James Wertsch, "Specific narratives and schematic narrative templates", in P. Seixas ed. *Theorizing Historical Consciousness* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004), 57.

The selection of the ten specific narratives was based on two general criteria. First, related to my main research question I focused on the construction of national history in the three Baltic states. Hence, I was looking for issues concerning national history and identity constructions within the national framework, not e.g. the representation of gender or labour relations. Second, during my pilot study I focused on repetitions of certain thematic sentences in the three exhibitions' texts, as well as the degree of neutrality or stylistic embellishments and semantic connotations.

The narrative analysis was performed with the technique "reading against the grain"⁸⁰ which means careful reading and assessing the text critically on the subject of what has been and not been said, and what the possible reasons for it are. My former background in linguistics⁸¹ also helped me to narrow out the suggestive and connotative use of words. This analysis did not intend to establish any historical truth, prove or contradict facts, but to read and interpret the message. Each defined narrative will be illustrated with examples: quotes from the exhibitions' texts and in certain cases some quotes will be elaborated upon, as the quotes are taken out of context. The words to which the reader needs to pay special attention will be underlined.

3.2.1. The country was doing good before the Soviet and Nazi occupations

This narrative is present in all three museums. The Soviet propaganda of the first years of occupation in the Baltic states spread the idea that the Baltic states were underdeveloped agricultural poor countries, and that the Soviet Union was going to civilize them and bring technological and industrial development. This perception of the start of the occupation is still persistent in the minds of the Soviet Russophone population both in the Baltic states and outside of them and acts as a counter narrative. The Baltic countries suggest quite the opposite: the countries were wealthy and developed enough, and after the annexation by the Soviet Union, they became worse off. In the below-given quotes that accompany descriptions of life both before and after the incorporation into the Soviet Union, the focus is on the average good level of life and the close proximity to the European countries as well as the idea that the Soviet Union was doing worse i.e. in terms of economy.

⁸⁰ Jamie Barlowe Kayes, "Reading against the grain: the powers and limits of feminist criticism of American narratives", *The Journal of Narrative Technique* 19:1, (Winter, 1989), 130-140. See also Karin Willemse, "Everything I told you was true". The biographic narrative as a method of critical feminist knowledge production', *Women Studies International Forum* (2014), 38-49.

⁸¹ I completed a programme in Translation Studies in Saint-Petersburg, Russia, in 2012, that included extensive study of linguistics and stylistics of the Russian and English languages.

Lithuania

Lithuania had made a significant progress in all spheres of public life during the two decades of independence (1918-1938).⁸²

Latvia

Minorities in Latvia enjoy wide support and cultural autonomy. Although the world economic crisis of 1929–1932 slows down economic recovery, the level of prosperity in Latvia reaches the level of neighbouring European countries. Latvia successfully develops its agriculture, industry, culture and science.⁸³

The value of Latvia's state currency "lats" is declared equal to the three-times less valuable Soviet ruble, and later the ruble becomes the only legal currency. The occupation forces personnel take advantage of this and empty Latvia's retail stores. The Sovietisation of the national economy results in rapid inflation and the reduced production in manufacturing and agriculture.⁸⁴

In this quote, the relocation or migration of Soviet people from other republics to the Baltic states is explained by a low standard of living in the Soviet Union, in comparison to the Baltic states.

The migration is partly voluntary, as some of the settlers [Soviet migrants] seek to escape economic hardship and to find a higher standard of living.⁸⁵

Estonia

Estonia became an agricultural appendix [after being annexed by the Soviet Union].⁸⁶

⁸² "Lithuania in 1938 and 1939". Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

⁸³ "Development of the Latvian state". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

⁸⁴ "Break-Down and Sovietisation of Latvia's Economy". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

⁸⁵ "Russification". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

⁸⁶ Exhibition text. Museum of Occupation of Estonia. Photograph taken on February 19, 2017 by Vera Ande.

3.2.2. *Demonization of the USSR and Nazi Germany, but the Soviet Occupation was still worse.*

This narrative defines and evaluates the crimes and atrocities of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, with one exception: The Soviet Union is almost always eviler and crueller. This line of narrative can be traced in all three museums. Demonization of the USSR as a narrative is part of the criticism from the Russophone population that disagree with the notion that everything during the USSR was bad. In fact, they often refer to general equality of opportunities in the USSR (even though it was not experienced this way by the discriminated titular nations), free healthcare and education.⁸⁷ Demonization is carried out with the use of connotative words like ‘predatory’, ‘oppress’, ‘pillage’, ‘loss’, ‘despise’, etc.

Lithuania

*This agreement [non-aggression pact and the secret agreement between Germany and the USSR] enabled both states to implement their predatory plans.*⁸⁸

In the quote below, the Soviet army is portrayed as worse than the German army.

*The German army bombarded Soviet military objects on Lithuanian territory from one side, and the Red army, retreating but still clinging on to power under the state of war, pillaged the country and oppressed people from the other.*⁸⁹

After this quote, a description of Soviet atrocities followed with no mentioning of the similar crimes committed by the Nazi. Also, in this paragraph only Lithuanian victims are mentioned.

The persecutions in 1940 and 1941 were only the beginning of the story of occupation and loss that lasted half a century.

⁸⁷ This was mentioned by speakers in many interviews conducted in the framework of this research.

⁸⁸ “The Pact between the USSR and Germany”. Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

⁸⁹ “The Beginning of the War between the USSR and the Nazi Germany”. Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

Most of them [collaborators with the Soviet army] were poorly educated men without high ideals. The local population hated them and despised them because of their collaboration and numerous robberies.

In the above quotes, the choice of stylistics plays an important role in shaping the demonization. The period is coined with the negative words such as occupation and loss, and the collaborators are described as people with poor education, lacking high moral standards and thieves. In the prison cell No 3, all minority ethnicities of Lithuania were mentioned among victims of the Nazi except for Russians, and the description seemed not as grief and mean as the one describing the Soviet crimes. Lithuanian narrative template attitude towards the Soviet occupation is more severe than towards the Nazi occupation.

Latvia

World War II begins as a result of the totalitarian superpowers – Communist USSR and National Socialist Germany – violating the above-mentioned and other international agreements. For most of the European countries this results in war destruction, loss of independence and occupation by a totalitarian power.⁹⁰

In the quote below, the Soviet Union's occupation is worse because it objectively lasted longer. The occupation of the Baltic states is also contrasted with the West, where the Nazi occupation lasted less:

The Soviet Union occupies Latvia on 17 June 1940. One year later Latvia is occupied by Nazi Germany. Then in 1944 and 1945 Latvia is again occupied by the Soviet Union. In contrast to the Western European countries that were occupied by Germany, in the three Baltic States (Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia) occupation by the Soviet Union lasts until the disintegration of the USSR in 1991.

The exhibition texts that describe the so-called referenda organized in the Baltic states to vote whether the republics wanted to become part of the Soviet Union, are titled in such a stylistic way as to transmit the negative connotation: 'Destruction of the Statehood of Latvia' and 'the Destruction of Latvia's Authorities and Armed Forces'. The description of the referenda is supported with legal documents stating that the actions of the USSR were illegal

⁹⁰ "Occupation". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

by all means. The below abstracts continue the demonization of the USSR by contrasting with the Nazi Germany. Throughout all the descriptions, there is little description of the atrocities committed by the Nazis, and one quote suggests that the Nazis returned things to the locals that the Soviets had taken from them. It suggests that the Nazi occupation was experienced less bad by the titular nation than by other minorities. It also corresponds with what the interviewees told me, especially history educator Jelena Ryazantseva from Latvia and history and civics educator Audrone Janaviciene from Lithuania.⁹¹

Overall, during a 25-year period the Nazis expect to bring in 164 000 German settlers (by comparison, during the Soviet occupation from 1945 to 1989 some 700 000 persons are brought to Latvia from the USSR).⁹²

But later, to gain more support from the inhabitants, the Nazis initiate a gradual and partial return of some property to former owners. Land nationalized by the Soviets is returned to farmers in 1941. Small shops, industries and commercial enterprises are also privatized.⁹³

They [pro-Soviet resistance groups] carry out terror acts against the German Army, against officials in the Nazi Occupation Administration and against other inhabitants of Latvia. These units attack German soldiers, military and business sites, as well as inhabitants of Latvia.⁹⁴

The below excerpt from the exhibition text described the oppression of Latvian culture, language and the position of the titular nation itself by the new people (non-Latvian) that arrived to replace the deported. The text is titled *Russification*.

Recent non-Latvian arrivals are given leading positions in government departments and commercial enterprises. Thus, in the early 1950s the Ministry of Interior of the Latvian SSR has only 15 ethnic Latvians in leading positions and of Latvia's 56 city and regional local administrations only 4 are headed by Latvians. Only 22% of directors of manufacturing

⁹¹ Chapter 6 of the given thesis.

⁹² "Plans to Colonise and Germanise Latvia". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

⁹³ "Using the Latvian Economy to Facilitate Warfare". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

⁹⁴ "Pro-Soviet Resistance Groups". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

*plants and 12% of kolkhoz directors are Latvians.*⁹⁵

Estonia

This quote is probably one of the most explicit in all three exhibitions, when it comes to making a statement, even though it is in the smallest exhibition of all three. The quote was also rehearsed by history educator from Lithuania Audrone J. in our interview.⁹⁶

*In terms of the number of lives lost and the intensity of oppression suffered by the people, the German occupation was not actually as harsh as the previous and subsequent Soviet occupations.*⁹⁷

3.2.3. The country still did its best to protect itself and its citizens

In this narrative, the idea is that the titular nations did their best to fight back, even on unequal terms to a bigger and fiercer enemy and in much smaller quantities. They fought for freedom to live, express their national identity, culture and religion, and speak their language. This narrative is co-related with the Heroization narrative. As it can be seen from the quotes presented below, the narrative is the most apparent in the case of the museum in Lithuania, to a lesser extent in Latvia, and no such reference was made in Estonia, apart from the internal moral struggle that people had in their hearts and minds by not accepting the occupation.⁹⁸

Lithuania

*The number [of soldiers that marched into Lithuania] almost matched the size of the Lithuanian army.*⁹⁹

*From 1953 to 1955 a wave of uprising and revolts swept over the special regime camps [in the Soviet Union]. There were some Lithuanians among the organizers of the strikes.*¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ “Russification”. Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

⁹⁶ Chapter 6 of the given thesis.

⁹⁷ Exhibition text. Museum of Occupation of Estonia. Photograph taken on February 19, 2017 by Vera Ande.

⁹⁸ Exhibition text. Museum of Occupation of Estonia. Photograph taken on February 19, 2017 by Vera Ande.

⁹⁹ “The Pact between the USSR and Germany”. Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

¹⁰⁰ “Special regime camps”. Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

The government gave in to the ultimatum only after much discussion.¹⁰¹

In the text titled *Occupation*, it gives us an idea that even though Lithuanian communists were in power, the repressive apparatus was complete when people were sent from other Soviet republics. It can be an element of showing that Lithuanians were not so bad as the other people (strangers) from other Soviet republics.¹⁰² Deported parents continued educating their children in Lithuanian culture to preserve their national identity and not to allow them to be russified, which was also one of the examples of implicit struggles against the regime. The general idea that the exhibition texts give is that even though not many people were actively engaged in the fight against the occupation, every person opposed the occupation at the heart. This issue was mentioned by a Russophone educator from Tallinn. In his opinion, the Estonian museum (unlike the Lithuanian and Latvian ones) does not stress enough the fact that the local population and the government did not oppose the regime fierce enough which suggests their silent acceptance.¹⁰³

Children who grew up there [in Siberia in exile] faced the threat of assimilation: their friends were the children of local people and they attended Russian schools. They preserved their national identity thank to the efforts of their parents: they learned to read and write at home in their native language, but orphans languished in children's homes.¹⁰⁴

Although the country's people had suffered greatly from deportations and arrests, and the losses sustained during the partisan war, they did not accept the Soviet power which had been brutally imposed on them...although there were not many of them, their resolute stand and activities served as a moral example for many others and helped to keep the hope for freedom and independence alive.

Latvia

By mentioning particular people, the museum tries to say that Latvia did try to resist

¹⁰¹ "Ultimatum". Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

¹⁰² "Occupation". Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

¹⁰³ Chapter 6 of the given thesis, Igor Kalauskas

¹⁰⁴ "Little Deportees". Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

the Soviet occupation, even with a couple of people. Also, the story suggests that when the open resistance did not seem possible, people went underground to continue struggle, or simply did not accept the regime in their minds.

*The Latvian border guards put up armed resistance. Three border guards and the wife and son of one guard are killed at Masļenki.*¹⁰⁵

*There are other attempts to submit lists of candidates as alternatives to the "Latvian Workers Bloc" of the occupation powers. All these efforts are suppressed. After annexation to the USSR, open resistance is no longer possible. Nevertheless, the people of Latvia continue to express dissatisfaction about the occupation and loss of independence.*¹⁰⁶

From the exhibition's section *Beginning of resistance*, it becomes apparent that Latvians are distinguished from other nationalities living in Latvia. First, there is a description of resistance groups, where and how they operate, and then the sentence: 'Poles, Jews and people of other nationalities also form resistance groups against the Nazi occupation of Latvia'. The question is then why it was done – to include other ethnicities by mentioning them at all or exclude them by mentioning them in separate groups?¹⁰⁷

3.2.4. Heroization of the resistance movements

In the Genocide Victims Museum, an entire exhibition was dedicated to the forest brothers, or the so-called resistance movement. They were operating in all Baltic states and their activities ranged from publishing and spreading anti-communist literature, books and newspapers in local languages to armed resistance, like sabotage. In Lithuania, the resistance movements are heroized, and their poems and memoirs are even studied at schools as a part of literature curriculum. In Latvia and Estonia, there is also enough attention paid to the resistance movements, though to a lesser extent than in Lithuania. The descriptions of the resistance movements' activities are only positive and the narratives around the movements

¹⁰⁵ "USSR Armed Invasion of Latvia". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

¹⁰⁶ "Beginning of Resistance". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

¹⁰⁷ "National Resistance". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

never include more than one perspective on the resistance movements.

3.2.5. *Country and its titular nation as non-oppressor*

The crimes against Jews in the Baltics are on average not that easily addressed and acknowledged as in western Europe.¹⁰⁸ In most exhibition texts, an attempt was made to show the transfer of responsibility and that not all titular nation people (Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians) were perpetrators and Nazi collaborators against the Jews. The use of language was especially useful for that purpose.

Lithuania

The history of every nation has both dark and light sides. Yet even in the difficult times of World War II there were people who were not afraid of Nazi terror and propaganda.

Latvia

*To create the impression in Latvia and abroad that the Self-Administration functions independently, the Nazis appoint a few well-known personalities. But in reality, the work of the Self-Administration is completely controlled by agencies of the Nazi occupation regime.*¹⁰⁹

3.2.6. *Victim narrative*

The narrative of victimization is present in all three museums. The notion of victimization includes the transfer and refusal of responsibility, belittling of own crimes and atrocities, and especially othering – a binary label such as ‘victim’ and ‘oppressor’, in which they never exchange the roles.¹¹⁰ Othering, in this case, provides a solid basis for identity construction based on the exclusion of the other¹¹¹ or placing the ‘victim’ in the position vis-à-vis the ‘oppressor’. The narrative can be identified with the use of language (such as the use of

¹⁰⁸ Aro Velmet, “Occupied Identities: National Narratives in Baltic Museums of Occupations”, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 42:2 (2011): 196.

¹⁰⁹ “Latvian Self-Administration”. Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

¹¹⁰ Velmet, “Occupied Identities: National Narratives in Baltic Museums of Occupations”, 196-197.

¹¹¹ Stuart Hall, ‘Ethnicity: Identity and Difference’, 16-17.

passive voice, certain adjectives and verb contrasting). In some quotes, victimization is attempted to be explained by mere smart decision-making.

Lithuania

The below quotes describe the beginning of the occupation:

*The growing international tension at the end of the thirties caused a real danger to the security of all the small Baltic states. Unfortunately, the country's efforts to procure security guarantees from larger European states were unsuccessful.*¹¹²

The fate of Lithuania was decided by these agreements.

...forced Lithuania to sign an agreement detrimental to the sovereign state.

*...the country had to allow 20 000 red army troops to be stationed on its soil.*¹¹³

*Lithuania, finding itself in the front line, felt the full terror of the invasion from the very first day.*¹¹⁴

*The country's future was decided by other states, it was occupied on 15 June 1940 by the USSR and later annexed.*¹¹⁵

Next, the victimization was present also in the exhibitions' texts about the resistance movements:

The freedom fighters realized that they would not be able to defeat the much larger and well-armed Soviet army, but they felt obliged to declare to the world that the Lithuanian nation was intransigent regarding the foreign occupation of its country.

¹¹² "Lithuania in 1938 and 1939". Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

¹¹³ "The Pact between the USSR and Germany". Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

¹¹⁴ "The Beginning of the War between the USSR and the Nazi Germany". Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

¹¹⁵ "The Beginning of the War between the USSR and the Nazi Germany". Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

*It helped them to preserve their strength in the face of the harsh reality and to stand up to an incomparably stronger enemy.*¹¹⁶

*However even those who did not belong to the categories found it difficult to obtain permission to live in Lithuania. The people who returned were discriminated against: they were refused registration in their place of residence, remained unemployed, confiscated property was not restored to them etc.*¹¹⁷

Latvia

This set of quotes describes the beginning of the Soviet occupation:

*At the start of the war in September 1939 Latvia has declared neutrality. But this does not prevent USSR invasion and occupation. In early October, the USSR imposes on the Baltic States "mutual assistance" agreements and establishes military bases in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.*¹¹⁸

In the condition of being victims, the narrative grows into the explanation that the government just followed a smart decision making:

*The Government of Latvia, having no options and not wanting to sustain major casualties, accedes to the ultimatum and permits entry of the Red Army into Latvia*¹¹⁹.

*Both the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany use the inhabitants of occupied territories, conscripting them into their armed forces. To formally follow international agreements, Nazi Germany declares units formed with inhabitants of occupied territories as "volunteer" groups. In reality, both occupation powers conscript the inhabitants of Latvia by force.*¹²⁰

Estonia

Two large totalitarian powers.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ "Forest Brothers". Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

¹¹⁷ "Forest Brothers". Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

¹¹⁸ "The Hitler-Stalin Pact and Start of World War II in Europe". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

¹¹⁹ "The USSR Occupies Latvia". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

¹²⁰ "Occupation Powers Use Inhabitants of Latvia in the War". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

¹²¹ Exhibition text. Museum of Occupation of Estonia. Photograph taken on February 19, 2017 by Vera Ande.

3.2.7. *Stressing nationality of the titular nation as victims and non-oppressors*

In some texts, the fact that the titular nation suffered more than others is explicitly stated. Also, the innocence and non-responsibility for crimes committed under both regimes is also stressed by the titular narrative. The idea that the text attempts to give is that actions of the titular people were influenced or forced by the occupying forces, and were often against the titular people's will. It is also interesting to see how often it is being stressed that the local or migrant Russians took most of the decision-making in the country, thus taking away the responsibility of the local titular people and increasing their victim status. Most quotes suggest nationalist discourse and titular nation-centrism. Another comment that is relevant not only for this paragraph is the different ways in which text writers refer to the population of their country. Does it have any specific rationale behind it or is it just a random choice of words? E.g. Latvians, Latvian population, inhabitants of Latvia, residents of Latvia etc. There is an undoubted sense of regret about the loss in ethnic titular nation number with the arrival of Soviet migrants from other republics that can be traced in the exhibition texts. The issue of nationality and citizenship and ambiguities that surround these terms will be mentioned and discussed in detail in the upcoming chapters as well.

Lithuania

According to nationality Lithuanians suffered the most, at 68.1 per cent.

In the second half of 1944, after the Soviet Union occupied Lithuania again, the repression of peaceful inhabitants of the country was immediately renewed.¹²²

Latvia

Their commanders are Germans. General Rūdolfs Bangerskis is appointed as Inspector General of the Legion, the only Latvian senior officer, but with no authority to influence battle assignments.¹²³

As a result of losses in battles, the Latvian units in the Red Army are frequently replenished

¹²² "Lithuanian civilians in Soviet prisons and labour camps: 1944-1956". Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

¹²³ "Latvian Soldiers in the Armed Forces of Nazi Germany". Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

*with new recruits of other nationalities, thus reducing their Latvian component.*¹²⁴

*The Latvian nation manages to survive the period of Soviet occupation by utilising all possible avenues of protest against the Soviet totalitarian regime.*¹²⁵

*As a result of Russification during the occupation, the ethnic composition of Latvia has changed. The proportion of ethnic Latvians (as a percentage of the population) has decreased from 75% in 1935 to 52% in 1989.*¹²⁶

*More than 40 000 (95%) of the deportees are ethnic Latvians. Also deported are 790 Russians, 590 Poles, 252 Byelorussians, 140 Lithuanians and other nationalities. In total, 44 271 inhabitants of Latvia are deported from 1949 to 1953.*¹²⁷

Estonia

People from Russia of Estonian origin and Russians who were being settled in Estonia gained an ever-increasing amount of decision making power locally, at the expense of the influence of local communists and collaborators.

Labourers were brought in which increased the number of Russians in Estonia to nearly a third of the population.

The threat of russification is also mentioned in all exhibitions constantly, the Estonian one being no exclusion:

The objective of the communist party was total russification and the creation of a monolithic Soviet people united in its use of the Russian language.

They also explain collaboration with the Soviet regime of the local population in an interesting way:

¹²⁴ “Latvian Soldiers in the USSR Armed Forces”. Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

¹²⁵ “Dissidents”. Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

¹²⁶ “Impact of Occupation and Development of the Independent Republic of Latvia”. Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

¹²⁷ “Deportation 25 March 1949”. Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

The shattering of illusions caused the people to become demoralized and spurred political collaboration which was manifested primarily by Estonians joining the communist party.¹²⁸

3.2.8. *Stressing nationality of the titular nation as oppressors*

In most exhibitions, there is little and dry admittance of the fact that local titular population took part in the Soviet or Nazi crimes. The preferable narrative is that Moscow steered the wheel, and that not only locals, but other ethnicities were the oppressors. In the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, there is slightly more acknowledgement for the role of the titular nation in the atrocities. The description of the previous narratives showed that in most cases, it is crucial to show, even with a small remark and concretization, that the titular nation representative was either forced to commit a crime, or that the amount of titular people engaged or responsible for these atrocities was extremely small in comparison to other ethnicities.

Lithuania

...and shows how Moscow, with the help of local collaborators¹²⁹

The choice of words is also very important for this narrative. It is important to show with the use of contrasting that it was not only the titular nation representatives.

However, some violence against the civilian population occurred, as happens in any war. Most members of the Special Squad [the organization in charge of executions of Jews] were Lithuanians, but there were also several Russians and Poles.¹³⁰

Latvia

The Nazis plan to involve as many residents of Latvia as possible in the elimination of Jews. But the expected spontaneous Jew- baiting does not happen. In early July 1941, the

¹²⁸ “Years of Stabilization”. Museum of Occupation of Estonia. Photograph taken on February 19, 2017 by Vera Ande.

¹²⁹ “Lithuania in 1940 and 1941: the first losses”. Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

¹³⁰ “Military Organization Description”. Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

Operational Group A forms a 300-man unit from local volunteers in Riga under the leadership of Viktors Arājs. In the summer and fall of 1941 members of this unit kill about 26 000 Latvian Jews..¹³¹

The Museum of Occupation of Latvia was the most critical in this regard, admitting that during the Holocaust, many citizens remain passive and indifferent. It is done by making a negatively connotated statement at the end of the quote, instead of saying: “Even though a small portion of the population dares to risk hiding Jews, many attempt to help.”

Many attempt to help the Jews, for example by providing food to the ghetto internees. Nevertheless, many more remain passive. Only a small portion of the population dares to risk hiding Jews.¹³²

3.2.9. The democratic West abandoned the country

This narrative transmits the Baltic disappointment, frustration and lost hope in the West that allowed the Soviet Union to occupy the countries for half a century. It is true that the belief in the international community in the Baltic states was very high, because they associated themselves with the West more than with the Soviet Union, or the Russian empire. The West was seen as an enemy to the Soviet Union, and logically perceived as a friend to the occupied Baltic states. It would be interesting to study the attitudes of people to the West and how they have changed since the dissolution of the USSR and the joining of the EU by all three Baltic states.

Lithuania

Their commitment was fuelled by the conviction that the fight would last only until the democratic West had gone to war against the Soviet Union.

¹³¹ “Nazi Anti-Semitic Policies in Latvia, the Nazi-Organised Holocaust in Latvia”. Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

¹³² “Rescuers of Jews in Latvia”. Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

*It also helped to keep up the fading hopes of the fighters and civilians of getting some support from the West, and to cope with betrayals.*¹³³

*One of the most important things for the partisans who fought in Lithuania alone was to establish links with Western states and Lithuanian organizations abroad...their aim was to encourage western states to interfere, and help Lithuania and other occupied republics of the Soviet Union to re-establish their independence.*¹³⁴

Latvia

*In occupied Latvia, news of the non-recognition of its annexation gives rise to hope of assistance from Western countries. This gives moral support to the National Resistance Movement. After the war, organisations of Latvian exiles in the West promote the continued non-recognition of the occupation and renewal of independence for Latvia.*¹³⁵

*After the capitulation of Germany, the Latvian people hope that the Western Allies will apply to Latvia the same principles of self-determination that were proclaimed on 14 August 1941 in the Atlantic Charter. But instead, in Latvia the Soviet occupation is renewed.*¹³⁶

*Interest in culture and the arts and efforts to establish contacts with the West are a search for ways out of the ideological stranglehold. Latvian dissidents are free thinkers who look for ways to read forbidden literature, who write and distribute their own work, who invite exchange of ideas and search for contacts with the West.*¹³⁷

Estonia

Hopes that the Western allies would intervene and then Estonian independence could be

¹³³ “Military Organization Description”. Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera Ande.

¹³⁴ “Texts about Partisans”. Exhibition Text of Genocide Victims Museum. Photograph taken on February 16, 2017 by Vera.

¹³⁵ “International Condemnation and Non-Recognition of the Occupation of Latvia”. Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

¹³⁶ “Second Soviet Occupation”. Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

¹³⁷ “Dissidents”. Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

restored were dashed.

3.2.10. *Inclusive Generalization – anti-nationalism*

As I raised this question in the section ‘Stressing nationality of the titular nation as victims and non-oppressors’, the question is still open as to the mode of reference to people living in the country. One can speculate about the nature of this referencing. From the rhetoric of the museum staff, the nationality should be understood as the citizenship that the person holds. This way, when referring to Latvians, one should think of the citizens of Latvia, including Russians, Jews, Germans, etc. However, it did not come as obvious after reading most of the exhibition texts. It seemed that the text writers referred to the different communities either randomly in order to avoid repetition in writing, or with a certain message about the ethnic composition. It was evident that when such wording as ‘inhabitants’ or ‘residents’ is used, it does not leave any room for ambiguities, as well as when the authors add the word ‘ethnic’ before the title of the nationality. In other cases, it is difficult to assess inclusivity into the national narrative. In my analysis, I had to opt for con/text analysis in order to figure whether in one case the citizens or the ethnic titular nationalities were meant, which still resulted in inability to properly distinguish between these two components. Below the example of the obvious and inclusive reference is showed:

Latvia

In this section, the text refers not to Latvians but to “inhabitants of Latvia”, *the population of Latvia and that people subjected to Soviet terror are: “any persons undesirable to the occupation regime – members of the resistance movement, people active in the social, cultural, economic and political spheres, military officers, police, farmers, etc. – together with their family members.*¹³⁸

¹³⁸ “Political Terror Against the Population of Latvia”. Exhibition Text of Museum of Occupation of Latvia. PDF document received by mail from Karlis Dambitis on February 17, 2017.

3.3. Conclusion

As a result of a careful reading of the texts of the exhibitions using ‘against the grain’ method and the eventual narrative analysis, ten dominant narratives were specified. It is possible that the museums have got more narratives if more objects are taken up for the analysis – e.g. artefacts and other audio-visual content. Nevertheless, with the help of these ten narratives, it was possible to identify the schematic narrative template of telling the story of the Soviet occupation between 1940 and 1990.

The narrative template that persists in the understanding of history and that the museums try to tell to their audiences starts with a wealthy and prosperous independent state, where all citizens are granted various rights and freedoms, the ethnic majority enjoys its dominant position as the titular nation, and where ethnic minorities enjoy full freedom of preserving and celebrating their cultures and languages. The idyll is interrupted by the 1st Soviet occupation, in which the Baltic governments had no choice but to accept the Soviet ultimatum. Eventually, as the war broke out, the Baltic states were largely taken over by the Nazi Germany, which occupation was less harsh and cruel than the 1st and 2nd Soviet occupations. The accent is always made on the absence of choice and the dominance and superiority of the two occupying forces. During the Nazi occupation, the titular nation people hardly participated or were directly responsible for any atrocities organized by the Nazis – their role in these atrocities was initially mistakenly overestimated. With the end of the Nazi occupation and the start of the 2nd Soviet occupation, the years of grief and oppression started. The titular people lost their independence, national identity, language, culture. All spheres of life deteriorated with the sovietisation and russification processes. The democratic West, on which the Baltic countries relied so much, did not help. The Baltic people were victims of the two violent regimes. During the occupation periods, the local people still tried to resist the Soviet regime, both in small military movements like forest brothers did, and in underground movements. These movements are heroized to a different extent in three Baltic states - the most in Lithuania and less in Latvia and Estonia. Those, who did not participate in any movements, oppressed the regime mentally by not accepting it in their minds. There was nothing good during the Soviet times, because there was no freedom per se. Without freedom and independence, nothing can be excused. Finally, the freedom came with the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

What does this narrative template mean for the principles of MPI? The victim narrative presupposes othering, and when there is a victim, there should always be an

oppressor. The oppressors in this case were the Nazi Germany to a lesser extent and the Soviet Union to a bigger extent. In the collective memory, which produced this narrative template, the oppressor is the representative of the Russophone population. People and their children who were relocated to the Baltics for work and other purposes during the Soviet rule and who decided to stay after the collapse of the Soviet Union, may be perceived as the heirs to the hated occupation regime. It seems difficult to use dynamic approach to heritage education (that presupposes breaking the categories of perpetrators and victims) using the museums of occupation, if there is such a clear demarcation between perpetrators and victims.

Due to the fact that the titular nations are attributed a victim status, they are constantly excused and not accounted for any atrocities and crimes that were happening in that era and thus are freed from any responsibility. Even though, the general feeling about the exhibitions did show some social plurality in terms of historical narratives (e.g. the stories of children, forest fighters and the clergy were told in the exhibition in Lithuania), it did not reflect on the ethnic-national aspect of the Baltic states. What is missing is the local minorities (Russian, Polish, Byelorussian, Jewish, etc.) that inhabited the countries either before the 1st Soviet occupation or right after the start of the 2nd occupation. In order to correspond to the principles of MPI, their stories and accounts on history should be heard and be part of the narrative.

4. Chapter 4. Discourse analysis of perceptions, opinions and attitudes of the museum staff

It's not a battle between those old soldiers, Soviet or Latvian ones, it's a battle between politicians and ideologies. (Karlis.D, Museum of Occupation of Latvia)

The museum in its classical sense died. (Karlis. K, Museum of Occupation of Latvia)

The fact that a kid comes to the museum one day, and after that his system of values drastically changes, and he will say – mother, father, in fact, a war is just terrible. Just terrible and that's it. And I don't need to know or understand anything about it. (Ivan L. Museum of Occupations, Estonia)

We just need more time, I guess. (Gedvile B.I. Genocide Victims Museum)

4.1.Introduction into interviewees and interviews

This chapter will answer the following sub-question: what are the perceptions, opinions and attitudes of the museum staff towards the museum of occupation they work at, also in regard to the notions of multiperspectivity, plurality and inclusivity?

In order to investigate the educational methods as well as perceptions, opinions and attitudes of the museum staff towards the museums of occupation they work at in regard to the notions of MPI, seven people were interviewed. Interviews were conducted in person during my field trip to the Baltic states that took place on 14-21 February 2017, by skype and by e-mail correspondence. Gedvile Butkute-Indrisione (ethnic Lithuanian), the educator-in-chief of the Genocide Victims Museum in Vilnius, Lithuania, was interviewed face-to-face in the museum on the 15th of February 2017. Her husband Darius Indrisonis (ethnic Lithuanian), who is a museum guide at the same museum, was interviewed by mail as he could not find time for the skype interview. His response sheet was obtained in the end of May 2017. Inguna Role (ethnic Latvian), the head of the Education department at the Museum of Occupation of Latvia in Riga, Latvia, was interviewed in person on the 16th of February 2017. Karlis Dambitis (ethnic Latvian), the curator, and Karlis Krekis, (ethnic Latvian who mentioned having Russian roots) the museum guide of the same museum, were also interviewed in person during the museum visit on the same date. Sander Jurisson (ethnic Estonian), the exhibits manager and educator of the Museum of Occupations in Tallinn,

Estonia, was interviewed by skype on the 17th of March 2017. Ivan Lavrentjev (ethnic Russian), the ex-museum guide and the co-curator of the Narva referendum exhibition in the same museum, was interviewed also by skype on the 7th of April 2017.

The interviews, except for the one conducted by mail, were carried out in a semi-structured manner. The full list of questions which I used to structure the interview can be found in Appendixes.

In general, the questions addressed some basic issues such as the activities, financing and organization of the museums and their educational departments, the perceptions and attitudes of visitors, namely school classes and their teachers, to the collections and the guided tours, as well as general comments on the notions of MPI. Moreover, the future activities as well as the museum staff's perspective on possible improvements to the museums were discussed in detail. Responses of the interviewees to the questions varied depending on their background, age, gender, political views and education. In order to explain what I mean by this, I will give a couple of examples: Karlis K. was exposed to both Latvian and Russian influence as a child, and this has improved not only his Russian language skills, but also introduced him to the way Russians perceive Baltic history, which made him more open towards other narratives. In the interview, he also mentioned his experience at a neo-nationalist organization, which also provided him with another, yet radical, perspective on the events. This made him understand the titular perspective on the Soviet occupation better. Karlis D. is a military historian, and his affiliation with politics and constant criticism towards Kremlin also influenced most of his answers. Gedvile B.I, being ethnic Lithuanian and having studied medieval Lithuanian history, seemed detached from contemporary debates and did not seem much involved in the minority issues, exactly for the reason of being a representative of a titular nation who is a priori not a part of minority community. Her educational background in medieval Lithuanian history also explains why she may be less aware of contemporary events – simply because she has not focused on them during her studies.

Some interviewees were more neutral and seemed less involved in the interview (Inguna Role, Darius Indrisonis and Gedvile Butkute), while others seemed more eager to contribute and held distinctive opinions on history, contemporary politics and social dynamics in the Baltic societies (Karlis Dambitis, Karlis Krekis, Sander Jurisson and Ivan Lavrentjev). Apart from that, it is important to acknowledge that the issue of the Soviet occupation is extremely sensitive and contested, especially in Latvia and Estonia where the Russian speaking minority constitutes 25-30 % of the respective population. Historical

trauma persists in the current political, cultural and social discourses, and in general it is impossible to talk about history education and museum education and not to dive into contemporary social dynamics of the Baltic states as well as the general understanding and interpretation of the most recent history. Most interviewees would talk more about these issues than solely history and museum education, depending on the degree of their socio-political involvement and personal affiliation with the current debates in their countries.

Taking into account these factors, the information will be extracted from the interviews with the use of discourse analysis.

4.2. Definition of discourse

Mills argues that a discourse can be as simple as verbal communication, talk, and conversations, and that it entails a transaction between a speaker and a hearer, but the term seems to be more complicated than it looks like, especially in the understanding of different scientific disciplines. She noted that discourses are always social and organized around the practices of exclusion, which is a very succinct remark, as discourses are characteristics of certain groups and can never be entirely inclusive.¹³⁹ As it is used in the given chapter as a means to analyse the materials, discourse analysis can be defined as the study of the use of language in a running discourse, continued over a number of sentences, and involving the interaction of speaker and auditor in a specific situational context, and within a framework of social and cultural conventions.¹⁴⁰ In this research, discourse analysis should be understood as not the quest for the rhetoric of politics only, but also the rhetoric of history and popular culture, not just the rhetoricity of formal argument but also the rhetoricity of personal identity of each speaker involved. Non-verbal communication is not included in the analysis.

4.3. Discourse analysis: common subthemes

The overall character of this research tends to focus not on differences, but similarities and commonalities, yet, along the way, differences are delineated. For this reason, the division of this chapter will be construed by common themes that were touched upon by all interviewees. It also has to do with the initial structure and sameness of interview questions and topics, despite the semi-structured approach. The following themes were identified as a result of

¹³⁹ Sara Mills, *Discourse*, Chapter 1, 'Introduction' (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 5.

¹⁴⁰ Meyer H. Abrams and Geoffrey G. Harpham, *A glossary of literary terms*, ((Boston, Mass: Thomson Wadsworth, 1999), 8.

discourse analysis: name of the museum, function of the museum, governmental support for the museum visit, attitude to occupation regime(s), inclusivity of the museum, multiperspectivity of the museum, ethnical background of the guides, visits from other parts of the country, visits by Russian speaking children and visits to the schools by the education department, reactions of the Russian speaking and other children to the exhibitions, citizenship and ethnicity issue, origins of difference in historical narratives, difficulties faced by museum educators, and possible improvements to the museum. At most times, it will be more beneficial to insert an entire quote for the purpose of not losing the meaning and preserving the stylistics of the quote. At the end of the chapter, conclusions will be provided.

4.3.1. Name of the museum

The name of the museums did not seem an issue to the interviewees. As it was already discussed in the previous chapter, the Genocide Victims Museum received its name because “*Soviet crimes were recognized as genocide in Lithuania against the Lithuanian citizens*”.¹⁴¹ Other speakers did not explicitly address the name of the museum in the interviews, except for Inguna Role, head of education department of Museum of Occupation of Latvia, and Sander Jurisson, exhibits manager at the Museum of Occupations of Estonia. Sander J. stated that the museum name is a big problem. He informed me that they planned to change the name of the museum and get rid of the word occupation completely, however for now the consensus was reached to add the word *freedom*. Eventually, the museum would get rid of the word *occupation*, he said.¹⁴² Inguna R. also agreed that the name can be problematic for the Russophone minority in Latvia, but did not mention any possibility of the name change in the future:

*I think that only the very word occupation already repels people, and they think ‘no, we should not come here’.*¹⁴³

The change of the name that is about to happen in Estonia has been accompanied by an outrage from some people that the proposed changes are linked to a misplaced enthusiasm

¹⁴¹ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁴² Sander Jürisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁴³ Inguna Role (Head of Education Department, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

surrounding “e-Estonia” or will play into Russian neo-imperialism.¹⁴⁴ Any step made in direction to the Russophone minority is usually criticized by the titular public for working in Kremlin’s favor. Generally speaking, this issue illustrates perfectly how a different understanding of troublesome past by two mnemonic communities works in practice – as it will be seen in other interviews, both titular and minority sides seem to understand each other’s perspectives on history and the sensitivity around e.g. the name of the museum, but each side still decides to stick to their interpretation of history. If there is an understanding, how can it possible to reach acceptance and a compromise?

4.3.2. Function of the museum

Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief of the Genocide Victims Museum in Lithuania, explicitly admitted that the main function of the museum is to spread the nationally inspired narrative that was not possible during the Soviet rule.¹⁴⁵ In Karlis Dambitis’ words, who is the curator at the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, the museum’s target is to compare two regimes, teach the facts and develop critical thinking and analytical skills and most importantly, not to forget what had happened. The notions mentioned by Karlis D. were absent in Gedvile’s B.I. speech:

Our main target is to give the opinions, to teach the facts, and to give the way how these school children can understand it, how they can weigh what is right or wrong. So that they start thinking. If we only give the ready opinion, finished opinion, ideas, then it's propaganda. We try to start the brains, how to think.

We are a political museum... Our task is to explain what happened, how it happened, and tell the story to our audience to make them think about it and do their own mind identification to mobilize society, to not to allow to forget it.

*So, our task is to explain how it happened, not the medical care was bad, but the system of Soviet Union, how it worked, the system of Nazi Germany, how it worked, and we need to compare those two regimes.*¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Lorraine Weekes, "Debating Vabamu: Changing names and narratives at Estonia's Museum of Occupations." Cultures of History Forum. May 17, 2017. Accessed July 06, 2017. <http://www.cultures-of-history.uni-jena.de/debates/estonia/debating-vabamu-changing-names-and-narratives-at-estonias-museum-of-occupations/>.

¹⁴⁵ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁴⁶ Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English.

According to Sander Jurisson, the main idea behind the museum and how he sees his own mission as the exhibits manager and educator is to promote human rights and democracy. As he said:

*It is a totalitarian regime, doesn't matter, [whether] it is Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, it was all wrong.*¹⁴⁷

It seems that museum workers' perception of their mission is different. The Lithuanian museum staff that I interviewed explicitly celebrates Lithuanian national identity as a compensation for not being able to do it during the Soviet rule, while the staff members I interviewed in Latvia and Estonia see the museums' mission as not to allow history repeat itself, educate people about the misdeeds of totalitarian regimes, and enhance critical thinking and responsible history teaching.

4.3.3. Governmental support for museum visit

It was interesting to see how my interviewees referred to the governmental support of their museums, and whether there was any. It was important for determining the focus, direction and motivation of the museums. Gedvile B.I. and Darius I. from the Genocide Victims Museum confirmed that there is a governmental support and encouragement to visit the museum, which is not a surprise as the museum belongs to the Parliament of Lithuania.¹⁴⁸ The Seimas of Lithuania accepted a long-term Civic and National Education program. It had to do with the fact that the Lithuanian youth started to leave Lithuania on a mass scale and the older generation started to lean towards the nostalgic Soviet past, probably because of dissatisfaction with current governments and the inability to see their place in modern Lithuania. The programme was aimed at reviving and bringing up patriotism in youth and children in the first place. Among other history education related activities, it encouraged museum visits that dealt with Soviet occupation and visits to mass murder scenes, both connected to the Holocaust and anti-Soviet Lithuanian dissidents. There are also essay competitions organized by the Museum of Genocide Victims that deal with Soviet and Nazi

¹⁴⁷ Sander Jürisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁴⁸ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.
Darius Indrišionis (Museum Guide, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed by mail by Vera Ande, May 25, 2017, transcript in English.

occupations.¹⁴⁹ The Lithuanian interviewees did not mention this programme in the interviews, I read about it in the volume about European Discourse on History Education.

Inguna R., head of education department at the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, convinced me that visiting the museum of occupation of Latvia is a choice of teachers and students.¹⁵⁰ At first, Karlis Krekis, museum guide from the same museum, said the following:

Because we are a private museum, politicians do not have influence on our content, so a more neutral image is created and luckily western Latvians¹⁵¹ that finance this museum do not influence it any way.

However, at the end of our interview, Karlis K. stated that Western Latvian donors still have the last say in everything and if something is not to their wish, it will not be approved.¹⁵² Sander J. said that there is no official binding policy on visiting the museum, however the governmental rhetoric suggests that schools should visit this museum. When telling me about his meeting with the Minister of Justice of Estonia, his negative stance towards the change of the name of the museum and his general nationalist attitude, Sander J. said that “no one cares about what the government thinks or says, as students still do not come massively to the museum.”¹⁵³

4.3.4. Attitude to occupation regime(s)

All interviewees agree with the fact that the Soviet period was an occupation. Lithuanian interviewees coin the occupation additionally as genocide. In their judgements, all agree that both Nazi and Soviet occupations were equal evils (even though most exhibitions suggest that the Soviet occupation was worse than the Nazi one), but Soviets do not equal Russians and vice versa.

Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief at the Genocide Victims Museum, explicitly stated her attitude towards both occupations:

¹⁴⁹ Erdmann, and Hasberg, *Facing, Mapping, Bridging Diversity: Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education; Pt. 2*, 37.

¹⁵⁰ Inguna Role (Head of Education Department, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

¹⁵¹ Latvians living in the West – outside of Latvia

¹⁵² Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

¹⁵³ Sander Jürisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

*Both occupations are equal evils. Commonly genocide is known as only one like the Holocaust – the Jewish one, but we think that the Soviet occupation was also a genocide, because a lot of people were deported and killed, and for us it is also a kind of important.*¹⁵⁴

Inguna R., head of education department at the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, agreed that there was an occupation as such:

*Of course, [we follow the official governmental line on the occupation], because it was proven that there was an occupation, and we support this and prove with facts.*¹⁵⁵

Karlis D., museum guide at the same museum, formulated it in the following way, suggesting that both occupations deserve equal coverage in terms of cruelty:

*We need to tell the story that OK, Nazi Germany was bad, but don't forget the Soviets. They also were bad.*¹⁵⁶

Sander J., exhibits manager at the Museum of Occupation in Tallinn, on the other hand, pointed out that there should be a difference made between the Soviets and the Russians. According to him, the size of the minority influences the way the occupation should be conceived of:

*What we are doing we are trying not to say that Russians deported Estonians and Latvians to Siberia, that they were Soviets. Because there are 30 per cent of population of Russian speakers.*¹⁵⁷

4.3.5. Inclusivity of the museum

It was important to start the discussion on the notions of MPI with the inclusivity of the museum. Inclusivity as such can be about both how museum can contribute to social,

¹⁵⁴ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁵⁵ Inguna Role (Head of Education Department, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

¹⁵⁶ Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁵⁷ Sander Jürisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

political, cultural and economic inclusion.¹⁵⁸ In this research, the focus is on the cultural in(ex)clusion, to which we will come back in the end of the paragraph about multiperspectivity of the museum.

We have got at an ambiguous point in the interview with Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief of the Genocide Victims Museum, because she did not seem to understand completely what I meant by inclusivity, or did not consider this issue important for the museum or did not see it as a problem. She stated that they had got a Russian audio guide and that it was already a big improvement. She confessed:

*I don't know how to make it more inclusive. I am focusing on educational activities that's why I am talking about these activities, not the museum in general.*¹⁵⁹

Inguna R., head of education department at the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, supported the common held fear of losing Latvianness in her explanation of the lack of inclusivity of the museum:

*Of course, we completely understand everything, both those who are making the expositions and those who are giving guided tours, we understand that it's not only the Latvians, but Latvians are the main nation of Latvia, why Latvia exists in the first place? Because there are Latvians [laughing]. And maybe that fear that the nation will disappear completely, and the language, this probably influences why the focus is on Latvians.*¹⁶⁰

Karlis D., as the curator of the same museum, commented upon the renewal of the exhibition in the following way:

What I tried to give to the first part [of the renewed exhibition that is to come in the future] is OK, the state is Latvia, the main basic thing is that the state is not the diamond, but the opportunities that the state gives. Latvia historically has a lot of cultures. What was lost in the Soviet occupation period was that multiculturalism and chances to do something. Latvia

¹⁵⁸ Richard Sandell, "Museums as Agents of Social Inclusion", *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 17:4 (1998): 410.

¹⁵⁹ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišionė (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁶⁰ Inguna Role (Head of Education Department, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

gives the opportunity to preserve the culture. In the Soviet Union, the opportunities to preserve were cut down.¹⁶¹

Karlis K., museum guide of the same museum, thinks that the museum exhibition is based on facts and is neutral. He continued the line of thought of his colleague Karlis D. by saying that there has been an amount of discussions with the creators of the museum and the guides to keep the museum as open as possible for people to develop their own opinions and perceptions, without steering the wheel to one or another side. He concluded that it is impossible to make the museum inclusive because there will always be unsatisfied sides and it will always cause certain emotional tensions. This suggests that it is difficult to implement multiperspectivity and make the museum more inclusive, as each side complains that it is not enough of their narrative. Karlis K. told me the following in this regard:

Americans come and say – why do you dedicate so much to the Soviet occupation? The main problem of the 20th century was the Holocaust, you should show more Nazis. People from Russia – why so much about the Soviet regime? Where are the Nazi crimes and why is there nothing about the 60-70-80s and the rise, help and all those good things, that we all remember? And finally, Latvians – why are you talking about the Nazis? I had all problems from the communists – my grandfather was deported.¹⁶²

Sander J. from the Museum of Occupations of Estonia, was the most positive out of all interviewees when it came to a readiness for dialogue and inclusion. It was especially striking considering the contrast between the exhibition, documentaries and the things he said. He stated the following:

We would like that it won't happen that this 30 per cent of Russian speakers leave someday, it is much better to live together if we are friends, not enemies. There are a lot of conflicts: Russian speaking communities are usually less paid or not having education, Russian speaking schools are of less quality a bit, so for the future I think we should be friends, like

¹⁶¹ Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁶² Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

*one community, with different ethnical background but we still have the same community, or we should get along.*¹⁶³

An interesting thing that Sander J. said when we were talking about guides and their ethnic background, was that in 2016 he made an attempt to hire a Russian museum educator to make the educational programme in the Russian language, but after contacting schools and receiving no answer or interest for attending the programme, he dropped the idea. This indicates that Russian schools are not eager to visit the museum by any means, even though the museum would provide an educational programme in the Russian language prepared by a Russian museum educator.

Ivan L., ex-museum guide at the Museum of Occupations of Estonia, shared his experience about giving tours to Estonian children and how he tried to shift their attention from the overwhelming national narrative of Estonian victimization to a more multiperspective and inclusive view:

*For them the first shock is, you know, when they come to the museum of occupation and here Ivan is going to give them the guided tour. Comic. So, I give some particular examples, like there was a coup d'état, the Soviet regime came to power, and who were the first ones to be shot? Russian orthodox priests! So, it is obvious it was not based on any ethnic grounds, but some other.*¹⁶⁴

I came to a conclusion that in his teaching techniques, Ivan L. turns to approach *enhancing heterogeneity* defined by Katrin Kello.¹⁶⁵ He challenges a common disbelief of the titular nation's vision that the Soviet regime targeted only Estonians based on ethnic grounds. Ivan L. does this by bringing more perspectives on history, including the Russian minority into the victim circle, and pluralizing the view on history by adding a different social group and religion.

¹⁶³ Sander Jürisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁶⁴ Ivan Lavrentjev (ex-Museum guide, curator of the Narva Referendum exhibition, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, April 7, 2017, transcript in Russian.

¹⁶⁵ Kello, "Sensitive and controversial issues in the classroom: teaching history in a divided society", 41.

4.3.6. *Multiperspectivity of the museum*

The opinions about multiperspectivity differed per interviewee: from stating that the museum was multiperspective and inclusive enough¹⁶⁶ to acknowledging the lack of multiplicity of narratives and speaking of concrete suggestions on how to improve it:

Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief of the Genocide Victims Museum, agreed that the museum could transmit more narratives, e.g. more about the Holocaust. She also stressed the centrality of the national narrative in the museum, though she did not have any suggestions on how to improve it. It also became apparent from her previous quotes.

*It is too much of a national narrative and I think it could be more of a Holocaust topic in here. But as I said it could be more of other narratives. Especially when Russian tourists come here, they leave the reviews like there is really nationalism in here, sometimes they say that it is not true in here and propaganda, maybe we still need to find the way to navigate between a lot of narratives.*¹⁶⁷

Inguna R., head of education department of the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, also acknowledged receiving comments about the lack of inclusivity and multiperspectivity:

*We sometimes receive comments from visitors that it is not enough about the Nazis in here and too much about the Soviet occupation.*¹⁶⁸

Her colleague, the curator of the same museum Karlis D., explicitly stated the one-sided history that the museum is presenting, but added a new dimension to his statement:

*Yes, we are presenting one narrative. But we are not presenting it like it is the only [one].*¹⁶⁹

In regard to multiperspectivity, Karils K. agreed with Karlis D's. statement above and said that even though there should be a certain message that the museum should transmit, the

¹⁶⁶ Darius Indrišionis (Museum Guide, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed by mail by Vera Ande, May 25, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁶⁷ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišionė (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁶⁸ Inguna Role (Head of Education Department, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

¹⁶⁹ Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English.

idea behind multiperspectivity is to keep balance between different narratives and not to fall into risk of over representing one narrative and underrepresenting another.¹⁷⁰ It is an interesting approach to multiperspectivity – to present one narrative and be transparent about it, but at the same time not to claim its dominance and superiority over other narratives. Aro Velvet also came to a conclusion in his research that alternative discourse is possible in the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, despite the dominance of the national narrative and established identities.¹⁷¹

Sander J., the exhibits manager at the Museum of Occupations of Estonia, said the following in regard to adding more perspectives to the museum narrative. He continued the inclusive stance towards the minorities that was also present in his previous quotes:

*The curator of 'Life in Soviet Estonia', he is very open minded and first spoke that he also wants to speak about Russian community, because in Estonia there has not been said enough about them. And we can't speak about them as occupants because they came here not for free choice, they were also sent here, history is not so simple like black and white like some historians and politicians try to make it look; they are just people like Estonians, Latvians or Lithuanians and have their own stories to tell. We should speak about them as well.*¹⁷²

As it can be seen from interviewees' responses, multiperspectivity is intertwined with inclusivity, as presenting multiple perspectives and viewpoints on a particular event advances inclusivity of those communities to who these viewpoints belong. It would be beneficial to stop for a moment and come back to the dimensions of social exclusion.

As it was already stated in the introductory chapter of the research, the cultural dimension consists of three elements: representation, participation, and access.¹⁷³ To apply this framework to our case, it will mean looking at the extent to which the Russophone community is represented in the museum of occupation, the degree to which they participate in the making of their own heritage, and whether they have access to the construction of their own heritage and the museum in general. According to Richard Sandell from the University

¹⁷⁰ Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

¹⁷¹ Aro Velvet, "Occupied Identities: National Narratives in Baltic Museums of Occupations", 189.

¹⁷² Sander Jürisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁷³ Alan and Carol Walker, *Britain Divided: The Growth of Social Exclusion in the 1980s and 1990s*, (Child Poverty Action Group London, 1999).

of Leicester, cultural activity can increase an individual's confidence, self-esteem and self-determination, enabling him or her to re-establish social relationships and even to increase their chances of securing employment.¹⁷⁴ Thus, there is a correlation between exclusion in the cultural dimension and the negative impact on an individual. It can be claimed that since the Russophone community feels excluded from the national narrative and is not invited to participate in the production of historical narratives, it has an impact on their sense of empowerment and overall integration into the Baltic societies. It also became apparent that the Russophone community does not have the access to the museum either due to the fact that they do not feel welcome there and perceive the museum as a hostile environment.

Other scholars do not agree that different understanding of history is a primary cause of integration problems. Some connect the sense of disempowerment with the shift in power relations as a result of critical juncture¹⁷⁵, while others see a correlation between the sense of belonging to Russia and the feelings of discrimination and disempowerment.¹⁷⁶ Maria Golubeva goes even further, reversing the problem statement: in her opinion, cultural and historical narratives, or how she refers to them as models of civil enculturation, mirror asymmetric power relations in society. As a result of this, minority teachers and students seeking to compensate the lack of a sense of civic empowerment by reinforcing their own vision of the role of minority and majority in history.¹⁷⁷ All these accounts seem credible and contribute to adding up knowledge and explanations for this phenomenon.

4.3.7. Ethnical background of guides

Continuing the topic of social in(ex)clusion, or inclusivity in general, the ethnical background of guides seemed an important issue to investigate, as titular nation guides could and probably would differ from the minority guides in their understanding and interpretation of history, just as in the case with history educators.

Both guides at the Genocide Victims Museum are Lithuanian. Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief from the Genocide Victims Museum, agreed that hiring a minority guide (e.g. Russian speaking) would be good to let people see that “it is not only Lithuanian

¹⁷⁴ Richard Sandell, “Museums as Agents of Social Inclusion”, 410.

¹⁷⁵ Katrin Kello and Wolfgang Wagner, “Intrinsic and Extrinsic Patriotism in School: Teaching History After Estonia’s Critical Juncture”, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 43 (2014): 57.

¹⁷⁶ Ieva Birka, “Expressed attachment to Russia and social integration: the case of young Russian speakers in Latvia, 2004–2010”, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 47:2 (2016): 219.

¹⁷⁷ Maria Golubeva, “Different History, Different Citizenship? Competing Narratives and Diverging Civil Enculturation in Majority and Minority Schools in Estonia and Latvia”, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 41:3(2010): 317.

narrative”.¹⁷⁸ Karlis D. from the Museum of Occupation of Latvia shared that the ethnic background of guides in the museum was diverse, including Latvians, one Ukrainian, Germans, though no Russians. Apart from stating that this job is in general hard, he added that “for Russians the problem is that this is the story of the Soviet period, and it is on the crossroads of what their families were teaching them before.”¹⁷⁹ Sander J. from Estonia told me that there was one Russian guide (Ivan Lavrentjev, who I eventually interviewed as well for this research) who does not work for the museum anymore, but now they are in search for a new Russian guide.¹⁸⁰

4.3.8. Visits from other parts of the country

This question was asked in attempt to investigate whether there could be a difference in perception and visiting of the museum between the countryside and the capital region itself. Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief of the Genocide Victims Museum, told me about the travelling exhibitions, which appeared a common practice both for the Genocide Museum and the Museum of Occupation of Latvia. Children come themselves from other parts of the country, however the museum still has to acknowledge that the museum is more popular among the foreigners than the local people.¹⁸¹ It was also stated by Ivan Lavrentjev, ex-museum guide of the Museum of Occupations of Estonia, in his interview for the morning show for the Estonian Television.¹⁸² Inguna R, head of the education department at the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, said that schools from outside Riga come even more often than from inside Riga, because the museum pays half of the bus for them to come.¹⁸³ Ivan L. commented on the visits from Ida Virumaa¹⁸⁴ in the sense that for school classes from there, trips to Tallinn and visits to any museums are perceived as a sort of adventure, because they come to the capital, can do shopping or visit MacDonal’d’s. He said the following:

¹⁷⁸ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁷⁹ Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁸⁰ Sander Jürisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁸¹ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁸² Coffee+. “Guide: Museum of Occupations is visited predominantly by foreigners.” Ivan Lavrentjev. ETV, February 19, 2016. http://etvpluss.err.ee/v/meelelahutus/kofe_pluss/videod/07e385bf-3503-4d04-85d7-369cc1d8c805/gjd-muzey-okkupatsiy-poseshchayut-preimushchestvenno-inostrantsy.

¹⁸³ Inguna Role (Head of Education Department, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

¹⁸⁴ North-East Estonian province, situated at the border with Russia, predominantly Russophone population

*What will have the first priority? Museum or MacDonald's? I think MacDonald's, it is just that for people it will be an official excuse to organize this entire trip and get money for it, but it is better this way than no way. Because some children will learn something, and it is a big advantage in itself, and it is important that a teenager leaves his everyday environment at least periodically.*¹⁸⁵

4.3.9. Visits by Russian speaking children and visits to the schools by the education department

All interviewees agreed with the fact that the Russian schools do not visit the museum or take part in the educational activities, and if some do, they do it very rarely. Darius I., museum guide at the Genocide Victims Museum, suggested that the museum is more attractive to the titular nation students because of the narrative it presents.¹⁸⁶ This answer was slightly unexpected and inconsequent, because earlier Darius expressed his view that the Genocide Victims Museum is multiperspective and inclusive enough.

Inguna R., head of the education department at the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, thinks that the reason why Russophone children do not come to the museum is because of the teachers:

*Those teachers are very often my age, so a Soviet product, so to say, and they work at a Russian school and have a totally different atmosphere and attitude to the occupation as well.*¹⁸⁷

Inguna R. told me the story about one teacher who came from the Russian school, had an entire tour with children in Latvian, and when Inguna R. approached her in Latvian to ask how she liked the tour, the teacher could speak only Russian.¹⁸⁸ Karlis D., curator from the same museum, said that he did encounter some Russian schools during his years at the museum, but agreed that it is mostly Latvian majority schools that visit the museum for educational programmes. He continued the idea of his colleague Inguna R. about the disputed issue of the knowledge of language:

¹⁸⁵ Ivan Lavrentjev (ex-Museum guide, curator of the Narva Referendum exhibition, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, April 7, 2017, transcript in Russian.

¹⁸⁶ Darius Indrišionis (Museum Guide, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed by mail by Vera Ande, May 25, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁸⁷ Inguna Role (Head of Education Department, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

*I remember when I worked in another museum, the teacher would translate from Latvian into Russian the excursion to the kids. But last year actually most of kids know Latvian. They maybe don't speak it in everyday life, but they know it and understand.*¹⁸⁹

Karlis K., museum guide from the same museum, was more precise in his estimate of Russian schools visiting the museum in Riga – not more than 10 minority schools per year.¹⁹⁰ Sander J., exhibits manager from the museum in Tallinn, also stated that looking at the percentage of schools visiting the museum annually, it will be 80 % Estonian majority schools and only 20 % Russian minority schools. The tours are given only in Estonian, and when it comes to the language issue, he affirmed that most kids do understand Estonian. However, as far as schools from Ida-Virumaa are concerned, most teachers there do not speak Estonian, and as a consequence, their children do not speak Estonian either.¹⁹¹

4.3.10. Reactions of the Russian kids and other kids to the exhibitions

How my interviewees described the reaction of the Russian children and other children to the exhibitions surprised me the most as a researcher, because initially I expected to hear something totally different, namely that the Russophone youth would be sensitive toward the exhibitions and would not agree with the narratives told by the museums. In reality, or at least how the interviewees seemed to perceive it, average Russophone students seemed to perceive the exhibitions the way the titular nation children did, even though there are exceptional cases.

The Lithuanian interviewees shared their concerns that most students visiting the museum have a small knowledge of all the atrocities committed by the Soviet regime. Darius I., museum guide from the Genocide Victims museum, said that not depending on the ethnic background, children are terrified by hearing the stories about the Soviet crimes.¹⁹² Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief from the same museum, agreed with him. However, in her recollection of an average visit to a Russian school with a lecture, she said: “It was kind of a feeling that I

¹⁸⁹ Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁹⁰ Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

¹⁹¹ Sander Jūrisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁹² Darius Indrišionis (Museum Guide, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed by mail by Vera Ande, May 25, 2017, transcript in English.

was not receiving appropriate reactions or reactions that I would receive from the Lithuanian students.”¹⁹³ Sander J., exhibits manager from the museum in Tallinn, confirmed Darius’ story with his own story about children who read letters from exiles during educational workshops at the Museum of Occupations of Estonia:

*They usually wrote that there was no food, that they have not eaten apples for 5 years, so and its quite hard to read, but a lot of students are laughing when they are reading this because it seems funny for them.*¹⁹⁴

Karlis K., museum guide from the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, stated that in general it is difficult to come across any form of disagreement, however attitudes of the Russian students to exhibitions and the actual visits will depend on the school management and teachers.

*The majority of children just listen and do not ask questions, it can depend both on their age and the atmosphere at school [during travelling exhibitions and lectures] where you need to listen, remember and reproduce the knowledge you obtained. It is also a part of the mentality, in east Latvia people are more open while people in the West are more in themselves.*¹⁹⁵

Karlis K. noticed the difference in attitudes between Russian children attending Russian and Latvian schools:

*There must have been some cases when people would disagree, but subjectively speaking, those Russian children than end up in Latvian schools, and those who were born later, they are not really Russian anymore, they think like Latvians. They have a different position than their parents and other relatives. I met this kind of people, I was always struck by the fact that they display even more patriotism than Latvians themselves.*¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁹⁴ Sander Jürisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

¹⁹⁵ Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

¹⁹⁶ Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

Ivan L., ex-museum guide of the Museum of Occupations of Estonia, also shared some stories from his guide experience. In general, he also said that the reactions from children are the same not depending on their ethnic background.

When you are telling kids about what deportation is, at the barrel of a rifle, to Siberia, half an hour to pack, if we are speaking very shortly, children in response to this very often ask me – why did not you call the police then? If someone came to deport you. Children of approximately ten years old react like this. Those who are older have a good understanding of the historical context. When it comes to Russian and Estonian schools, I gave the same tour to the Russian schools in the same age category, and in principle there were no grand differences.¹⁹⁷

Ivan L. marked that the students, especially in teen ages, are not very careful listeners, and as he said, “fall asleep” half way of the tour. He suggested that it also had to do with the absence of any interactive elements at the museum. He said that “students would come back to life only by the 60-70s when they saw a Soviet payphone booth or any other Soviet retro object, like Lenin’s statue.” Next, Ivan L. remembered one episode during his guided tour that he was giving to the high school children from Tallinn Central Grammar School. This excerpt of interview will be very long, but I could not help inserting it as it presents the essence of the problem of historical narratives and once more confirms what other speakers from other Baltic states said, suggesting a certain pattern. I tried to preserve the stylistics of Ivan’s speech.

There was a young man, a teenager, he was wearing military pants and coat, and so there he stood frowning, sighing heavily and trying to snub me. He had the rhetoric intrinsic to the generation of my parents who were born in the 60s, who lived through their childhood and youth in the 70s and 80s and perceive this period as something very positive. This nostalgia is very often transmitted to the minds of the following generations. They tell you that healthcare was free of charge, so was the education, and then you tell them wait a second, here is a chair to which people were tied to and injected with antipsychotics, because they

¹⁹⁷ Ivan Lavrentjev (ex-Museum guide, curator of the Narva Referendum exhibition, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, April 7, 2017, transcript in Russian.

allegedly had a sluggish schizophrenia. But it's very difficult to cope with this because they already come to us convinced that now they are going to indoctrinate us. So those kids who are more active will try to attack, grumble, and the rest just stand still, maybe later they will come back home, and their parents will ask – what did you do today? They will say we were in the museum, and the parents would respond - they lie about everything, huh? One thing is what school gives and the museum as an extension of school education, because if the teacher is, roughly speaking, a Stalinist, then he will never send his class to any museum of occupation, but will bypass it crossing himself. But if a teacher teaches his subject like he should - neutrally, explaining all those complicated things through the prism of common humanistic values, then it will be alright. What children will do with this knowledge and how it will settle in their head, is another question.¹⁹⁸

Ivan connects the home narratives that Russophone children come with to the museum with the sense of Soviet inspired nostalgia of their parents. He also thinks that the students' attitude to the museum will depend on what the attitude of their history teacher or the school management is to the museum of occupation. He suggested that a teacher should teach sensitive history impartially and 'through the prism of common humanistic values'.

4.3.11. Citizenship and ethnicity issue

From the answers of the interviewees, it became apparent that most speakers share the view that in the exhibitions and in general, it is the citizenship that matters and is focused on in the debate about the titular nation and its representation in the exhibition, not the ethnicity.

Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief from the Genocide Victims Museum, said the following:

Because the occupation and deportation touched not only Lithuanians, but also Jews, Polish, Byelorussians, also Russians. It was Lithuanian citizens, not based on nationalities, but on citizenship. Many people died in exile, in forests, and it does not matter – Russians or Byelorussians, we are all Lithuanian people – citizens.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ Ivan Lavrentjev (ex-Museum guide, curator of the Narva Referendum exhibition, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, April 7, 2017, transcript in Russian.

¹⁹⁹ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

The comments of Latvian colleagues included discussions about whether Soviet is Russian, and another way around, and the status of the parts of the Russian minority that lived in independent Latvia and came to Latvia during the 2nd Soviet occupation. This is, for example, what Karlis D., museum curator of the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, said in this regard:

*When I am talking about the exhibition in this museum, I am making clear distinctions between the Nazi and the Soviet regime - you can't mix them with nations, with regimes. The main problem is that if you say all Soviets are Russian, because they are not. During the First occupation, there were a lot of Latvians who were Soviet thinking people who supported the regime. It's not about Russians, it's about the communists.*²⁰⁰

He also elaborated on the issue of citizenship and nationality and connected it with inclusivity:

*This is one of the things we try to include, inclusivity, because we can't talk about Latvians, Germans, Russians, we can talk about Latvian citizens.*²⁰¹

At the same time, he still made the demarcation between Russians who lived in Latvia before the Soviet occupation and those who came or were born during it. In my opinion, it remained an ambiguous point throughout the entire interview and in this research as well. The attitude to the Russian minority that lived before the 1st and 2nd occupations is different than to the part of the minority that came during the 1st and 2nd occupation periods.

*We don't have problems with those who have lived here before the Soviet occupation. Because they were Latvian citizens. But the problem with those who came here during the Soviet occupation and who stayed here because they think it is their motherland...*²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

Karlis K., museum guide from the same museum, referred to the citizenship and ethnicity issue in a similar way as his colleague Karlis D., explaining why the second wave Russian minority may be problematic about history:

But I can say the following: I am partly Russian myself, I have Russian roots, and in the Baltics before WWII Russians were the biggest national minority, so I would not divide by Russian and Latvian history, we show the history of the Latvian state, and when it comes to the moments that are not liked by a part of people who live in Latvia and who came during the Soviet time or tourists from Russia, has to do with the fact that they cannot accept our perspective on the events that were happening in the period of the Soviet occupation.²⁰³

Sander J., exhibits manager from the Museum of Occupation of Estonia, stated that there is an inconsistency when it comes to ethnicity and citizenship issue in the museum documentaries:

In the documentaries, the speakers do not use the word Soviet came, the word Soviet, they say Russians came, Russians did that, and so on. We are planning to change that, you know, Stalin was from Georgia, and there were unfortunate Estonians who were among the Soviets. It is not so easy, everyone suffered, Russians were also killed; because what happened with Estonians and Latvians we need to look back in history to see what was wrong.²⁰⁴

Ivan L., ex-museum guide from the same museum, also talked about the nationality issue and how it is treated in many majority schools. He referred to the process that is happening in the society as polarization.

We cannot visit each school and secretly attend their history lesson, but in principle there is a certain simplification to 'who was oppressed by the Soviet regime?' 'Estonians', by who? 'by Russians'.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

²⁰⁴ Sander Jūrisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

²⁰⁵ Ivan Lavrentjev (ex-Museum guide, curator of the Narva Referendum exhibition, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, April 7, 2017, transcript in Russian.

He continued by explaining how he tried to tackle this issue in the museum settings, namely emphasize that a person indeed has got a nationality, and it often influences our decision, but on the whole totalitarian regimes do not possess nationalities – the regime itself commits crimes against people.

4.3.12. Origins of difference in historical narratives

All speakers divide the Russophone population by the younger generation who are more loyal to the state and are less prone to the influence of their families, and the older Soviet generation, that is nostalgic about the Soviet past and was educated in the Soviet propaganda. However, the idea that the older generation influences the younger generation in some way is present in the discourse, especially with regards to the popularity of the Russian language media. This is what Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief from the Genocide Victims Museum, shared in our interview:

I think that it comes from the families, not the schools. Older Russian generation would never come here because they are still influenced by the old Soviet propaganda. It is really important how they are taught at school and at home, if they come to a certain realization, then it is very difficult to change for teachers, for us. I think we need more time. 25 years of independence is not enough – for schools, for the government, because a 50-year impact is huge.²⁰⁶

Karlis D., curator at the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, elaborated on the divide in Latvian society, supporting his previous claim that not all Russian are Soviets, and that there are distinctions between different Russians and the sources of information they opt for.

At that moment, we can't separate Latvians or Russians, we need to separate them by post-Soviet person, or homo sovieticus, and by those who go for the Western part. Because of the way of thinking, that's the main question. The main problem is that the large amount of those who are homos sovieticus, they are still living in the Russian information bubble, field, so they are taking their information from Russian speaking sources, and the main problem is

²⁰⁶ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

that it is not only Russian language sources, but there is a difference between what Kremlin says and for example Dozhd TV.²⁰⁷”

This way, Karlis D. assumed that due to media influence, integration of the Russophone population is constantly disrupted. Next, he also mentions the language problem: the fact that the Russophone population does not always possess Latvian language skills necessary for integration and comfortable living in Latvia. He also explicitly mentions the abyss in historical narratives: the Russophone population believes that the Soviet Union liberated the Baltic states from the Nazi Occupation, while the local population perceives it as a start of another occupation. He continued:

Our ministry of education tried to deal with it, but you can do the institutional part, but you can't deal with families and whatsoever. And this is a problem. I have not seen with my own eyes, but I have heard from others like they say - now you are going to the museum, but remember - they are lying.²⁰⁸

Karlis K., museum guide of the same museum, holds a similar opinion and stated that the Museum of Occupation of Latvia cannot do much in this regard, until the issue of history education is addressed and paid attention to on the political level. He thinks that it is the fault of ministries and politicians that completely ignore the problem of integration of the Russophone population into Latvian society. Later in the interview, he also reflected on the origin of such principal differences in vision of historical events referring to nostalgia about the Soviet past. Sharon Macdonald indicated that nostalgia about the Soviet past is typical for post-Soviet people, but not because of the praise for the Soviet Union, but because it was their past – they do not even consider this Soviet or attribute it as such²⁰⁹:

Sincerely speaking, something protests inside you and it is difficult to explain – it is a part of you. I know this myself – I was born during the Soviet time, and there are certain things that I remember like yes, they were really cool, I would love to bring them back, that is why I

²⁰⁷ Dozhd TV is a Russian (Moscow) based independent media opposition TV channel

²⁰⁸ Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English.

²⁰⁹ Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands. Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (London/New York: Routledge, 2013), 103.

*cannot say that the entire Soviet period was horrible. But for the locals [Latvians] it was a certain grievance for the loss of privileges, statuses, the language.*²¹⁰

He continued defining the divide between the two mnemonic communities by supporting the notion of different historical narratives and interpretations of the past, also mentioned earlier by his colleague, curator Karlis D.

*Why are you not grateful? We liberated you from the Nazi occupation. Here they [the Russophone population] do not really understand that the Soviet regime for the locals was the same as the German occupation, and they just cannot equalize them. That these are two crimes. They say – we also had deportations, we also suffered, but because we suffered more, the amount of Russian people in Russia, you have no right to talk about this. Because your losses are insignificant in contrast with ours.*²¹¹

Karlis K. also mentioned the economic aspect that Karlis D. mentioned as well, saying that there is a huge abyss of misunderstanding when it comes to the use/abuse issue. The Soviet propaganda inflicted in people that Russia was helping underdeveloped countries by spreading communism there and implementing collectivization and other planned economy reforms, while the locals claim that they actually became poorer, and the standard of life deteriorated when the Soviet regime was established. This narrative was also identified in the museum exhibitions in all three museums and analyzed in Chapter 3 about dominant narratives of the museums of occupation.

Sander J., exhibits manager from the Museum of Occupations of Estonia, agreed with Latvian colleagues Karlis D and Karlis K. on the fact that the Russian population of Estonia lives in a Kremlin “information bubble”, but also suggested that there are not much steps taken in the country itself to attract the Russian speaking population in order to include it in Estonian mass media.

In Estonia, most of the people live in this Russian media bubble, but at the same time Estonian TV is not a lot of media channels, and they are in Estonian, not in Russian. If they

²¹⁰ Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

²¹¹ Ibid.

want to watch Russian TV, they have to watch MTV or whatever. We have now Russian speaking broadcasting channel, but it just started two years ago, not in 1991 or 1995.²¹²

He also touched upon the origins of the problem agreeing that the difference in historical narratives lies in different home narratives, even though nowadays young families do not necessarily transmit such attitudes to their children anymore:

The elderly people in Estonia in Russian speaking communities are sometimes a bit special, and their salaries, pensions are lower, so they are nostalgic about the Soviet Union, they are also telling their children that it was something great, and seem to forget that there were food shortages etc. I think it also a lot depends on from which family you come from. There are a lot of Estonian families that say that we should hate Russians and send them back to Russia and stuff like that, a lot of teachers come to change the thinking of students, and some students also think we hate Russians. But I think nowadays many families don't do it anymore, it's the same with Russian families probably. The older members of the family are saying - Estonians are Nazi and stuff like that, probably children will also think so, if they don't have the analytical skills.²¹³

Ivan L., ex-museum guide from the same museum, said that the problem is that as a rule of thumb, students come to the museum with a certain fixed set of assumptions.

Like for any other eastern European state, historical issues for Estonia is a pretty tricky and scrupulous topic, because the society is polarized exactly when it comes to these issues. On the one hand, masses will say 'You occupied us', on the other hand other masses will say – 'we liberated you, but you are praising Nazis instead'. Plus, it all multiplies with a recent 10-year-old event related to the moving of the Bronze soldier, so if before this incident the issue of history was very important and sensitive, after that it has become sensitive cubed.²¹⁴

²¹² Sander Jürisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ivan Lavrentjev (ex-Museum guide, curator of the Narva Referendum exhibition, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, April 7, 2017, transcript in Russian.

4.3.13. Possible improvements to the museum

The interviewees tend to share ideas and thoughts on how to improve the museum they work at: they suggested including more narratives, arranging more advertisement, getting more involved with travelling exhibitions, making the museum more interactive, e.g. showing children the sham guns.²¹⁵ Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief from Vilnius, shared past experiences of interaction in the museum such as showing Christmas toys, daily objects of the deported, toys of the deported children. She told me about a theater troop from Vilnius theater that made a performance in the prison cells once during the museum night. During the interview, I asked whether it could be a good idea to make a small exhibition of minority's recollections (testimonies and photographs) of the occupation period. Gedvile B.I. liked the idea but then said that it is very difficult to include more ethnical minorities and gave a rather ambiguous answer with a lot of difficulty:

*Because I think they [probably meaning minority people] are quite strict about their opinion. Older people and they... when children are too young to understand by themselves, maybe I think it is very easy for those old people to create an opinion about this museum.*²¹⁶

In the end, she said that she was going to go beyond existing topics and find something that could be common for everyone. Darius I., museum guide from the same museum, imagined that it would be interesting to provide more information about Russian people who were also persecuted by the Soviet regime.²¹⁷ Inguna R., head of education department of the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, reminded me that I saw the temporary exhibition and that the new one would be completely different from the old one:

*As I said, this exhibition is temporary, and now we are working on a new exposition, and it is necessary to add more narratives and perspectives, for example minorities – how they experienced and suffered during the occupation.*²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Darius Indrišionis (Museum Guide, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed by mail by Vera Ande, May 25, 2017, transcript in English.

²¹⁸ Inguna Role (Head of Education Department, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

When I asked Karlis D., curator of the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, how to attract the Russophone youth and their teachers to museums, he suggested a compromise for the original Russian minority before the 1st Soviet occupation. As in the previous abstract about ethnicity and citizenship, it became clear that Karlis finds the second wave of Soviet migrants especially problematic and unsettling in terms of integration and social inclusion.

We could do it with them who want to see it. For example, Russians in the 20-30s [20th century], who were living in Latvia, their stories, for those who are ...whose parents came in the 60-70s, and probably the 90s, I don't have an idea. Because I think it is not only museum problem, but it is a problem on how to attract them to the Latvian state, how to attract them to our way of thinking. We can be like weapon, but like a tool.²¹⁹

Karlis K., museum guide from the same museum, just like his colleague from Lithuania Gedvile B.I., also stressed the importance of advertisement and pro-active approach that the museum should take in order to attract more schools, including the Russophone ones, into the museum. Another idea that Karlis K. shared with me was to put one of the travelling exhibitions in front of the 9th of May monument in Riga so that Russian people who come to the monument to commemorate WWII could make acquaintance with the exhibition from the Museum of Occupation there. He thinks that it is neutral information and it should not be taken as an offence.

According to him, the museum should be a more active agent in heritage and history education, or, as he said:

Have a dream! A challenge, not just an exposition and the number of visitors, or the amount of sold tickets, but a real active civil position, also a discussion of real-time events, that are taking place nowadays, children are not interested in what was then if it is not connected with now. The museum should be more alive, otherwise people from other countries will come, and from our country not.²²⁰

²¹⁹ Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English.

²²⁰ Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

It was interesting to compare museum guide of the Museum of Occupation of Latvia Karlis K.'s position about the agency of the museum with his colleagues from other Baltic states. While Gedvile B.I. and Darius I. from the Genocide Victims Museum seemed less concerned about such a mission of the museum and tended to perceive the museum in a more old-fashioned way, colleagues from the Museum of Occupations in Tallinn did acknowledge that the museum should tell the visitors a certain story – yet not the one of suffering and victimhood, but of a never-ending struggle for freedom, justice, democracy and human rights.

Karlis K. also stated that sometimes there are conflicts with the management of the museum because they stick to the point of view that the museum of occupation is a historical museum and should not have connections with contemporary events. In order to remind the earlier statement of Karlis D., curator of the museum in Latvia, he explicitly called the museum a political museum. Politics always has the connection with contemporary events. Karlis K. also connected the conflicts and misunderstanding between the museum management, the museum staff and donors with the different visions of the problem, the lack of trust and the absence of the end goal. Interestingly enough, Aro Velmet, in his research on the narratives of national identity in the museums of occupation, noted that even though the curators might want to break the boundaries and deconstruct the narratives transmitted in the museum, there is a number of challenges that prevent them from doing it.²²¹

Another important direction that he also thinks that the museum should take is to shift from the victim narrative to another focus – stress the resistance that still took place, to emphasize the ideological message of a never-ending fight. He thinks that the museum should be an active agent in citizenship education, because at the current stage, according to him, the Museum of Occupation of Latvia is not. He expressed his view that history education and education in general terms should move towards the merge of formal and informal educational practices – more field trips and more field lessons, giving an example of Latvian initiative called Creative Museum.²²² Some other points that he raised were the need for younger generation of staff members with a new vision on the situation and his concern that the museum at its current stage is the place where the elderly Latvians come to remember grieves and sorrows of the past instead of focusing on the contemporary and the future flow. This attitude cannot attract younger generation to this museum.

²²¹ Aro Velmet, "Occupied Identities: National Narratives in Baltic Museums of Occupations", *Journal of Baltic Studies* 42:2 (2011): 206.

²²² "Creative Museum 2016 Wrap-up". Creative Museum. <http://www.creativemuseum.lv/en/news/anglu-valodas-nosaukums-seit-jaievada/creative-museum-2016-wrap-up>. (accessed on June 30, 2017).

Sander J., exhibits manager of the Museum of Occupations of Estonia, stressed the importance of including more narratives in the story of the Soviet occupation period. He told me that it could be done by putting Russian minority stories in the exhibition as well, in the form of interviews or by collecting some artefacts to support those stories.

*We will have Russian speaking communities tell us stories, because the occupation period is also their story. It is time to end the Estonian/Jewish community's monopoly on truth and widen it.*²²³

When I asked Sander J. what could be done to attract more Russophone youth, he said that it should start with the change of name, that was already discussed in the first abstract of this chapter:

*Maybe it's not cool to write it down, but one reason to change the name was also that it's probably if you tell the person once a week that you are an occupant, a Russian, you are not likely to have a good cooperation in the future. We have a small hope that after a few years we can leave out the word occupation and leave it only in the official documents, but call the museum the museum of freedom.*²²⁴

He does not see the museum as a political tool unlike his colleagues in the Latvian museum, but he acknowledged that for many people the museum, especially a history museum, serves exactly this purpose.

4.3.14. Difficulties faced by museum educators

Apart from asking about improvements that could be made to the museum, it was also important to ask what difficulties museum educators face when working at the museum. Darius I. and Gedvile B.I. from Vilnius informed me on the difference in history curricula which sometimes results in children coming to the Genocide Victims Museum without any appropriate historical background. The age of children does not always matter – younger children can be more aware and informed about the topic than the teenagers, according to

²²³ Sander Jürisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English.

²²⁴ Ibid.

Gedvile's experience. They also think that Lithuanian teachers do not possess knowledge on how to present this topic.

Continuing the discussion on including more potential visitors to the museum, such as Russophone schools, Karlis D., curator at the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, shared a rather ideological concern related to the language issue:

The main way how to do it [attract the Russophone population] [is] the language, but then we are going against our language requirement, Latvian interests, the Latvian language needs to be the main language here, and so the Russian language is more for Russian tourists and Ukraine. For schools we, this is, if we want to have more of them here, we need to speak Russian, but at this moment, there is this problem, if we speak Russian, we, how to say, help them to continue the tradition of the occupation.²²⁵

Karlis K., museum guide from the same museum, disagreed with his colleague on the language issue because giving a guided tour to children who do not understand some things because the language of the tour is Latvian will be formal and useless. He convinced me that the museum is flexible in that regard, and that even though giving the entire tour in Russian is not an option, explaining certain things in the Russian language should not be a problem. It was interesting to see how different the curator and the guide perceive the issue: whether it is because Karlis K. speaks Russian very good and has more understanding and connection with the Russophone population than Karlis D. who is also younger, is an open question.

One of the problems that Karlis K. defined was that there is a certain reason why teachers are advised not to participate in the guided tour – because they tend to interrupt children and manipulate them into giving the right answers so that their class does not look unprepared and less talented. Another thing was that after 15-20 minutes of talking, children would get bored and less focused, which encouraged Karlis to adopt the method of interactive communication and theme-based guided tours, based on questions and answers and active engagement in dialogues with the group on a certain topic – Deportation, Life in Soviet Latvia etc.

Karlis K. commented upon the history education in general in Latvia and pointed out an interesting issue of persistence of one-sided propagandistic teaching:

²²⁵ Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English.

I think that the question is not in that everyone should think like Latvians or the government, but in the fact that there should be at least some discussion or dialogue, different opinions, and without any propaganda, because this problem of one-sidedness and propaganda is a little bit Soviet, because at that time many teachers had it the following way – read the chapter, answer the questions at the end of the chapter by literally quoting from the chapter, so you are not supposed to have your own opinion. You must fit in the governmental apparatus, everyone should be communist, support the [communist] party, but when this system collapsed, everyone found itself in another state. They did not know how to tell about it differently. So, they continued doing what they had done before – just praise the republic of Latvia and some other values [different from the Soviet ones], but the method stayed the same. And this model still persists also in many Latvian public schools.²²⁶

In response to the question how to make the Russophone schools come more often to the museum, Karlis K. explained, that apart from the change on the political level to the study of history, people should be given a chance to visit the museum without prejudices and fear that it is a place where the Russophones are demonized and where lies are spread about the Soviet regime.

When all the museums are open till 2 o'clock, and we have a lot of visitors, many Russians, and I talked to them, and they told me that they were scared to come, because here we lie and treat Russians badly, but because of the museum night, they still came.²²⁷

Karlis K. also thinks that the change should come from within the museum staff, especially when it comes to attitude to the Russophone population, as they assume by default that the Russian speaking population of Latvia is disloyal and hostile to everything Latvian by default. He admitted that this complex issue also involves the fact that apart from not wanting to accept the challenge and engage in a dialogue with the Russian speaking people, it is also that guides prefer not to work with student groups because they will not be tipped afterwards and because it is more challenging to keep children interested. Another thing that Karlis K. told me was that the museum staff are prejudiced themselves, at least it seemed

²²⁶ Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

²²⁷ Ibid.

from his story. When the museum management learnt that a million visitor of the museum appeared to be a Russian man from Moscow who actually spoke English, the museum was critical about this saying that they should choose someone else as a million visitor because a Russian cannot be one.

Continuing the topic of internal museum misunderstandings, Karlis K. remembered what Karlis D., curator at the same museum, said about the Russian language usage during the guided tours in my interview:

*So Karlis said it, that we don't do in Russian. He doesn't know about it. Because he's not a guide himself and has not clue about it, he just said it. And that's the problem. Because the museum has half of the staff that are not connected anyhow with our visitors. And they do not understand what we are doing, they have their own field, and politicians are the same.*²²⁸

Ivan L., ex-museum guide at the Museum of Occupations of Estonia, was convinced that the problem was in teachers. Most importantly, it is not only their Soviet background and different understanding of history that would prevent them from bringing their classes to the museum of occupation, but their age and attitude to innovative strategies in education. According to him, Soviet and older generation teachers find it unnecessary to organize museum visits because they have not done it before, and the school management is not likely to give such a permission because “Maths is the mother of all sciences, children do not have time for museums, they need to prepare for physics and maths examinations”.²²⁹ Ivan L. referred to his good friend who works as a history teacher in two prestigious Tallinn schools who provided him with such an insight, as he has to face similar issues on a daily basis.

Ivan L's general remark about the museum is that it is difficult to talk about any particular interest in the museum exhibition because it is very small and boring, and lacks interactivity. At the end of our interview, he showed even more criticism about the role of the museum in citizenship and history education, especially when it comes to Russophone kids. First of all, he stated that many people are over optimistic about the possible change that will follow as a result of actions such as the change of the name and restructuring of the exhibition, because the Russian community should not feel that it is done solely to satisfy

²²⁸ Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

²²⁹ Ivan Lavrentjev (ex-Museum guide, curator of the Narva Referendum exhibition, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, April 7, 2017, transcript in Russian.

them. This idea also corresponds with Karlis D.'s fear (curator at the Museum of Occupation of Latvia) that by compromising, they will continue the tradition of the occupation. It is possible, though, that Ivan L., ex-museum guide from Estonia, was talking about titular vis-à-vis minority power relations. In his opinion, the museum should focus on the technological aspect, such as improving the quality and the degree of interactivity of the museum, not the ideological content. Apart from that, he stated that it is impossible to compete with Russian media propaganda machine and that he did not believe that one museum could bring any change in attitudes and opinions of the Russophone population about the occupation period. He said that in order to bring a positive change, the competition between two narratives should stop in the first place:

You will be told on the one hand one narrative, how to say in one word, a hashtag 'thanks to grandfather for the victory'²³⁰, this narrative, and from another side here you will be told about suffering, victimhood, losses, like we are the biggest victims, there were Jews also, but we are more victims. The refusal to employ such discourse is naturally right and necessary, maybe to some degree it will influence the youth in a positive way, but for this something more should change. The fact that a kid comes to the museum one day, and after that his system of values drastically changes, and he will say – mother, father, in fact, any war is just terrible. Just terrible and that's it. And I don't need to know anything or understanding anything about it.²³¹

He finished the interview with the following, not positive, statement:

To cut a long story short, everything comes from home, home in return comes from the Russian TV box, and you cannot just fight it like that, but to a certain degree in the long-term perspective this kind of changes like changing the concept of the museum, changing the name, can have some sort of influence, but it will be very very small and it will take ages until something happens, if happens.²³²

²³⁰ Spasibo dedu za pobedu – is a catch phrase used during the Victory Day celebrations. It is also the name of the organization that supervises the activities dedicated to commemoration of veterans of WWII in Russia. See more <http://cpacibodedu.ru>

²³¹ Ivan Lavrentjev (ex-Museum guide, curator of the Narva Referendum exhibition, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, April 7, 2017, transcript in Russian.

²³² Ibid.

4.4. Conclusion

The perceptions, opinions and attitudes of the museum staff appeared quite different from each other, even though they agreed on certain issues. In some cases, the things they said earlier contradicted the things they said later, which made it difficult to deduce an argument. This, however, would not require me to guess what the speaker meant, but would rather signify the ambiguity or contestation of the statement or information. The differences in perceptions, opinions and attitudes can be attributed both to the macro and micro contexts. The macro context can include the different national, historical, cultural and social contexts, such as the template of interpreting one's history (Lithuania tends to glorify its national history and has got a bunch of national myths) or the number of Russian speakers in the country (Estonia and Latvia have got larger Russophone minorities than Lithuania, thus the relationship between the two societies are more sensitive and problematic). The micro context obviously includes the age, gender, personal, social, educational and professional background of the speaker as well as the degree of multiculturalism of his/her daily environment.

What was acknowledged and accepted by all speakers was that both the Soviet and Nazi regimes were equal evils, but that the Soviets do not equal Russians. Such inconsistency with their words and the actual exhibitions may be because the exhibitions have grown relatively old (they were made primarily in the 1990s and have not changed since then – and that was the time of booming nationalism in the Baltic states), or because they were not entirely honest or transparent with me during the interviews. For instance, they knew the topic of my research and wanted to seem politically correct and give me the answers that I expected. Unfortunately, it will never be possible to verify this, and the data that has been obtained and analyzed should be read critically and not taken for granted, just as any evidence. Assuming the speakers indeed meant what they said, the following conclusions can be summarized/made:

First of all, according to museum educators, the reason why Russophone children do not come to the museum may be because of the differences in home narratives, the Russian media influence, and inadequate language knowledge. Another possible reason why they do not come may be the fact that the teachers from minority schools simply do not take them. It can be because of the earlier mentioned differences in narratives about the Soviet past, the national and local Russian media influence and the low language skills of the teachers. Moreover, all students, not depending on their background, react to the information

approximately in the same way. In the end, many interviewees shared their view that the museum cannot change much in terms of the perceptions of narratives, as it is something that the politicians and ministries should deal with. For example, the lack of integration and pro-Russian influence are some of these issues.

As far as the museums themselves are concerned, there are internal communication problems in the museum environment. As mentioned in Conclusion to Chapter 2, there is sometimes misunderstanding and non-mutuality of wishes of the donors and the museum staff, which makes it for the latter impossible to bring changes. Additionally, not all museum staff members are ready for dialogue and see the very need in change. It appeared to be especially the case for Lithuania. However, the younger the staff, the more actions they seem to be eager to undertake. As it became apparent from the interviews, the museums in Riga and Tallinn are preparing for reconceptualization of the museums to address more narratives and satisfy the increasing minority demands for recognition and inclusion. Apart from that, all the museums need renewal in terms of technological advancement and interactivity, which was acknowledged by all museum staff members that I interviewed. Undoubtedly, a lot depends on both the museum educator, when it comes to design of educational programmes, and the curator of the museum, when it comes to the choice and appropriate display of artefacts, as well as the descriptions of the exhibitions.

Taking all this into account and coming back to the initial research question, the notions of MPI as well as dynamic approach to heritage education seem to be the most developed and used to the possible extent in the Museum of Occupation of Latvia and the Museum of Occupations of Estonia. This conclusion was made also because the museums are working on reconceptualization in this direction, and also because their current work and activities correspond with these notions the most. A similar conclusion cannot be made about the Genocide Victims Museum, because the museum does not seem to have plans to reconceptualize in the near future, nor do the museum staff members that I interviewed sense the urgency or necessity to do so.

5. Chapter 5. Perceptions, opinions and attitudes of history educators in the Baltic states to the museums of occupation.

5.1. Introduction

This chapter will attempt to answer the sub-question: what are the perceptions, opinions and attitudes of school history educators towards the museums of occupation that they have visited with their school classes?

Due to a very busy spring period for history educators not only in the Baltic states, but throughout Europe in general, it was extremely difficult to gather information about history educators' perspectives, perceptions and opinions on the museums of occupation in their home countries.

This chapter is an extension of the given Master thesis for the Honours programme, and will elaborate on the data gathered with the use of a Google questionnaire in two languages – English and Russian. The questionnaire was answered by 23 history educators. The questionnaire consisted of questions on personal and educational background of history educators, educational practices, methods and opinions about the museum of occupation. The actual questionnaire can be found in Appendixes.

All respondents are assumedly members of local Baltic history educators' associations, as the questionnaires were spread with the help of local associations' ambassadors associated with EUROCLIO. Another assumption that can be made knowing this information is that the respondents' answers are connected to the fact that they are familiar with EUROCLIO's primary goals on improving the quality of history teaching. This means enhancement of historical critical thinking, promotion of MPI as well as development of innovative methods in history education.

The problems that were encountered during administering the questionnaire included the above-mentioned inability to gather enough responses, and respondents skipping certain questions due to the initial settings of the questionnaire, in which not all fields were made obligatory. It had to do with the fact that I wanted to include educators who do not visit the museum of occupation and investigate their reasons for this. If non-visiting educators replied NO to the question *Do you visit the Museum of Occupation with your class?* and then still had to go through the entire questionnaire full of questions about the exhibition and teaching approaches to the museum of occupation that they do not visit, it would make no sense. For this reason, only the fields in which the background information of the respondents was

asked, as well as the central question whether educators visit the museums of occupation and the wish to be interviewed, were made obligatory.

Another problem related to efficiency of the designed questionnaire was that respondents did not provide certain information, e.g. did not fill in their full names, the names of schools they work at, or did not elaborate enough on certain open-ended questions. I acknowledge that these drawbacks may endanger my analysis, for this reason I have opted for statistical representation of questions that were answered by any number of respondents, and when using the answers from the open-ended questions, I will explicitly state that this question was not answered by all respondents, for transparency reasons, and present the statistical account of the data based on the actual number of responses.

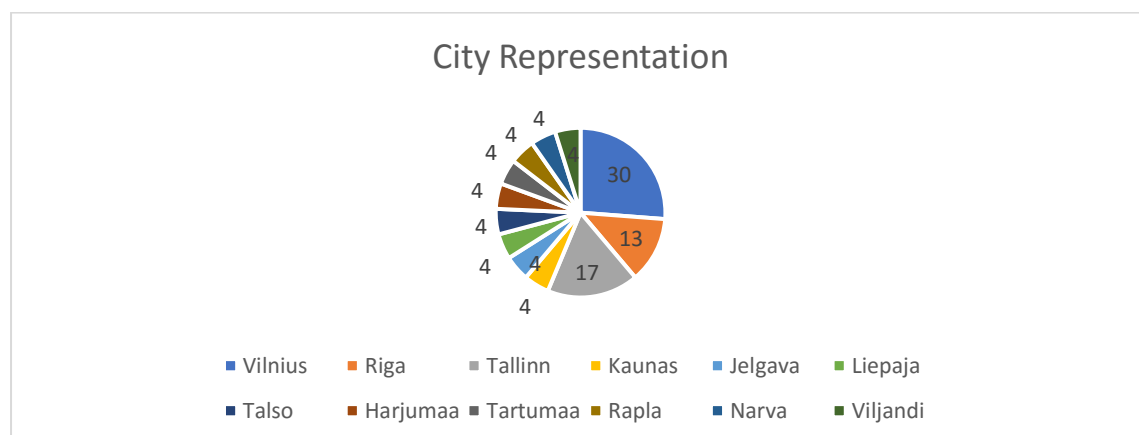
Possible improvements to the questionnaire to make it suitable for use in the future may include making all fields obligatory and using more multiple-choice than open-ended questions. Even though the open-ended questions offer more relevant insights, most respondents tend to either skip them or answer them in a vague and non-deployed manner. The given research showed that people answered all multiple-choice questions, but were uneager to spend time on answering open-ended questions.

In certain cases, the number of respondents is provided alongside the percentages.

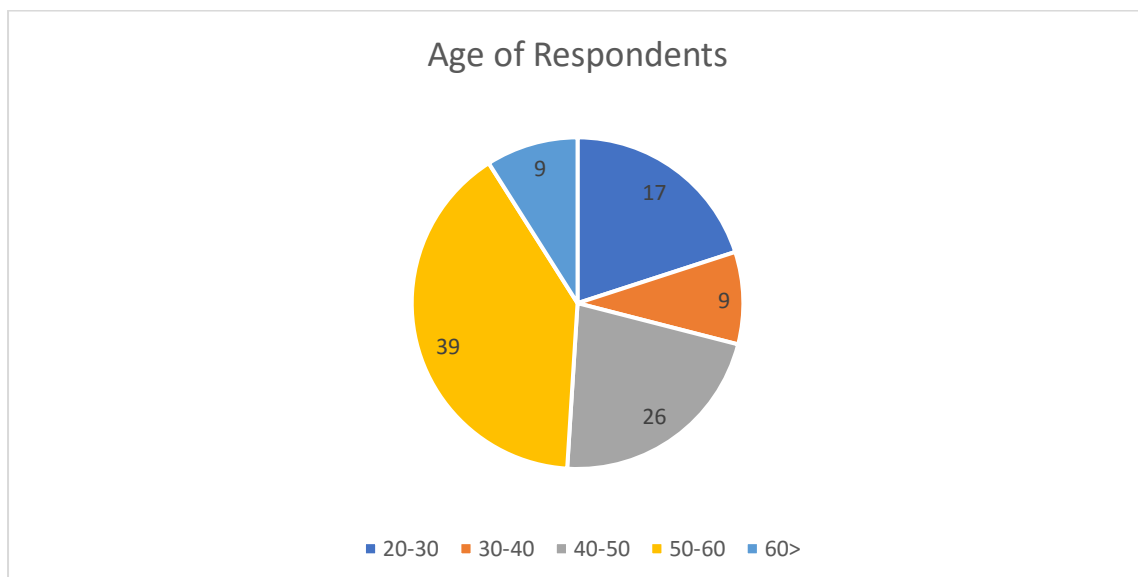
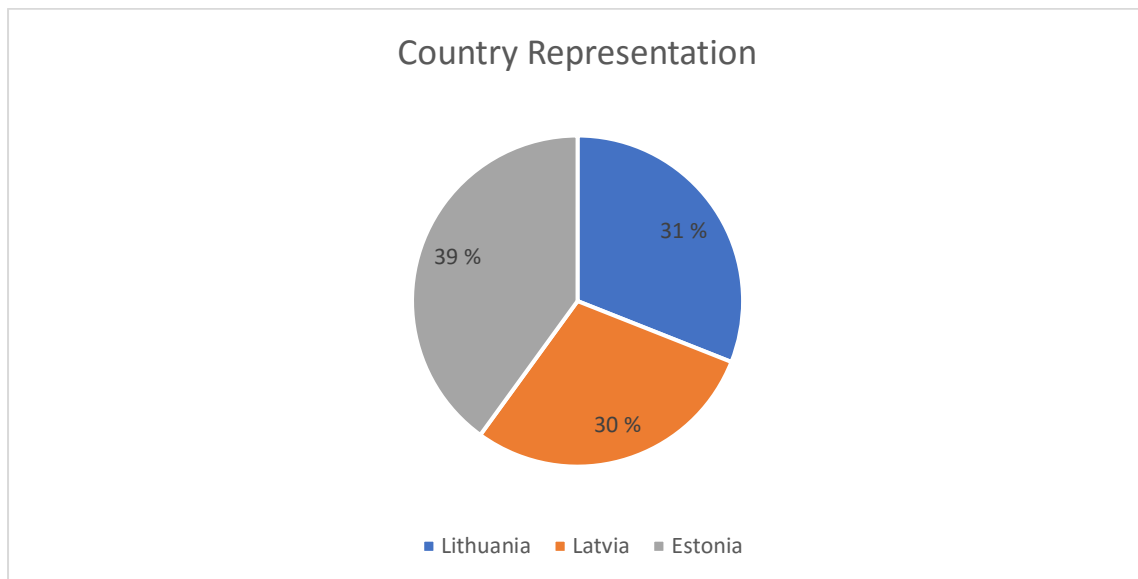
5.2. Analysis of the questionnaire

5.2.1. Background information of the respondents

Thirty percent of respondents come from Vilnius, eighteen percent from Tallinn, thirteen percent from Riga, each of the remaining respondents comes from provincial cities: Kaunas (Lithuania), Jelgava, Liepaja (Latvia), and Viljandi, Tartumaa (province), Talso, Narva, Rapla and Harjumaa (province) (Estonia).

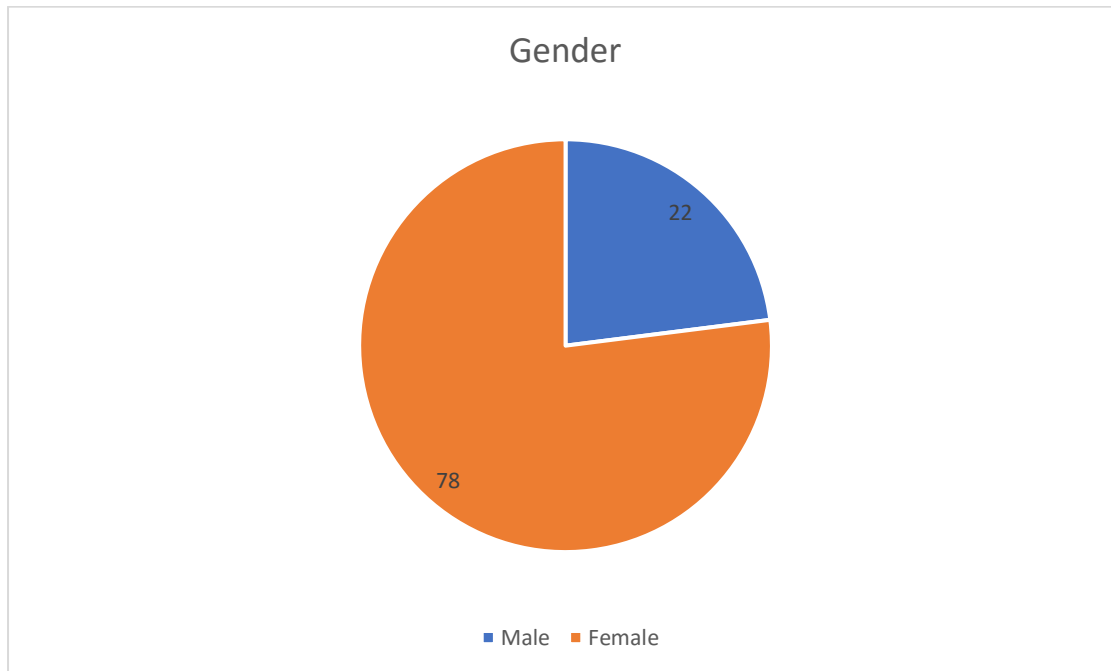


Country representation appeared more or less equal. The most respondents come obviously from capital regions – Vilnius (7), Riga (3) and Tallinn (4), as can be seen in the below graph. Despite the fact that the number of respondents was relatively low, it was still meaningful that half of the respondents who visit the museums of occupations do not come from capital regions where these museums are located. This suggests that notwithstanding the remoteness of the museums from provinces and the associated difficulty of organizing a museum trip to the capital, educators take the effort and still try to take their classes for a museum visit.

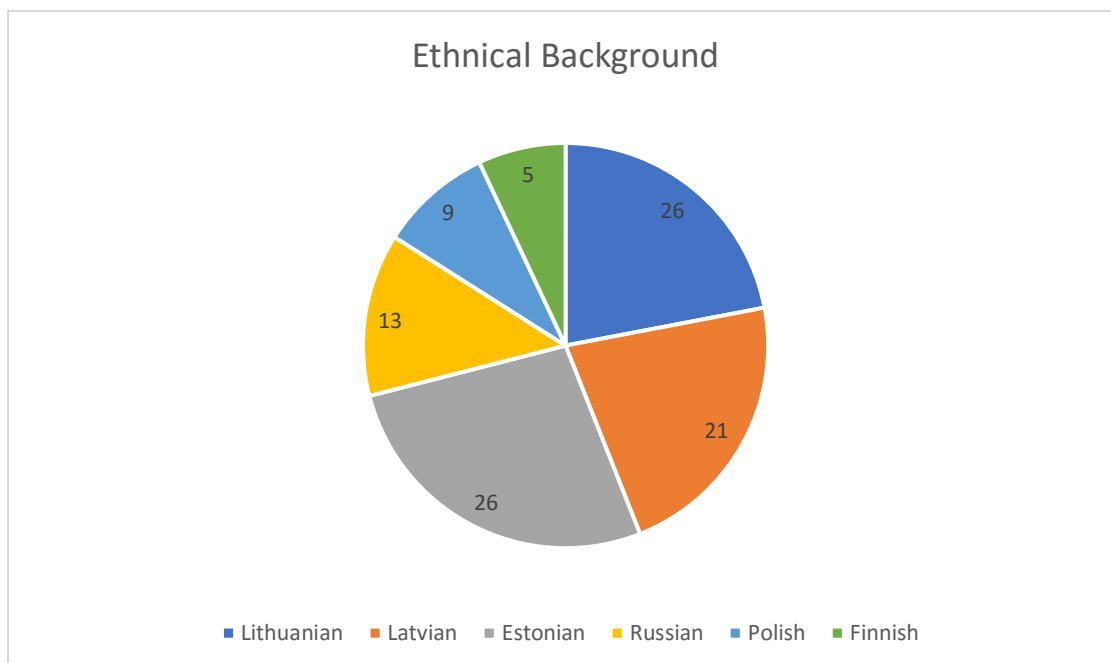


Most respondents (17) were people between 40 and 60 years old. The young generation was not enough represented. The fact that there are many educators in this age

category who filled out the questionnaire tells us that the older generation uses computers and internet as confident users.

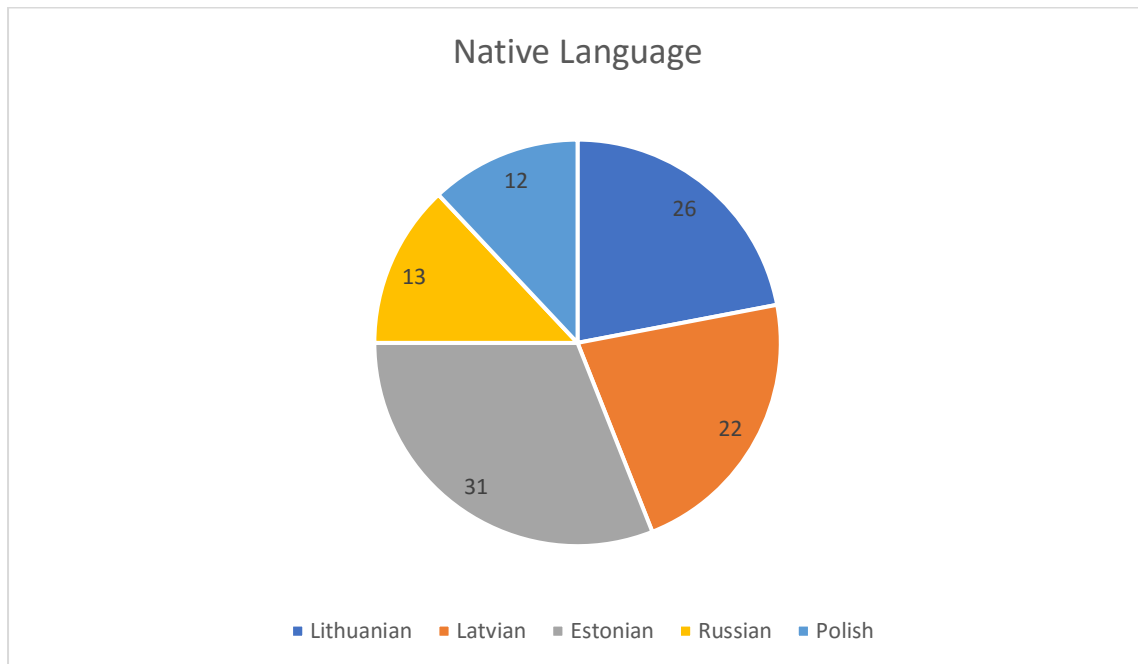


Most respondents were female history teachers. Men were underrepresented. The higher number of female respondents can be explained by the fact that the profession of an educator, especially during the Soviet times, was predominantly a female profession.

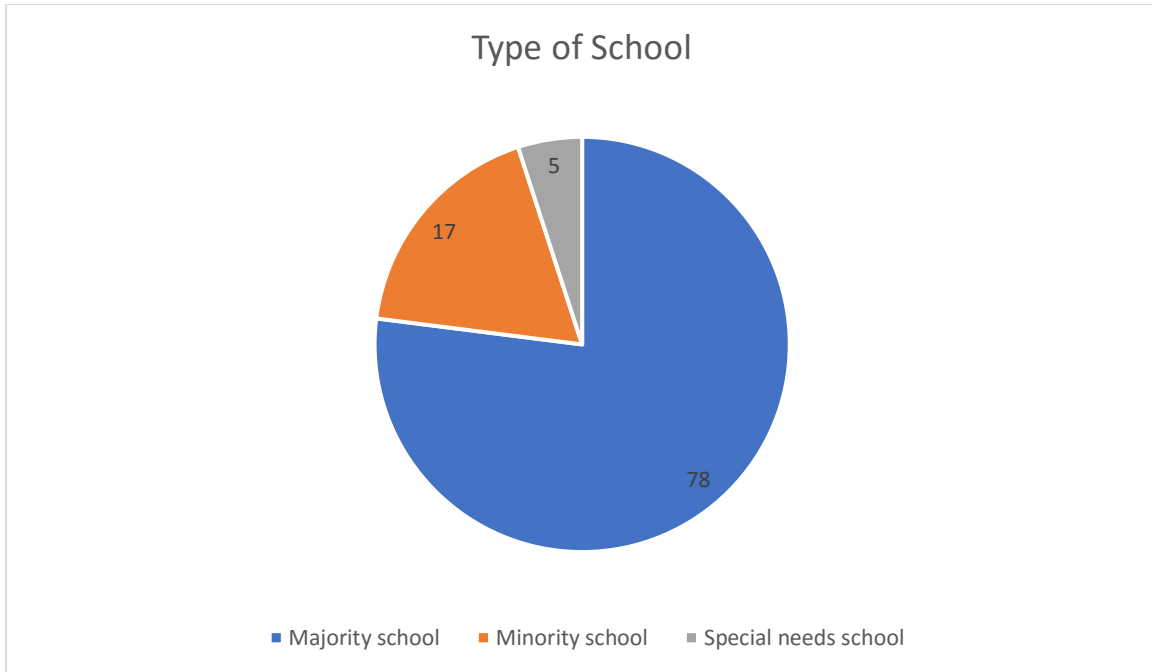


When it comes to ethnical background, all three titular nations were represented enough, and the minorities were represented to the extent the minorities can be. Since they are minorities, the number of majority respondents will be logically higher, as they are the

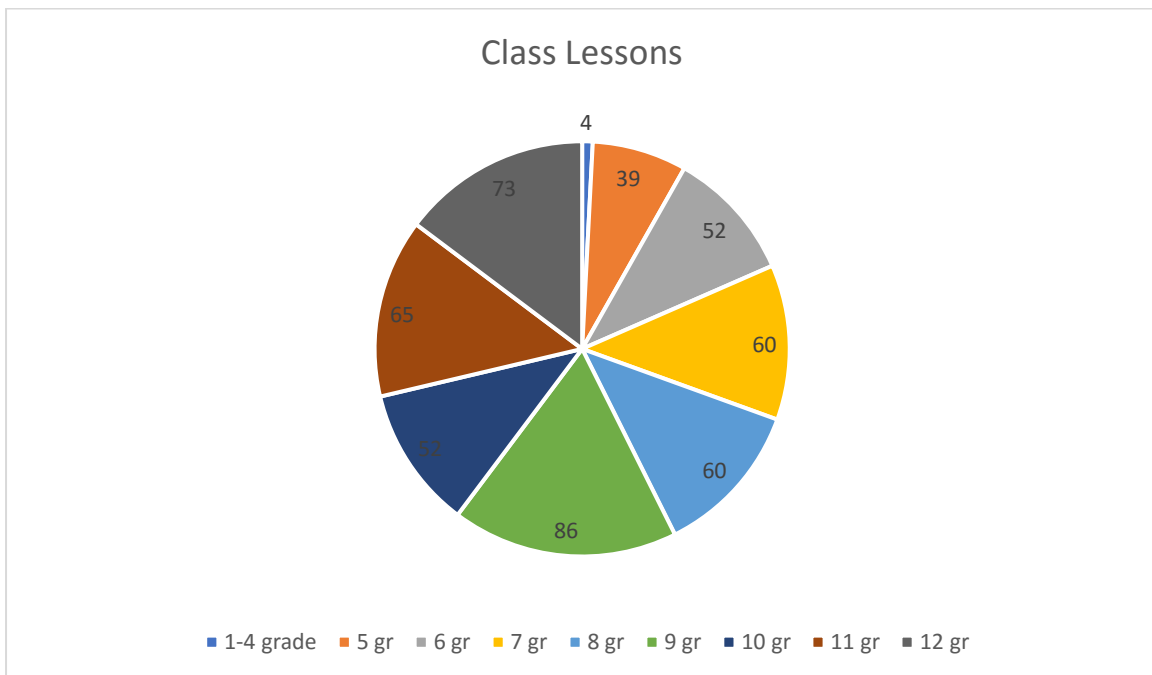
majority in their home countries. The native language representation corresponds with the ethnical background representation.



Most respondents, apart from their native languages, speak English and Russian.

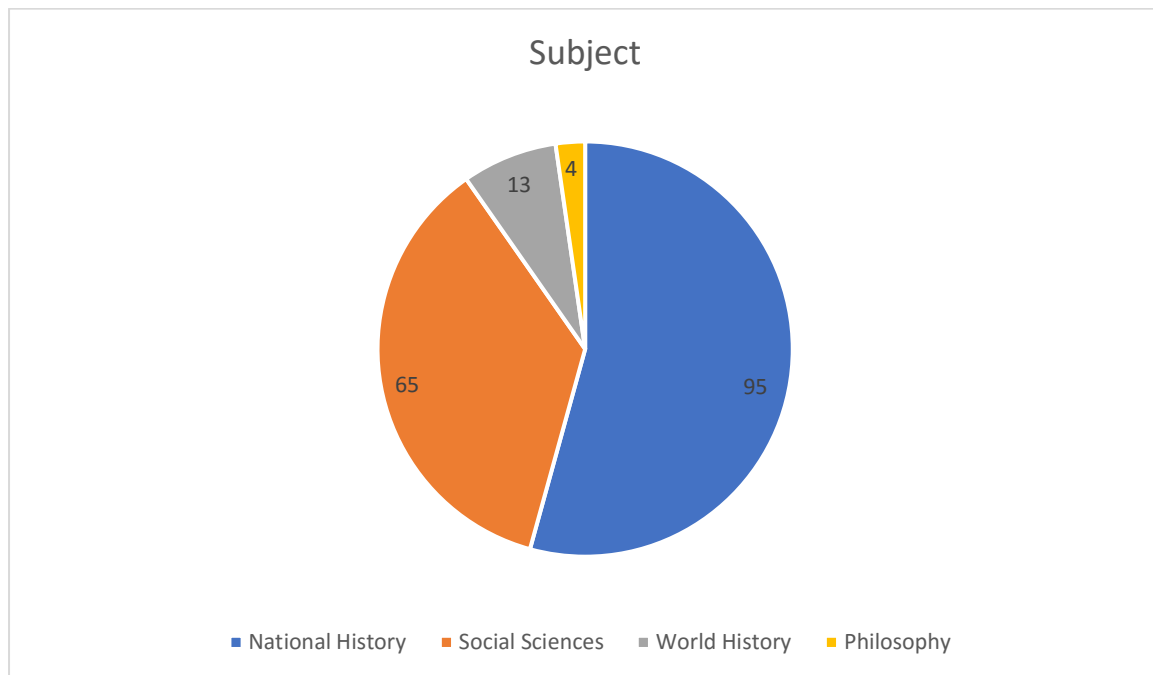


Seventy-eight percent (18) of respondents teach at majority schools – Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian. Among minority schools, there were a couple of Russian schools (3), Jesuit and special needs school.



Most teachers teach history and other humanities subjects at high school (grades 9,11,12). This corresponds with the information that the topics of Soviet occupation and the

history of the 20th century in general are taught at high school, as it was learnt from interviews with museum educators earlier.²³³



Most teachers teach national history, other educators also teach social sciences²³⁴, and the rest world history as a separate subject as well as philosophy.

5.2.2. *General Information*

Twenty respondents have visited a museum of occupation in the last three years. The remaining respondents that have not visited any museum of occupation, were asked to elaborate on the reasons why they have not visited a museum. A Finnish female in her 60s, who actually stated that she visits the museum of Occupations in Tallinn once a year, still indicated that the museum is propagandistic and presents facts that are far from reality. This response can offer interesting ground for researching the attitude of the Finnish minority to the museum of occupation. How do they perceive the period of Soviet Occupation? How do they feel about being completely excluded from the debate about contested Soviet heritage that takes place between the Estonian majority and the Russian minority? How do they see their possible role in this debate? Which side are they likely to take – the majority stance, the

²³³ See Chapter 4. Occupation versus Liberation. Discourse analysis of perceptions, opinions and attitudes of the museum staff

²³⁴ It can be translated in Dutch as Maatschappijkunde

Russian minority vision or claim their own narrative and experience of the occupation period?

A Russian male in his 40s from a minority school in Narva, Estonia, stated that the Museum of Occupations does not present enough of minority narratives. Apart from these reasons, the lack of time in school history curriculum as well as distance and economic difficulties related to the museum visit were indicated as reasons for not visiting the museum. One respondent from Latvia said that she would visit the museum next year when she teaches history to 9th grade students again, so this answer did not have to do with the specific reasons indicated by other respondents.

In order to see whether respondents from e.g. Lithuania took school classes to other Baltic museums of occupation, I asked which museums were visited by the respondents. It appeared that respondents simply take their classes to the museums located in their country. Forty percent of the respondents (8) indicated that they visited the Museum of Genocide Victims in Vilnius, Lithuania, thirty-five percent (5) visited the Museum of Occupations in Tallinn, Estonia, and twenty-five percent (7) visited the Museum of Occupation of Latvia in Riga, Latvia. None of the respondents indicated that they visited other museums related to Soviet occupation, e.g. Grutas Park (a park with Soviet monuments) in Lithuania or the KGB prison in Tartu, Estonia, while this still does not exclude the possibility that they do so. Three responses were missing.

It was also asked how often teachers take their classes to the museum of occupation of their choice. Seventy-eight percent of the respondents (15) visit the museum of occupation once a year, twenty-one percent (4) 2-3 times a year. Two remaining respondents replied that they have not visited with classes yet, only individually as a history educator, and that the respondent visited the museum of occupation with one class only. The way the respondents answered this question seems logical, because the topic of Soviet occupation and World War II is usually studied once a year. The remaining twenty-one percent that indicated a more frequent number of visits per year probably take additional classes who do not study the topic yet or take the classes in the framework of other school subjects, e.g. literature (study of memoirs and poetry of the partisan movement in Lithuania). Two responses were missing.

History educators responded in the following way to the question which class they usually take to the museum of occupation. Two responses were missing.

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
5	9 %
6	4 %
7	4 %
8	14 %
9	61 %
10	28 %
11	14 %
12	57 %

It tells us that most students that visit the museum are in grades 9, 10, 11 and 12, are teenagers and are in high school. As it was explained by most museum workers who I interviewed (e.g. Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief from the Genocide Victims Museum and Ivan L., ex-museum guide from the Museum of Occupations of Estonia), teenagers seem to have a more contextualized and deeper understanding of the issue due to their age.²³⁵ Gedvile B.I. stated that the topic of occupation is too cruel and difficult for children of 10-12 years old, yet there are educational programmes for them as well in the Genocide Victims Museum, such as *Children in Exile*.

This also corresponds with the fact that the topic of Soviet occupation and World War II is usually studied in high school.

After asking a similar question to the museum staff, it made sense to ask history educators themselves whether there was a recommendation or a policy at their schools that would encourage visits to museums of occupation. Seventy-two percent (16) of people stated that there was no recommendation or policy at their schools that encourages visit to the museum of occupation. Twenty-two percent (5) stated that there was such a policy, and the remaining respondents stated that it is recommended in general to have more lessons in the museum. Three respondents who stated that there was such a policy come from Lithuania, and other two from Estonia. One response was missing.

²³⁵ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English; and Ivan Lavrentjev (ex-Museum guide, curator of the Narva Referendum exhibition, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, April 7, 2017, transcript in Russian.

In general, this tells us that there is no policy, recommendation or obligation from the school management to visit the museum, however this appeared a case in some schools in Estonia and Lithuania. This corresponds with what was stated by the museum staff as well.²³⁶ The Genocide Victims museum in Vilnius belongs to the Parliament and is largely supported by the government, the government in Estonia is also quite patronymic towards the Museum of Occupations in Tallinn.

Next, it was interesting to know in the framework of which school subjects educators take their classes to museums of occupation. Almost all respondents (21) answered that the visit to a museum of occupation takes place in the framework of National History lessons. Thirty-six percent (8) stated that they also take classes to the museum in the framework of Social sciences lessons such as Politics and Sociology. Two respondents who were the only ones who indicated Literature as the subject which is complemented by a visit to a museum of occupation come from Lithuania. It makes sense, as Gedvile B.I., educator-in-chief from the Genocide Victims Museum, told me that memoirs and poetry of the members of the resistance movement are a part of national literature curriculum and are actively studied at schools.²³⁷ One response was missing.

History educators responded to the question which topics in history curricula correspond with a visit to a museum of occupation in the following way:

<i>History topic</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents</i>
Soviet Occupation Period	100 %
Nazi Occupation	86 %
First Soviet Occupation	78 %
World War II	68 %
Restoration of Independence (1990s-now)	36 %
Independence War	18 %

²³⁶ For example, Inguna Role (Head of Education Department, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian. Sander Jürisson (Manager of Exhibits, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, March 17, 2017, transcript in English. Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English.

²³⁷ Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English.

None of the respondents uses the museums of occupation to teach about World War I, and not many respondents do so for the topics Restoration of Independence and Independence War. At the same time, all history educators who participated in the questionnaire use the museum to teach about the Soviet Occupation period (which is logical) and most of them teach Nazi Occupation, First Soviet Occupation and World War II with the help of the museum. It also corresponds with the set up and information given in the exhibitions.

The question whether parents of school children appreciate visits to museums of occupation was asked with the intention of finding more proof for the fact that home narratives influence children's understanding of history. In principle, the assumption is correct, as sixty-three percent (14) of history educators who think that parents of school students appreciate visits to museums of occupation, are representatives of the titular nation. It was stated in many interviews²³⁸ that Russophone parents sometimes have difficulty with the museums of occupation. If they do not explicitly prohibit the visit of their child, it can often be the case that they are not glad with the visit either.

Thirty-six percent (8) do not know. This is quite a big percentage of educators who do not know how parents think of museum visits. It may indicate that either they do not know because they are not interested in what parents think, or because they have never heard either positive or negative comments concerning visits. One respondent stated that parents hold different attitudes towards the museum visit.

The next question that was asked was whether history educators received tasks from the museum for students' preparation for the visit. It aimed at investigating whether there is a well-organized exchange of information and collaboration between museum and history educators. Half of the respondents did get tasks from the museum for students' preparation for the visit, another half did not. I decided to specify the museums which were indicated by the respondents to juxtapose these answers with what I heard from the museum educators. I could not trace any correlation between the response and the museum, as half of the

²³⁸ For example: Jelena Ryazantseva (history educator, Jelgava Russian school, Latvia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 16, 2017, transcript in Russian; Igor Kalauskas (history educator, Tallinn Tõnismäe Secondary School of Science, Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 17, 2017, transcript in Russian; Ivan Lavrentjev (ex-Museum guide, curator of the Narva Referendum exhibition, Museum of Occupations of Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, April 7, 2017, transcript in Russian; Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

educators who visited, for instance, the Genocide Victims Museum, stated that they received some tasks from the museum before the visit, while the other half stated that they did not. The same was observed with the other museums. It could be assumed that it depends on initial appointments and discussion held between the museum educator and the school educator, as well as the degree of established cooperation and past relations between the museum and the school. The museum may send the preparation materials on request of the educator. One response was missing.

After finding out whether the museum actively participates in preparing students for the visit, I asked how history educators themselves prepare students for the visit. Six responses were missing, but it was still possible to gather sixteen responses about the methods and techniques that educators use to prepare the students. The responses differed greatly, and this indicated a large variety and diversity in approaches. They included covering the topic (Soviet occupation, World War II) during the lesson specified by the history school curricula, special programme to prepare for the National history exam, educators' own introductory presentation with pictures, extra literature on the period covered in the museum, discussion about the topic and the plans for the visit, and homework, in which students were supposed to explore and study the topic themselves.

It was, obviously, interesting for this research to find out whether there were students who would not want to visit the museum. The expectation was that children from Russophone schools would be problematic in this regard. Most respondents replied that there are no students who do not want to go to the museum, because students are usually interested in the visit, as they heard from elder students that there are shocking exhibitions in there. By the word *shocking* they mean the richly-documented display of Soviet atrocities that they perceive as shocking. However, some respondents stated that there are students who do not want to go to a museum at all, but have no choice as this museum visit is a part of the studies. The interviews with the museum guides also provided similar insights, as all guides stress ignorance of students when it comes to the knowledge of what was going on during the Soviet occupation, and the fact that it is extremely difficult to keep children interested in both the exhibition and the guide's story. Karlis K. from Riga's museum²³⁹ even developed his

²³⁹ Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

own method (which was discussed in the previous chapter²⁴⁰) to make the children's experience at the museum more interactive. An educator from Lithuania shared that sometimes children would not want to go only for one reason – because their parents already took them to the museum.²⁴¹ Ten responses were missing.

Before getting to the section in which specific questions related to the museum visit were to be answered, I asked the respondents to specify which exhibition and museum they are talking about, which class was on a visit and in which year. A few respondents gave me an elaborate account on this information, and eight responses were missing, but it was necessary for the sake of making correlations in case some answers would seem ambiguous or need explanation. In the end, this information did not appear useful, hence it will not be provided in this section.

I asked the respondents to agree or disagree with the three statements:

- *The museum itself and/or exhibition is neutral and presents facts only*
- *The museum itself and/or exhibition presents only titular (Lithuanian/Latvian/Estonian) national dominant narrative*
- *The museum exhibition presents both the dominant national and the minority narratives to an equal extent*

This set of statements was closely connected with the central research question, which investigated the extent to which the notions of MPI were employed in educational methods and approaches to the museums of occupation. This section was answered by all the respondents, which allows me to arrive at statistically precise data. Data derived from three questions will be presented in the table.

²⁴⁰ See Chapter 4. Occupation versus Liberation. Discourse analysis of perceptions, opinions and attitudes of the museum staff

²⁴¹ Audrone Janaviciene (history educator, VKIF lyceum "Forumus", Vilnius "Šaltinėlio" private school, Lithuania), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, June 28, 2017, transcript in Russian.

<i>Question</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly Agree</i>
The museum is neutral and presents facts only	-	9 %	13 %	65%	13 %
The museum presents only titular national narrative	-	30 %	17 %	43 %	8 %
The museum exhibition presents both national and minority narratives to an equal extent	4 %	30 %	13 %	52 %	-

From the analyzed data, it seemed that most respondents, namely seventy-eight percent (17) agree that the museum is neutral and presents facts only. It is interesting because as it follows from some statements from the museum staff, people, especially the Russophones, find the museum propagandistic. The second statement appeared less obvious and caused some sort of contestation. Thirty percent (7) disagreed that the museum presents only titular national narrative, while forty-three percent (10) agreed. The third statement showed that on average thirty percent (7) of respondents do not think that the museum presents both national and minority narratives to an equal extent, while fifty-two percent (12) of the respondents do think so.

After studying individual responses to these questions, paying special attention to respondents' age, ethnicity and the type of school they work at, it appeared that almost all minority people who took part in this survey (4 people out of 6) answered in a similar way: that the museum is neutral, though over-represents national narrative and lacks the minority story. Titular nation representatives who filled out the questionnaire tended to answer that the museum represents both the national and minority narratives to an equal extent. The only titular nation representatives who responded in a similar way as the minority respondents were three teachers from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. I could not find an explanation or a variable that would influence their answer. The respondent from Latvia is an ambassador at EUROCLIO chairing Latvian Association of History Educators, where the notions of MPI are one of the goals that the organization tries to achieve in teaching history. This fact can explain her answer. I do not know the background of two other respondents except for their

age and school they teach at, but this did not give me any additional information to draw any conclusions.

When it comes to content of the museum and the guided tour, all history educators agreed with the story that the museum tells in general, e.g. in terms of content of the exhibition and with the story the museum guide tells during the guided tour. Again, this is an interesting finding because the general opinion about the museum, especially in the minority circles, is that the museum is propagandistic and tells lies. Two responses that were marked as *other* were answered by people who have never used the guide, because they give tours themselves. It was interesting to see in which museum it happened, because the museum staff in Vilnius and Riga told me that it was actually not allowed to give tours unless you were an authorized guide, specially employed by the museum of occupation.²⁴² Both responses came from Estonia, suggesting that in the Museum of Occupations in Tallinn there is no such strict regulation concerning who can give the guided tours, and hence more freedom for the teacher.

In answering the question about the kind of activities that the teacher has with his/her class during their museum visit, eighty-two percent of the respondents stated that they do a museum guided tour. Sixty percent watch museum documentaries, fifty-six percent work with primary sources such as objects, documents and photographs, and fifty percent initiate discussions based on what they saw at the museum. One person responded that the class additionally fills in the worksheets to prepare for the exam. Two responses were missing.

For the question whether there were any comments concerning the activities both before and during the museum visit that the occupation museums offers, fifteen responses were missing. People simply skipped this question, which suggests that they did not have any suggestions. Among the remaining seven that actually responded, most answers were *no* or *no comments*, and only two people said that it would be good if additional events took place, such as film viewing or an extra discussion.

²⁴² Gedvile Butkutė Indrišione (Educator-in-Chief, Genocide Victims Museum), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, Vilnius, Lithuania, February 15, 2017, transcript in English; Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English.

In general, all respondents think that students like visiting museums of occupation. Two people additionally commented that students perceive it as a necessary prerequisite for learning history and that whether students like it or not also depends on a guide. As a researcher who was interested in the social conflict and expected that students from minority schools would be negative toward the exhibitions, I was slightly disappointed in the answers that I was receiving throughout this research. The question about students' reactions also proved that among students there is no such a dynamic that was assumed beforehand. It may be connected to differences such as a generation gap and the fact that they are born in independent Baltic states, and the fact that they are teenagers who may well be in general not interested in visiting a museum whatsoever.

Teachers who responded to the question about students' reactions stated that children are usually interested in the subject and want to know more about it, such as to see interesting photos and artefacts related to the occupation period. There were obviously strong reactions to some objects, according to one respondent from Lithuania, for example the doors of the cells or the punishment cabin from the KGB prison. Another respondent from Lithuania also stated that children would cry from watching documentaries and older children would get angry with the occupants. From the interview with this educator²⁴³, it turned out that many children, at least in her class, have negative opinions about Russia, which is obviously connected with the Soviet occupation experience of their relatives. They acquire entrance narratives through home influence.

It was important to ask what kind of exercises teachers do with their class after the museum visit because it is also a part of the educational approach to the museum and presupposes the further consolidation of study material. Teachers listed the following exercises: tests, discussions, worksheets, reflections on the facts and information obtained at the museum, essays, student presentations and even work with primary sources (photos and documents). One respondent stated that usually there are no exercises because the curriculum is full and there is a need to move to the next topic. Tests and discussions were the most occurring answers. Five responses were missing.

²⁴³ Audrone Janaviciene (history educator, VKIF lyceum "Forumas", Vilnius "Šaltinėlio" private school, Lithuania), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, June 28, 2017, transcript in Russian.

When it comes to school children post-experiences about the museum visit, teachers shared different things. Some said that children liked it and perceived as an interesting and enriching experience, others said that it was a good opportunity to work with sources and exercise before the exam. For other students, it was a good opportunity to spend a day away from school. Students also share with teachers that they learnt something new and saw something they could not expect. One respondent said that children said nothing. Nine responses were missing.

The responses to the question whether the visit to a museum of occupation changes the students' view on history, for example the view on the Soviet Occupation, was answered differently by all educators. Out of fourteen people who responded, seven responded *no* and one person stated that you cannot change the view on history with one museum visit. Six respondents who replied negative must have done so because they come from majority schools and the view on history among the children in these schools is coherent with the view at the museum of occupation. Five other respondents still answered affirmative, though it is not clear how the museum visit changed their view. This question should have been phrased differently, like 'how did the views on history change after the museum visit?'

The question on whether there was anything that the museum could do in order to arouse history educators' interest to take their school children for a visit to the museum was answered by almost everybody – only one response missing. This is good news for the museums of occupation, because this question will summarize the opinions of history educators toward the museums of occupation and will provide more insight into what improvements can be brought into the museums. Ten people seemed satisfied with the museum and its activities, some even said that the museum does a great deal of things for history educators. The following positive remark comes from a Latvian educator Dzintra, who is the ambassador of EUROCLIO in Latvia and is currently working on making a more inclusive history curriculum for Latvian schools:

Every museum has its place in the network of museums. The Occupation museum is founded and sponsored by private persons, right now museum works in adapted premises, there is a need for more space and new exhibitions. The Educational programme of the Museum is working a lot with schools, offering teacher training, good material for lessons, reflecting not

only on destiny of Latvians, but also Jewish people, Baltic Germans, people who served in Soviet army and Latvian SS legion...

What Dzintra seemed to have omitted was the Russophone minority that is the biggest minority in Latvia excluded from dominant national narrative, even though Latvian museum indeed does offer more room for inclusion than the Estonian or Lithuanian museums.

Two people did not know what to improve and how. Among more specific comments, it is necessary to mention suggestions applicable for the museum they were addressed to. One Lithuanian Russian educator that visits the Museum of Occupations in Tallinn, expressed that there should be less focus on the suffering of the titular nation. Also, the name of the museum should be softer, for example the Museum of Independence. A Russian educator from Narva, Estonia, addressed in his idea for improvement to the Museum of Occupations in Tallinn that there should be special tours for provinces to give them the possibility to see the museum, or travelling exhibitions. A Polish Lithuanian respondent suggested diversifying educational programmes. A Latvian educator suggested that the Museum of Occupation of Latvia should organize more interactive activities. Three Estonian educators indicated separate museum lessons and museum conferences as possible improvements, and the actual initiation of educational programmes at the Museum of Occupation in Tallinn. There are indeed no educational programmes there in the sense of the programmes one can see at the museums in Riga and Vilnius. One Lithuanian respondent was very satisfied with the work of the museum, the only thing that she suggested was that the museum should be open both on Monday and Tuesday starting from 9 am. Some of this feedback from the history educators was predicted by museum staff in our interviews, as they also agree that some changes, such as the change of name, initiation of the education department, and more interactivity should come in the museum.

The next question was a little repetitive with this one, so in interpreting the results it will be more useful to add the responses from that question in this abstract as well.

For all three museums, the suggestion to become more interactive counts. Respondents that visited the museums in Riga and Vilnius called for allowing history teachers to give the tours to their school classes themselves. One educator specified the need to make the museum of Occupation in Tallinn more suitable for visits from schools for children with special needs. In terms of content, some people suggested to place the exhibitions in the wider context. It was a suggestion from an Estonian educator for the Museum of Occupations in Tallinn. Nine responses were missing.

5.3. Conclusion

Based on the data gathered from the questionnaires, the given analysis provided useful insights into practices, techniques, methods as well as attitudes, perceptions and ideas about the museums of occupation, which can be used in the coming researches on a similar topic. The analysis will be sent to the educational departments of the Genocide Victims Museum, the Museum of Occupation of Latvia and the Museum of Occupations of Estonia for further study and possible improvements.

As far as the central question of this research is concerned, which is to what extent the notions of MPI are reflected in the educational approaches to the museums of occupation in the Baltic states, the notions of MPI do not seem to be of particular importance to history educators representing the titular nation. Moreover, it seems that the notions of MPI may be of less importance because the issue of the Soviet occupation does not appear that contested and sensitive to the younger generation as for the older Soviet generation in the Baltic states, which was also concluded after the analysis of the interviews of both museum and history educators.²⁴⁴

The possible explanation for the fact that the notions of MPI are not important enough for teachers representing the titular nations is the shift in power relations (Golubeva²⁴⁵, Kello). There was a general feeling among titular nation representatives that after fifty years of oppression and submission to the Soviet/Russian culture dominance, they are finally entitled to celebrate their culture and national identity and spread it in both formal and informal education. In return, the Russophone minority, that used to enjoy its dominant position during the Soviet period, exchanged places with the titular majority in terms of social hierarchy of alleged importance, and perceiving its current position as inferior, tends not to speak up. As concluded by Kello in her research into techniques to teaching sensitive past²⁴⁶, in which she interviewed history teachers, Russophone teachers tend to either teach mutely the national narrative, or try to navigate between the dominant and the Russophone narrative. The results of interviews and questionnaires administered by me support Kello's conclusions as well in the sense that those Russophone history educators who actually visit the museum of occupation with their history classes, still responded that the museums were too titular-nation centered and did not provide enough of minority accounts.

²⁴⁴ See Chapter 4 and 6 of the given thesis.

²⁴⁵ Golubeva, "Different History, Different Citizenship? Competing Narratives and Diverging Civil Enculturation in Majority and Minority Schools in Estonia and Latvia", 317.

²⁴⁶ Kello, "Sensitive and controversial issues in the classroom: teaching history in a divided society", 48.

It does not belittle the fact that, in my view, the museums should continue striving for multiperspectivity, plurality in historical narratives and inclusivity. Most museum educators acknowledge this as well, which they explicitly stated in the interviews by providing their suggestions for making their museums more inclusive, and some of them are already actively engaged in such a work. Yet, the issue at stake does not seem as urgent as it was assumed at the start of this research. At the same time, the issue may not seem urgent because most of the participants were representatives of titular nations. The minority respondents did indicate the problems related to the notions of MPI. For this reason, the conclusion can be made that the importance of notions of MPI is perceived differently by the representatives of the titular nations and the minorities, which also determined different approaching of the issue.

6. Chapter 6. Discourse analysis of interviews with history educators. Their perceptions, reflections and attitudes towards the museums of occupation.

6.1.Introduction

This chapter will be an analysis of three interviews with history educators, one per Baltic country. This chapter will attempt to answer the same sub-question as in Chapter 5, but using qualitative research methods. The sub-question is: what are the perceptions, opinions and attitudes of school history educators towards the museums of occupation that they have visited with their school classes?

As it was in the case with the questionnaires, because of the busy school period of end examinations, there was an enormous workload on history teachers, and it was possible to interview only one history educator per country, in contrast to the original plan to have at least two respondents per country: a representative of the Russophone minority and a representative of a titular nation. In the end, I interviewed one male history teacher with a mixed Lithuanian-Russian background from the oldest Russian minority school in Tallinn, Estonia, a Russian female history teacher from a majority school in Jelgava, Latvia, and a Lithuanian female history teacher from Vilnius, Lithuania. All interviews were conducted in the Russian language.

The interviews were semi-structured, conducted by Skype in the period May-June 2017, and each interview lasted approximately one hour.

6.2.Background

In the interviews with history educators, we briefly discussed their background during the interviews in order to better understand why the speakers respond to questions in the way they do. Jelena Ryazantseva is a Russophone history educator who teaches at a Jelgava's school with a mixed ethnic composition – there are Russian, Ukrainian, and Latvian students. Jelena's mother is Russian, and her father is Latvian of Eastern origin (meaning that he was born at the border with Latvia in Russia). All her relatives are Latvians, but the upbringing and culture she was surrounded by as a kid was Russian. She spoke Russian even with her Latvian family and she learnt Latvian only as an adult. In the 1980s she worked in the state academy which was 'a very Latvian organization', according to her, and there she started learning the language. By the end of the 1990s, when she actively participated in EUROCLIO projects, she was the only Russian teacher among other Latvian colleagues, and

she had to speak Latvian a lot with them. During these common projects, she was immersed in the Latvian culture and learnt to better understand her Latvian colleagues and their perspectives on history. The fact that she was involved in EUROCLIO projects tells us that Jelena has received necessary training in responsible teaching that contributes to development of critical historical thinking. In her PhD thesis, Mare Oja studied the development of history education in Estonia since the collapse of the USSR, and raised a concern that not all teachers of history nowadays are members of EUROCLIO. According to her, it makes their teaching difficult as they do not receive the necessary assistance in teaching troublesome past and using contested heritage in history curricula.²⁴⁷

Igor Kalaukas is a Russophone teacher of Lithuanian origin who teaches history at the oldest Russian school in Estonia that was founded in the times of Catherine the Great's reign. The school teaches Russian speaking students. There are also Byelorussians, Ukrainians and some Estonians from mixed (Russian-Estonian) families.

Audrone Janaviciene is a Lithuanian teacher from a majority private school in Vilnius, teaching history, law and civics. Due to Vilnius' multiculturalism, children with different background (Polish, Russian, Belorussian, and other ethnicities) study at the school.

While Jelena and Igor, being representatives of the Russian minority, focused and reflected on the perceptions of the Russian minority in Latvia and Estonia, Audrone spoke in general, mostly from Lithuanian perspective. According to her, since the 1990s many Russians have left the country, and the biggest minority left in Lithuania nowadays is Polish. For this reason, most contestations and conflicts surrounding minority issues are related to the Polish minority.²⁴⁸ Nevertheless, during our interview, Audrone also reflected on the remaining Russian speaking minority in response to my questions.

6.3. Parents' and students' attitudes to the museums of occupation

In this paragraph, I will try to summarize the ideas and opinions of history educators on how parents and students perceive visits to the museums of occupation in their countries. This information is important for the research question in the sense that there is an intertwined connection between students, parents, history and museum educators. The mix of attitudes and opinions about the museum from all four types of stakeholders results in their co-

²⁴⁷ Mare Oja, "Muutused üldhariduskooli ajalooõpetuses alates 1987. Aastast – nõukogulikust tänapäevaseks." PhD diss., Tallinn University, 2016.

²⁴⁸ Audrone Janaviciene (history educator, VKIF lyceum "Forumus", Vilnius "Šaltinėlio" private school), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, June 28, 2017, transcript in Russian.

influenced perception of the museum, its functions, aims and impacts. In order to understand how history educators perceive the museum, it is crucial to know how the so-called active ‘users’ of education – children, and their parents, perceive visits to these museum.

The opinions shared by the museum staff correspond with what history educators said, as it will become apparent after reading this abstract. In Lithuania, most parents appreciate visits to the Genocide Victims Museum. As it appears, in Latvia and Estonia, some parents are not particularly satisfied about the idea that their children will visit the museum of occupation in the framework of history curriculum. It may be related to the difference in size of minorities in all three states.

Jelena R. from Latvia remembered her first visit to the museum when Danute Grīnfelde was a director of the education department at the Museum of Occupation of Latvia:

I took the children for the first time, and Danute was giving a lecture to my school children, they are now older than 30. They came with such an attitude, you know, the topic was the 1940, the occupation of Latvia by the Soviet Union, and children did not expect that during the lecture they will be told that people reacted differently to the entrance of the Soviet troops into the country – some people met them with flowers, some were against, others did not have any opinion at all, but my children were going to the museum with the expectation that now it is going to be the propaganda, but it turned out, that you had to form your own opinion.²⁴⁹

Apparently, both twenty years ago and now, the Museum of Occupation of Latvia positions itself as a museum open for different interpretations of their content. Karlis D, the museum curator, and Karlis K, the museum guide²⁵⁰, told me exactly the same things. This corresponds with ‘leaving the truth open’ technique to teaching the sensitive past, which is considered the most favorable in teaching contested heritage, according to Katrin Kello.²⁵¹ Kello’s research was often mentioned in this thesis, and will be referred to quite often throughout this chapter as well. Her research dealt with approaches and techniques to teaching sensitive issues in history.

²⁴⁹ Jelena Ryazantseva (history educator, Jelgava Russian school), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

²⁵⁰ Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English.

Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

²⁵¹ Kello, “Sensitive and controversial issues in the classroom: teaching history in a divided society”, 48.

According to Jelena R., things have changed since the beginning of the 2000s. Fifteen years ago, she stated, there were parents who would not let their children visit this museum. There are still parents of Russophone children who would not “clap their hands from excitement”, as she said, but their main focus would be on the fact that children are going to visit the capital city. This corresponds with what was stated by some museum staff as well, for example Inguna Role, head of education department from the museum of occupation in Riga, and Ivan Lavrentjev, ex-museum guide from the museum in Tallinn. They also explained that for many parents from provincial towns a visit to a museum of occupation, in fact, any museum located in the capital, is an opportunity to visit a capital, do some shopping, spend a nice day away from their hometown, have an adventure. This raises a question whether the quality of life of provincial towns is much lower than those of capital regions in the Baltic states, and how it may impact the museum visits.

Jelena R. explains the openness of younger parents, apart from the opportunity the museum visit gives to their children, by the fact that they are already another generation of people – most of them know about the Soviet Union from their parents’ stories, as this generation of parents whose children were born in the beginning of 2000s, were born themselves in the 1970-80s, and their youth was spent in already independent countries. The attitude of parents seems to influence their children’s understanding of history and the notion of occupation:

They [school children] do not react so sharply to the notion of occupation, they were born here, they grew up here, and they do not have such a feeling like my generation has.²⁵²

Igor K. from Tallinn, in contrast, stated that it is a very sensitive and painful issue for Russians living in Estonia. Even though there are no negative reactions from parents that he or the school management directly had to deal with, rumors reached him that some parents are not particularly glad with the visit to the museum of occupation. Karlis D., curator from Riga’s museum of occupation, also shared with me that there were ‘rumors’ that he heard, that parents and teachers from Russophone schools say that in the museum of occupation there are only liars.

²⁵² Ibid.

Audrone J., history educator from Lithuania, said that all parents are positive towards the museum visits. In the beginning of the school year, she informs parents on her plans about taking children to certain museums, and sometimes parents take their children to the museums themselves.

*In many families, the feeling of civil belonging is highly developed, and parents teach their children that being a Lithuanian citizen is an honor. They often go to various national celebrations.*²⁵³

It may have to do with the fact that Lithuanians seem on average more patriotic and proud of their nation than, for example, Latvia and Estonia. It may be connected to the fact that Lithuania had its own state in the medieval times, in comparison to Latvia and Estonia that most of the times had been under other empires' rule, and the myth about the glorious past of the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth.²⁵⁴ In my personal experience in communication with different people from the Baltic states, Lithuanians showed the most developed patriotic feelings and the sense of pride for their country.

As parents often influence the perception of their children on their citizen status and their understanding of history, I found it important to find out how students perceive themselves in the society in regard to the national history. In the interview with Audrone J. from Lithuania, as I said earlier, we have not explicitly touched upon the minorities' perceptions simply because Lithuania is much more heterogeneous than Latvia and Estonia and has a longer history of minorities coexisting with the titular nation. It means that Lithuania does not have a problem with its minorities to the extent the problem is present in Latvia or Estonia. First of all, ethnic minorities in Lithuania are the smallest in all of the Baltic states - approximately 15,8 % of the Lithuanian population is composed of Russian, Polish, Ukrainian etcetera minorities.²⁵⁵ Secondly, all minority representatives were granted citizenship after the restoration of independence of Lithuania in the beginning of the 1990s,

²⁵³ Audrone Janaviciene (history educator, VKIF lyceum "Forumas", Vilnius "Šaltinėlio" private school), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, June 28, 2017, transcript in Russian.

²⁵⁴ Terry, D. Clark, Nationalism in Post-Soviet Lithuania: New approaches for the Nation of "Innocent Sufferers" in *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial and Postcommunist States*, (The University of Michigan Press, 2006), 163.

²⁵⁵ "Ethnicity, Mother Tongue and Religion". 2013. Official Statistic Portal Lithuania. <http://osp.stat.gov.lt/en/web/guest/informaciniai-pranesimai?articleId=223122>.

in contrast with Estonia and Latvia, where the problem of statelessness is still a subject of major criticism.²⁵⁶

It was interesting to mark in this regard that many children from families with the ethnic background other than Lithuanian still perceive themselves as Lithuanians, the citizens of Lithuania. The notion of nationality and citizenship has been a complicated issue for this thesis, as it has not been always clear, also in the analysis of the dominant narratives of the museums, what is usually meant under Lithuanians/Latvians/Estonians. It seems a broad term that is left open for interpretation depending on the speaker's and perceiver's perceptions and views. In different contexts, interviewees used the referral to Lithuanians/Latvians/Estonians. In some cases it was clear, and sometimes the speakers would say Lithuanians/ Latvians/ Estonians *themselves* to put focus on the nationality, not the citizenship.

When I asked Jelena R. whether her students associate themselves with occupants, she said that it was definitely not the case, as for them the Soviet Union is like the 16th century France – something distant and alien. She continued telling that connections with Russia, or so-called homeland influence, is lost within the young generation of minority.

*I don't have 9th grade students this year, but 8th grade yes, and I asked them once: guys, have you ever been to Saint Petersburg? Only two students out of thirty raised their hands. When I asked who has been to Russia ever in general, four more students raised their hands. So, out of thirty students only six have visited Russia, in the meanwhile the entire class has visited Turkey or, say, other European countries. It is not only them, when I am talking to their parents, they also don't visit Russia, because eventually blood ties die out, relatives in Russia die, the connection gets lost. For children, I can tell you for sure, Russia is something unknown and strange, something out there...*²⁵⁷

It was interesting to see that opinions on the homeland influence differ to such an extent per person. The question is in how far this can be said to be the case more in general per community – Russophone or titular. Ieva Birka studied whether the Russophone youth's sense of attachment to Russia demonstrated any correlations to their feelings of belonging to Latvia. She came to a conclusion that both feelings for Latvia and Russia were not mutually

²⁵⁶ Clark, Nationalism in Post-Soviet Lithuania: New approaches for the Nation of "Innocent Sufferers", 162.

²⁵⁷ Jelena Ryazantseva (history educator, Jelgava Russian school), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

exclusive, however the youth that had stronger association with Russia felt disempowered, discriminated and sceptical about their rights, possibilities, ethnicity and citizenship status in Latvia.²⁵⁸ While Birka and many other titular nation representatives (e.g. the museum staff from the Museum of Occupation of Latvia and the Museum of Occupations of Estonia) who I interviewed think that the Russophone youth is riven off from the titular society due to the media influence from Russia and home narratives, the Russophone speakers tend not to focus on the Russian language media or other sources of indoctrination the youth may be exposed to. In fact, they stress the general sense of disempowerment and loss of privileges, that Maria Golubeva found out in her research on perceptions of teachers and students on issues of history, civil enculturation and social integration in Latvia and Estonia.²⁵⁹ Jelena R. from Latvia and Igor K. from Estonia also touched upon these issues in the interview, defending the Russian minority position in the attempt to contextualize the conflict between the majority and the minority.

As it became clear from Chapter 4 and this chapter's earlier paragraphs, students are reported not to have problems with the museums of occupation. How do they experience these museums then when they are not influenced by their parents' attitudes? Again, the findings are based on what the educators told me. Jelena R. from Latvia took her students to the Museum of Occupation of Latvia and the Military museum. Children liked them both, Jelena R. states, though they liked the military museum more, because "it had more objects and was thus more interactive, while the museum of occupation had more to read and less objects".²⁶⁰

Igor K. from Estonia said that there is no such problem as students who do not want to visit the museum of occupation.

I do not convert them into a new faith. If we organize a museum visit, we just go. How silly, just look, draw conclusions, no one asks you to swear on the Bible, that you understood everything and accepted it. They see it as a study process, nothing more than that, and they do not associate themselves with the Soviet Union or occupants. They only joke and needle

²⁵⁸ Birka, "Expressed attachment to Russia and social integration: the case of young Russian speakers in Latvia, 2004–2010", 219.

²⁵⁹ Golubeva, "Different History, Different Citizenship? Competing Narratives and Diverging Civil Enculturation in Majority and Minority Schools in Estonia and Latvia", 328.

²⁶⁰ Jelena Ryazantseva (history educator, Jelgava Russian school), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

*about this topic. I do understand what is said in their families, that it is a painful issue for them, though.*²⁶¹

It is interesting to see how students' perceptions of the museum differ from the one their parents or grandparents may have. They make jokes about the occupation and see the museum visit as a necessary prerequisite of the study process. It becomes more apparent that the phenomenon of museums of occupation is not that contested for the younger generation, as it is for their parents and grandparents.

Audrone J. from Lithuania shared the following emotions of her students during the museum visit. She stated that after visiting the museum, children get even more interested in the topic, start digging up for more information about the Soviet period in Lithuania. During the actual museum visit, everyone actively participates in the museum's educational programmes and guided tours and asks a lot of questions. Small children (5-7 grades) are scared and often cry during the viewing of documentaries, because they cannot imagine how it felt not to eat enough, not to live together with your parents and work at the age of seven. Elder students reflect on the content in a way typical to teenagers – they get angry with the occupants. According to this statement and the things Audrone J. said when we were discussing the socio-political context of Lithuania in regard to its neighbours, children at her school seem to hold negative opinions about Russia. She said that “if something is going not the way it should in Russia, they are glad.” This has to do with the vision of Russia as an alien occupant force that is transmitted through home narratives – stories of grandparents and parents who lived through the periods of deportation and the Soviet period in general. As it has become clear from this research that titular nations' perceptions and opinions about the Soviet occupation are more or less the same in all three Baltic states, the remark about Estonian history made by Mikko Lagerspetz can be held for Lithuania as well. He claimed that inclusivity as such was just naturally not possible because the Russian element was considered an anomaly in Estonian history and nation-state building.²⁶² From Audrone's story, it seems that the Russian element is also considered an anomaly in the Lithuanian society and perception of history.

²⁶¹ Igor Kalauskas (history educator, Tallinn Tõnismäe Secondary School of Science), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 17, 2017, transcript in Russian.

²⁶² Mikko Lagerspetz, “The Cross of Virgin Mary's Land: a study in the construction of Estonia's 'Return to Europe'”. *Finnish Review of East European Studies*, 6 :3/4 (1999): 17–28 In Sirkka Ahonen, “Politics of identity through history curriculum: Narratives of the past for social exclusion - or inclusion?”, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 33:2 (2001): 183.

6.4. Why Russophone teachers do not come to the museum

It was extensively discussed why Russophone teachers do not come to the museum. It was especially interesting to discuss this having two interviewees who are themselves Russophone. They were speaking not only on behalf of their Russophone colleagues, but themselves as well. Jelena R. from Latvia said that she always protects the Museum of Occupation of Latvia from attacks. She encourages her Russian colleagues and friends to visit it, because “the museum is very good and offers a lot of interesting information, and when it comes to integration, they are doing a lot for people.”²⁶³ When she was telling about a two-day educational programme that was organized for teachers in autumn 2016 and in which she took part, in the end she added: “I really don’t understand how one can be unsatisfied, I like everything [what the museum does]”

Even though Jelena R. was very positive about the museum in general, there were points of criticism from her side. When I asked her, what could be the reason why the Russophone colleagues of hers do not come to the museum, she stressed the language gap together with the name of the museum as possible reasons:

*Apart from the name of the museum [the Museum of Occupation of Latvia] that hurts feelings of the Russian population of Latvia, I think it all has to do with the knowledge of the official languages. Wherever you come, all seminars and lectures are given in Latvian. Russophone teachers who live outside Riga in Latvian provinces usually speak Latvian quite good, while in Riga they do not find it necessary.*²⁶⁴

There has been some research done on the language issue in the Baltic states. In her article on education policies and practices in contemporary Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in response to emerging language needs in the intensely multiethnic settings, Gabrielle Hogan-Brun concluded that language education enhancement and research into accommodation of needs of minorities would be needed to anchor shared values, increase intercultural awareness and act in the democratic context of the EU.²⁶⁵ She acknowledged the language problem in the Baltic states, suggesting that there should be more attention given to this issue,

²⁶³ Jelena Ryazantseva (history educator, Jelgava Russian school), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Gabrielle Hogan-Brun, “Language-in-education across the Baltic: policies, practices and challenges”, *Comparative Education*, 43:4 (2007): 567.

both in terms of minority needs and the improvement of integration of minorities. At the same time, according to Maria Golubeva, the lack of knowledge of local languages by the minorities poses a problem of a society divide and cultural deprivation. Golubeva argued that a divided school system leads to civil enculturation that produces vastly different results for students from groups that have been present in the country for generations.²⁶⁶ By a divided school system she meant the ruling in which Latvian and Russophone children would have the right to be educated in majority and minority schools respectively. Marek Tamm also acknowledged that the largest gap between what is studied at school and what is perceived by the students is present in Russian-language schools.²⁶⁷ At the same time Gabrielle Hogan-Brun who was mentioned earlier, sees education in the Russian language as an essential human right of minority to be educated in their language.

This way, the views of researchers differ from each other, as some claim that education in minority languages should stay, while others claim that education in minority languages disrupts integration. When it comes to teachers' ability to speak the titular languages, it seems that the minority school system allows them to avoid learning the titular language. This can result in a problematized acquisition of the necessary language skills for their students, as their teachers do not speak the titular language themselves.

Igor K. from Estonia stressed the name of the museum as the reason for the Russophone population, not only Russophone teachers, not to visit the Museum of Occupation of Estonia. He suggested a broader context of umbrage from the Russian speaking community for how they were and are treated by the Estonian government.

Many Russians stood in the Baltic chain²⁶⁸, voted in the referendum for independence, fought for Estonian independence, and brought many votes in the referendum. And then they were all denied to obtain the citizenship, unlike in Lithuania for instance. Until the Estonian government admits itself wrong, no one will come to the museum. And this will not happen until after twenty years. This insult was multiplied after the Bronze events, when Russians

²⁶⁶ Golubeva, "Different History, Different Citizenship? Competing Narratives and Diverging Civil Enculturation in Majority and Minority Schools in Estonia and Latvia", 317.

²⁶⁷ Marek Tamm, "History as cultural memory: Mnemohistory and the construction of the Estonian nation", *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 39:4 (2008): 500.

²⁶⁸ peaceful political protest that was attended by 2 million people, in which people stood forming a long chain stretching from Estonia to Lithuania. It took place on August 23, 1989 calling the Soviet Union to grant independence to the three Baltic states.

were showed their place in a very rude form, and no one even tried to understand the degree of complexity of this process. This also played a significant role.

He also said that he finds it extremely sad that the Russophone teachers do not speak up and do not engage in public debates to the extent they should as teachers of civics, such as history and other social sciences. He explained it as habitual Soviet background, when there were times when people were not allowed to speak up and there was no freedom of speech. Many Russian teachers do not speak openly about these issues and try to avoid these discussions during the lessons. According to Katrin Kello's findings, she called this method of teaching 'hiding or avoiding' and 'just doing the job'²⁶⁹, which presupposed not speaking about uncomfortable issues or seeing one's job as the servitude to the government. In her research, both of these approaches to teaching were employed both by the titular and Russian speaking teachers, in covering their perspectives on history. Karlis K. in his interview also shared that many Latvian teachers still practiced this kind of approach to teaching, probably due to their training in the Soviet Union.²⁷⁰

Audrone J. from Lithuania shared an entirely different view on this issue from what the other two speakers told me. This view is obviously in line with the titular nation thinking, but it was nevertheless interesting to see that the minority speakers did not mention this aspect anyhow in any discussions. Audrone J. said that the museum will not be accordant with the thinking of a Russian speaker for one particular reason – the museum does not tell about Soviet feats and acts of bravery during WWII.

*For example, the 9th of May and Stalin as a hero, this does not create an opinion that repressions were a bad phenomenon, most likely many people think that this is how it should have been. This is how not only Russians think, but also some Lithuanians. If they go to the museum, what will they show to children? So, here Lithuanians were deported, they [Russians] want them [Red Army soldiers] to be heroes, because Russia was big and strong, but here there are no heroic feats, so they would better go to the Museum of Holocaust, where Russian diversionists are shown as people who saved the Jews. But this is nonsense.*²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ Kello, "Sensitive and controversial issues in the classroom: teaching history in a divided society", 48.

²⁷⁰ See Chapter 4.

²⁷¹ Audrone Janaviciene (history educator, VKIF lyceum "Forumus", Vilnius "Šaltinėlio" private school), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, June 28, 2017, transcript in Russian.

In the beginning of the interview, I asked her a question about homeland influence, namely whether the Russian minority has more sense of belonging to Lithuania or to Russia. She explained, that the older generation has more sense of belonging to Russia as they are nostalgic about the Soviet Union and were not able to learn to live in the conditions of capitalism. Also, she mentioned that the Russian embassy finances military summer camps for Russian male youth of 15-16 years old, and upon coming back from these camps, children have a certain vision on history and events that involve Russia or the Soviet Union. She also stated that the senses of belonging and affiliation are largely connected with the level of education. In her opinion, highly educated representatives of the Russian speaking youth long for Lithuania and Europe, consequently. This could be another interesting issue to research, because it is not possible to state for sure, whether this indeed takes place in real life. How does the level of education influence the integration process and the sense of belonging? It may be assumed that, if a person speaks the local language and has obtained a degree in a Lithuanian institution, this person does not have integration problems and is closer to the Lithuanian society and thinking.

6.5. The name of the museum

In previous chapters (Chapter 2 and 4), it was observed that the word ‘occupation’, that is present in all three names of the museums, causes mixed and quite often uncomfortable feelings from the minority representatives. This was also acknowledged by the titular nation representatives.²⁷² Jelena from Latvia confessed that the name ‘Museum of Occupation of Latvia’ makes the Russophone population’s ‘ears tingle’. She told me a story in this regard:

*The museum of occupation launched a contest, and I proposed to a very good student of mine to participate in this contest, she first agreed, but then she came to me and said no, I am not going to take part in this contest, because we talked it over at home, and when my father and mother got to know that it was from the museum of occupation, they said no. Their grandfather was at war, he is a WWII veteran, and they do not want it. Because veterans are called occupants, and that is why they did not want her to participate.*²⁷³

²⁷² Please see abstracts about the names of the museums in Chapters 2 and 4.

²⁷³ Jelena Ryazantseva (history educator, Jelgava Russian school), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

She expressed her view that there are certain political powers that employ such a rhetoric, and that it is unacceptable to call veterans occupants, as any Russian minority representatives.

Igor from Estonia agreed with Jelena from Latvia that the museum's name should change and that it offends the local Russophone population:

*I hold an opinion that the museum of occupation is a wrong and incorrect name. Considering the fact that Tallinn is a partly Russian city, the use of such names does not bridge the gap between the two language groups. I would say that it would be more correct to call the museum the Museum of Independence of the republic of Estonia, where one exhibition would be dedicated to the occupation period.*²⁷⁴

Audrone J. from Lithuania did not mention even once the name of the museum and that it can pose a problem to the minority people. It was previously discussed in this thesis in the chapter on museums and their educational departments, in which I explained that Soviet atrocities in Lithuania are officially coined and recognized as genocide against the Lithuanian nation. For this reason, none of the three Lithuanian speakers that I interviewed saw a problem in the name of the museum and thought of it as logical to have such a name.

6.6. Educational methods in regard to the museums of occupation

This paragraph will continue the description of methods employed in the museums of occupation by history educators that I started in Chapter 5 during the analysis of the questionnaire, but in more detail. We have seen that educational methods vary greatly per educator. It can include using working sheets, discussions, work with primary sources, essays, attending the guided tours. The educators that I interviewed elaborated more in detail on their methods, as they also filled out the questionnaire. It was also possible to define certain techniques according to Kello's framework, which was not possible based on the limited data from responses in the questionnaire.

When Jelena R. from Latvia invited the travelling exhibition from the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, they were sent some working sheets to prepare children for the topic

²⁷⁴ Igor Kalauskas (history educator, Tallinn Tõnismäe Secondary School of Science), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 17, 2017, transcript in Russian.

and the lesson dedicated to it, but when Jelena R. took the children to the museum herself, she did not receive any tasks from the museum. When I asked her whether she liked the methods of the education department and the stories they transmit, she said that she likes it that the museum's department employed professional educators who know how to work with children in different age categories.

Igor K. from Estonia was telling me specifically about his latest visit to the museum for the Narva referendum exhibition. He contacted Ivan Lavrentjev, the curator of the exhibition, and the ex-museum guide of the Museum of Occupations of Estonia, asked him to send him the exhibition's texts, made working sheets and then gave a guided tour to his students. At the end, students answered the questions according to the working list that Igor made in advance. When it comes to the permanent exhibition, Igor K. also gives a guided tour, asks students questions that are 'very simple and banal', according to him. Students are supposed to write a small abstract in answer to the question "After visiting the museum, I came to the following conclusions..." Some students write the entire sheet of paper full, others – a couple of sentences, depending on the degree of their interest and affiliation with the topic, as well as their general study progress. When I asked him whether he received any tasks from the museums, he said that he did not bother to. The working sheets they have are probably in Estonian, and his school has the Russian language as the main language of instruction.

It is interesting that Igor K. said something that also conformed with what museum educators said in the interviews – that students have an equivocal and abstract understanding of life in the Soviet Union and the atrocities committed by it. At the same time, he acknowledged that students are highly interested in the Soviet period, and ask a lot of questions.

As an ex-student of a Russian secondary school in Saint-Petersburg, Russia, I recalled my own experiences about studying the Soviet period. Soviet atrocities and crimes were either omitted or discussed vaguely and briefly. I learnt about this part of Soviet history in detail only as a university student in the Netherlands. The topic seems more contested and dissonant in Russia, even in comparison to the Baltic states, which may possibly have to do with the role each community attributes to itself. The Baltic nations study the atrocities from the victims' point of view, while in Russia, it seems that most teachers with Soviet background find it difficult to talk about it, as they unconsciously see themselves as perpetrators or at least as benefitters of the regime. It would be an interesting issue to research in continuation of the given research.

Audrone's techniques to incorporating the Genocide Victims Museum into the history curriculum involved preparation before the visit, namely studying the topic in class. The museum visit would usually take the entire day, during which children attend a guided tour and take part in a thematic educational programme that Audrone J. booked for them in advance. During the guided tours, she accompanies students to listen to what kind of questions they ask, and during the educational programmes, they either watch documentaries or do different tasks with the objects or primary sources. After that, she makes a questionnaire and in the aftermath of the visit, rehearses everything what students have learned at the museum in class.

6.7. History educators on MPI

The results of the questionnaire presented in the earlier chapter showed that minority teachers tend to think that the museums of occupation present facts, but lack the minority perspective on the events.²⁷⁵ Jelena R. from Latvia shared her opinion on this issue, stating that the minority history is not reflected in the exhibitions of the Museum of Occupation of Latvia at all, and that she got an impression that the sufferings of Russians or Jews from deportation were excluded though focusing on the suffering of Latvians.

*Well, I do not want to speak indiscriminately, but in my opinion, there is no minority history in that museum at all. My opinion is the following – if the museum calls itself the museum of occupation of Latvia, maybe then it makes more sense to show that in deportations, I know this for sure, quite many Russians and Jews were persecuted, not only Latvians, do you understand? But there is an exhibition, and I get such a feeling, that it is only Latvians who suffered.*²⁷⁶

Here, I would like to return to the earlier discussed confusing notions of nationality and citizenship. From the exhibitions' texts, it is not always crystal clear whether the titular nation is discussed or the citizens of the state. This issue is often experienced as puzzling for the minority visitors of the museum.

²⁷⁵ Chapter 5 Perceptions, opinions and attitudes of history educators in the Baltic states to the museums of occupation. Analysis of the questionnaire, section *Do you agree with the following statements?*

²⁷⁶ Jelena Ryazantseva (history educator, Jelgava Russian school), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

While other interviewees, like the museum guides from the Museum of Occupation of Latvia and the Museum of Occupations of Estonia Karlis K. (majority representative with Russian roots) and Ivan L. (Russian) seemed concerned about the integration process of the Russophone population in the way that the more steps forward the government makes to the Russian community, the more steps back the integration process will move, Jelena R. called for a mutual understanding and co-integration as a necessary prerequisite for a good society:

*Well if we are integrating, if we want to live in peace together, then we should live in peace together, and integration – is a mutual process, right? Not like, we are standing here, and you are going to us. It's my opinion.*²⁷⁷

Igor K. from Estonia thinks that the museum exhibition of the Museum of Occupations in Tallinn is as neutral as it can be. In the previous chapter, in which I analysed the questionnaire, 78 % of the respondents agreed that the exhibitions in their countries are neutral and present only facts.²⁷⁸ According to Igor K., when the museum was opened, it contained a chaotic set of artefacts, but now it has become more systematized. In regard to inclusivity and representation of national minority perspectives, he stated that nothing is said about the minorities and no necessary focus on the minorities is made at the museum.

Igor K. shared with me that once he tried to use the official museum guide for a museum visit, but he was unsatisfied with his service, as he was not a fluent Russian speaker and acted too formally, meaning that he was not passionately engaged in what he was doing. He also marked that the topic is sensitive, and for this reason he gives the tours himself by avoiding certain moments. With this, he meant smoothing edges. From Igor's story on his teaching methods, I concluded that he uses two approaches to teaching sensitive history defined by Katrin Kello, namely finding common ground and smoothing edges and enhancing heterogeneity.²⁷⁹ He tries to explain the Estonian perspective on these events to the Russian students, namely why it is so different from the perspective of the Russophone population of Estonia:

²⁷⁷ Jelena Ryazantseva (history educator, Jelgava Russian school), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

²⁷⁸ Chapter 5, analysis of the questionnaire, section 'During the museum visit'

²⁷⁹ Kello, "Sensitive and controversial issues in the classroom: teaching history in a divided society", 48.

I am explaining, why Estonians met Germans with flowers. I have to explain, that German influence on the development of Estonia even in the Russian imperial times was enormous, and that the nation remembered these times quite long and positively. One week before Germans attacked the USSR on June 16, 1941, there was a huge wave of deportations in Estonia. How do you think, if almost every Estonian family suffered, in each family someone got deported, how would they think of the new regime [Nazi], if the previous regime [Soviet] brought so much suffering?²⁸⁰

Igor K. from Estonia contextualized the changes that should happen in the museum, suggesting an entirely new perspective on the events. In the below abstract, I will present quotes from our interview to make the story into a coherent whole:

All Russians who live here know about this side of history. When this all [Sovietization of the Baltic states] was prepared in the 1930-40s, in fact the governments of the three countries gave in without a single shot. No one from the governments came forward with an official protest against the occupation. The Forest Brothers movement was also a spontaneous and chaotic movement, not connected anyhow to any government. So, it turns out that neither the people nor the government showed any real resistance to the Soviet occupation. No one prefers to talk about this in the museum.

I would change the concept of the museum completely. Freedom is not once and for all, and it is not a given. Freedom is something you need to support, and fight for, and be ready that it can be taken from you any moment. The events that took place in the 1930-40s serve as a proof for it. Estonia lost its independence twice, and regained it twice – from the Russian hands. First time - in 1918, the second time - in 1991. Of course, Russia did not have enough resources to keep the territory, but it still granted freedom to the republic. They need to understand it. This is not focused upon in the exhibition, so I make this focus myself. And Konstantin Pats²⁸¹, for example, no one makes monuments to him or calls the streets in his honour. He gave the country in to the communists, and everyone knows it. The official acknowledgment of his role in the loss of independence would mean a lot to the Russian minority.

²⁸⁰ Igor Kalauska (history educator, Tallinn Tõnismäe Secondary School of Science, Estonia), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 17, 2017, transcript in Russian.

²⁸¹ first Estonian president during the times of the first independence period of Estonia.

*I do not think that the Estonian fight for independence is solely the merit of Estonian freedom fighters. There was both the international support and the support that came from the inside of the Soviet Union. Also, the Russophone population's votes for independence in the beginning of the 1990s, it helped a lot. Most of Russians living in Estonia voted for Estonia to become independent.*²⁸²

Even though he called the museum neutral, the things he told me made me think that the problem is not about multiperspectivity or the fact that the museum is nation-centred and marks the victimization of a titular nation; the problem is in omitting troublesome past, as acknowledging this would make the very processes of victimization and celebration of the national identity of Estonians impossible. This side of the story would make them less of victims, and hold Estonians more accountable for their own past. Also, this perspective would include the role of the Russian community in the process of independence of Estonia. It was obviously a very uncomfortable interpretation of history, especially in the first decades of the established independence. However, it was interesting to see that the museums in Vilnius and Riga did make the attempts to tell this side of history to their visitors, in their own ways. The Genocide Victims Museum and the Museum of Occupation of Latvia opted for the narrative that was defined as 'The country still did its best to protect itself and its citizens' and analysed in the chapter about the dominant narratives in this thesis. The idea behind the museums' explanation for not enough resistance to the occupation regimes was primarily the inequality of forces, in all respects of the meaning of these words. The idea of small Baltic states versus big Soviet Union secured the victim status and ensured the inability to explicitly hold anyone from the titular nation accountable and responsible for the occupation. The victim narrative was observed in all exhibitions' texts and analysed by me in Chapter 3 about the dominant narratives.

Audrone J. from Lithuania stated in the questionnaire that it was difficult for her to react to the statement whether the Genocide Victims Museum presented both the titular and the minority account of events. She explained that in general it is not possible to distinguish who the museum is talking about – Russians, Jews or Polish. In most cases, they are talking

²⁸² Igor Kalauskas (history educator, Tallinn Tõnismäe Secondary School of Science), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 17, 2017, transcript in Russian.

about Lithuanians, and she interprets it as citizens of Lithuania. However, I was critical about her response. After visiting the museum myself, I paid close attention to the exhibition texts which I also analysed for the chapter about dominant narratives. In these texts, the focus on ethnicities was made when it was necessary for certain purposes, such as to exaggerate the role of one community over another or contrast Lithuanians with other communities that took part in atrocities, e.g. against the Jews, to smoothen the Lithuanian role in those atrocities.

Audrone J., as a representative of the titular nation, used two approaches to teaching the topic of the Soviet occupation, both in the museum and in class: enhancing heterogeneity and leaving the truth open. In Kello's research, the former technique was mostly used by the minority teachers, while leaving the truth open was mostly practiced by the majority teachers. For this particular reason, Audrone J. takes students both to the Genocide Victims Museums where the Lithuanian nation is heroized, and to the Museum of Holocaust, in which Lithuanians are shown as perpetrators.

During the lessons I always say, that history is such a discipline, in which every nation has its own view on history and there is no absolute truth. Truth is only what we think is true. Each government has its own vision. I teach them in such a way, that it is not necessarily true what is written in the textbooks, what the museum says or what people say. It is just an opinion, and they have to learn to think for themselves what is true and what is a lie. I say these things to older students, like 9 grade, because smaller children do not have enough capacity yet for this kind of thinking.²⁸³

Her approach seems to be in accordance with the notions of MPI, as well as the idea of development of historical critical thinking.

6.8. On the Nazi and the Soviet occupations

Jelena R. from Latvia said that it is difficult to state that the Nazi occupation is not covered enough, but that the Soviet occupation outweighs it, is a fact. Jelena R. acknowledges that the Latvian perspective on these events has its valid grounds, but calls for the fact that other communities' voices should be heard as well:

²⁸³ Audrone Janaviciene (history educator, VKIF lyceum "Forumas", Vilnius "Šaltinėlio" private school), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, June 28, 2017, transcript in Russian.

*How can I say. Of course, we should not put an equal sign between these two occupations, but it is still not nice, you know. It gives me an impression that the Nazi occupation's atrocities get lost in the background of the Soviet occupation. My opinion is that knowing the history of Latvians, it can be the case that they suffered much more from the Soviet occupation, but if you ask Latvian Jews, you will hear a totally different thing.*²⁸⁴

Igor K. from Estonia talked a lot in our interview about the tradition that has persisted in the recent years after the dissolution of the USSR – Victory Day parades, and the Immortal Regiment²⁸⁵ procession in particular. He criticized the processions and people who take part in it, stating that instead of spending money and time on these useless activities that only imitate the active civil position towards the commemoration of veterans, people would rather donate money to the remaining veterans who are still alive. The Immortal Regiment procession and the Victory Day celebration were also discussed in much detail by Karlis D. and Karlis K. in their interviews. They also stressed that these commemoration activities become an apple of discord between the local and the Russophone populations.²⁸⁶ Audrone J. also talked much about the celebration of the Victory Day in Lithuania by the Russophone community in our interview. She was generally critical about these celebrations, as “how can one celebrate the shift from one occupation to another?”.

According to Audrone J. from Lithuania, the Soviet occupation was much worse than the Nazi occupation. She basically repeated word by word the statement that was written on a stand in the Museum of Occupations in Tallinn. Yet, she did acknowledge that the perceptions of two different occupations may vary between different ethnic communities. She told me about her family experience: that the entire family of her grandfather was deported to Siberia because they had far too much land, and her grandfather was denied work everywhere because he was a relative of the deported. It was possible to live under the Nazi occupation,

²⁸⁴ Jelena Ryazantseva (history educator, Jelgava Russian school), interviewed by skype by Vera Ande, May 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

²⁸⁵ Immortal regiment is a procession organized by children and grandchildren of the Red Army veterans annually on May 9, which is celebrated as the Victory Day by Russians in and outside Russia. In the Baltic states, this celebration is often debated and contested by the local population and is usually accompanied by clashes between the titular and Russophone populations, as the former organize SS legion parades to commemorate their relatives who fought with SS legions for their countries' independence. Read more on the Immortal regiment here: <http://www.bbc.com/news/in-pictures-36249817>

²⁸⁶ Kārlis Dambītis (Museum Curator, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in English. ;Kārlis Krēķis (Museum Guide, Museum of Occupation of Latvia), interviewed in person by Vera Ande, February 16, 2017, transcript in Russian.

while under the Soviet occupation it was not. For Jews and Russians, the Nazi occupation was far worse than the Soviet occupation. She gave an example of the Museum of Holocaust in Vilnius, to which she often takes her classes to present them with another perspective on Lithuanian role in the Holocaust. She says that in that museum the Soviet soldiers are shown as people who helped Jews the most, while Lithuanians are often portrayed as perpetrators. She personally does not agree with this framing, but still she organizes visits to the museum to enhance multiperspectivity on the Holocaust among her students.

6.9. Conclusion

The sub-question that was asked, attempted to provide attitudes, perceptions, and opinions of history educators on the museums of occupation to which they take their school classes.

The educational approaches vary per educator, which became apparent after analysing both the questionnaires and these three interviews – from very practical techniques such as guided tours, discussions, work with primary sources and essays, to more theoretical approaches, such as those defined by Katrin Kello (leaving the truth open, hiding or avoiding, etc.). The interviewed educators employ principles of MPI in their history teaching – they present multiple perspectives on the events –e.g. Why certain groups met Germans or Soviets with flowers, and try to present the Russophone children with the titular nation’s account. It seems that the Russophones completely understand and accept the fact that the titular nations suffered from the USSR, but they would also like to be acknowledged as the suffered, not only as the alleged oppressors. Russian educators navigate between narratives and need the recognition of the Russian component in Baltic history and not only be seen as an oppressor. To summarize, Russian educators signalled the need for recognition of the Russian minority’s role in the making of independence of the Baltic states, a transparent and fresh look on history to challenge the victim status of titular nations, and shift of the focus from the nationalist to a more inclusive and multiperspective discourse in history, involving national minorities, the past and present ones. A more precise need of the Russophone population and specifically the Russophone history educators was the change of name – a search for a less ‘aggressive’ alternative.

The titular nation representatives usually do not seem to sense a problem with MPI, nevertheless they expressed that they do think it would be a good idea to add extra narratives and include minority’s accounts of history. However, no one of them could say how, which was seen after interviewing the Genocide Victims Museum staff from Vilnius, and receiving the responses from titular nation representatives from the questionnaire. Lithuanian history

educator Audrone J. also did not provide any concrete solutions to how to add more MPI both to the museum and to history teaching in the museums of occupation. It seems that the titular nation representatives are perfectly fine with the majority dominant history that they can finally spread, unlike the minority representatives, for whom recognition and inclusion seems vital and fundamental. However, for both parties, the majority and the minority, the common problem was not in the understanding of the other party's concern²⁸⁷, but acceptance and learning how to live together and respect each other's different views on common history, be it in a form of a compromise or other means. It is true that the government is considered the most active and responsible agent for this purpose, both by the museum and history educators. The government's role in this may be attributed specifically to the integration problem, namely the language knowledge. It became clear from the interviews that many history educators from minority schools do not come to the museums not only because of the content and narratives they are not likely to agree with, but especially because of the low language command. Nevertheless, both museum and history educators see a museum as a good start, also in terms of integration and language acquisition, as Jelena R. stated in her interview.

²⁸⁷ The museum staff members in all three countries also told me that they understand why the minority may perceive common history in a different way from the titular nation.

Final conclusion

In this Master thesis, I asked the following question: to what extent the notions of MPI and dynamic approach to heritage education are reflected in the educational approaches to the museums of occupation. In order to answer this question, I asked sub-questions that were answered in the corresponding chapters.

In Chapter 1, I provided a brief socio-political and cultural context in the Baltic states in order to introduce the differences between the two mnemonic communities in each Baltic state (titular nation VS. Russophones) and elaborated on the working definitions of this research, namely the concepts of MPI, heritage, museum and history education, how they are related and what dynamic approach to heritage education entails.

In Chapter 2, I looked at the general information about the museums of occupation and their education departments to see not only the broad picture of the museums of occupation but also the relationship between motivation, vested interests, and influences on the museums' agenda and the choice of narratives for the exhibitions. We have seen that the absence or presence of governmental support, attitudes, and perceptions of the museum staff, as well as their agreements and disagreements with the donors or other interested parties, can have an influence on the representation of narratives/identities at the museum, explicitly or implicitly. Most importantly, it has become obvious that it is the time for collections to change, as the museum staff's opinions do not seem to be in accordance with the exhibitions that were made up in the 1990s.

The museums of occupation in the three Baltic states tend to react differently to the changing demands. For example, museums of occupation in Riga and Tallinn are going to reconceptualise – become more inclusive and multiperspective in terms of minority narratives, and shift focus from suffering to the celebration of freedom. The Genocide Victims Museum does not have plans to renew its exhibitions. At the same time, neither Vilnius nor Riga are planning to change the names of their museums, while Tallinn is planning to add a word 'freedom' to it. It is not possible to state within the scope of this research why a museum of occupation in one country (Latvia) goes only for one type of change, while a museum in another country (Estonia) implies more changes, while a museum in the third country does not plan to change anything at all. The only thing that can be considered in this regard is the differences in size of the minority population – Estonian and

Latvian minority population is bigger than the one in Lithuania. Additionally, both Estonia and Latvia have the statelessness problem, that does not allow many Russophone representatives to be called citizens of the countries they reside in. This adds up to the disrupted identity of the minority population.

In Chapter 3, ten dominant narratives were outlined after a careful study of the exhibitions' texts of the three museums. After connecting the dots between narratives, I was able to come up with a schematic narrative template according to which the Baltic titular community remembers the occupation period, and how the museum tells the story. The interesting finding was that all three Baltic states had a similar perception and understanding of the Soviet occupation period, which was reflected in their respective museums of occupation. This schematic narrative template presupposed a wealthy stable Baltic state which life was disrupted by the aggression of two super powers – the Soviets, then the Nazis, and then the Soviets again. The occupation period under the Nazis was experienced less painful than the period under the Soviet regime. The Soviet period was only negative. The schematic narrative template contextualized and helped to analyse the interviews of both museum and history educators, and it became clear why museum and history educators related to the museum of occupation in the way they did.

In Chapter 4, I analysed interviews with the museum staff to learn their perceptions, opinions, and attitudes towards the museums and other issues. It turned out that, as I said earlier, there are internal communication problems between the museum management and stakeholders. Also, micro and macro contexts play an important role in shaping the perceptions and attitudes of the interviewed museum staff members.

In fact, many responses of the museum staff members and history educators were similar. For example, they both indicated similar reasons why the Russophone schools rarely come to the museums of occupation or agreed on their views about the Nazi and Soviet occupation. All museum staff members acknowledged that they understand why the museums of occupation cause unsettlement in the Russophone population. However, the Genocide Victims Museum's staff seemed the most distant when it came to solving this unsettlement. As it was seen from conclusions to Chapter 2, only museums in Riga and Tallinn are going to reconceptualise, and the museum staff in these museums were consequently speaking of more concrete suggestions as to how to enhance the notions of MPI in their museums.

In Chapter 5, I conducted a questionnaire and analysed 23 responses in the chapter. The questionnaire gave us a broader vision from history educators from the three countries on the incorporation of museums of occupation into history curricula in the Baltic states, alongside with more practical issues, such as what can be improved at the museum. The focal point of the questionnaire was the question about whether history educators found that the museum presented neutral facts, was multiperspective or one-sided. As it was expected, the minority respondents mostly agreed that the museums present facts, though lack multiperspectivity and do not present enough of the minority story. The titular nation respondents tended to answer either in an ambiguous and dissonant manner, e.g. by agreeing that the museum is titular nation-centred, but that it is also multiperspective, or simply denied the museum being not multiperspective, plural or inclusive enough. The only exception was three titular nation representatives per country who gave similar answers as the minority respondents. One of the titular nation respondents is an ambassador of EUROCLIO, which allows me to conclude that affiliation or direct membership at EUROCLIO in combination with active engagement with its activities may result in more awareness of the notions of MPI and usage of these notions in practice. Also, mostly only minority respondents indicated how the museum should change in order to reflect on the notions of MPI when they were asked about possible improvements to the museum.

In Chapter 6, I analysed three interviews with history educators from the three Baltic states, in which they shared their opinions, attitudes, and perspectives on the museums of occupation and their role as an educator both in formal and informal education. Even though it was difficult to draw conclusions based only on one interviewee per country, the insights the interviewees offered were full and useful. It turned out that all three educators tend to take notions of MPI into account when teaching and using the museums of occupation as tools. However, as it was also seen both from the questionnaires and the interviews with the museum staff, there is a paradox. The minority representatives seem to understand the titular nation's interpretation of history, as much as the titular nation representatives tended to understand why the Russophone population perceives the Soviet period differently. Nevertheless, understanding of the two perspectives has not led to any improvement, as understanding is not enough. Acceptance and respect for the other community's interpretation of contested heritage and troublesome past would benefit both communities, the open question is how to achieve it?

In the end, coming back to the central question, the above-presented data allowed me to conclude that principles of MPI are not represented to the desired extent in the three museums of occupation. The Museum of Occupations of Tallinn and the Museum of Occupation of Riga are striving for change, and it is still an open question how the reconceptualised collections will look like. It is a necessary change, because the minority respondents from these three countries expressed dissatisfaction, and because of the long history of minority and majority conflict. Additionally, the size of the Russophone minority in these countries is bigger than e.g. in Lithuania.

The teachers and the museum staff are aware of MPI, and some teachers tend to work in that direction. The findings of Kello were confirmed by my own research, in which minority teachers tended to enhance heterogeneity, while majority teachers tended to leave the truth open.

A more practical question, namely, whether history and museum educators applied the dynamic approach to teaching contested heritage, will be attempted to be answered here as well. I have to admit that it is difficult to answer this question based on the data that I have obtained throughout this research, as for some categories of the dynamic approach more elaborate and in-depth study would be necessary. When it comes to breaking categories of perpetrators and victims, some exhibitions, like the Museum of Occupation of Latvia, tried to balance the accountability for crimes both between the titular nation representatives and the Soviets (e.g. during the Holocaust). However, the general impression that the museums leave is that there is a clear demarcation between the perpetrators (the Soviets, or even specifying the ethnicity) and victims (the titular nation, sometimes Jews). The issue of eliminating the categories of victims and perpetrators is thus left to history and museum educators.

Throughout the interviews, it became apparent that both museum and history educators in all three countries consider the development of critical historical thinking important and see it as their aim in their educational activities.

When it comes to creating common knowledge, not common identity, this is still very problematic. The troubling issues of nationality, national identification, and citizenship are present in all three museums of occupation, as it is not always clear whether ethnicity, residency or citizenship is at stake. The museum staff members claimed that they try to create common knowledge, not to convince someone of the universal truth, which was also acknowledged by history educators when they referred to their teaching methods. The conclusion is that the museum does not always contribute to creating common knowledge, hence this task is taken over by history educators themselves.

What the data gathered for this research was not able to provide was the insight into critical engagement with heritage and enhancing teachers' training. For this purpose, field observations would be necessary. For the enhancement of the teachers' training, it seems that some museums engage in this kind of activities. For example, the Museum of Occupation of Latvia offers programmes for teachers in which they instruct them to teach about the sensitive issues in history. Also, the affiliation with EUROCLIO of all the history educators that I interviewed for this research may tell us that they are familiar with the notions of MPI and critical historical thinking. This also became apparent from the interviews.

All in all, the notions of MPI are not yet reflected in the museums of occupation in the Baltic states. Depending on personal background, such as family, education, and general environment, museum and history educators differ in their perceptions towards MPI. The general tendency is that for the titular nation representatives the notions of MPI seem to be of less importance than for the minority educators for obvious reasons, namely the shift in power relations. The titular community that was oppressed during the Soviet period and limited in its right to celebrate their national culture and identity have finally got the opportunity to decide on the issues of remembrance, commemoration, and celebration.

However, in the short-term the shift is coming, as two museums out of three are working on the reconceptualization of the museum exhibitions and vision. In the long-term, the issue of Soviet occupation tends to become less and less contested, which was testified by both history and museum educators in the interviews. The issue stays sensitive and painful for the older Soviet generation of both the titular and Russophone representatives, while the younger minority generation does not massively connect much with Russia or identify with the Soviet Union. Thus, they experience visits to museums of occupation less painful, or sometimes not painful at all.

I would like to end this research with a quote of educator-in-chief of the Genocide Victims Museum Gedvile Butkute Indrisone, because this statement seems a universal, yet not immediate measure to dealing with contested heritage – “We just need more time, I guess.”

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview Questions

How long have the occupation museums had an education department?

How is the museum financed?

What are the activities of the education department?

Are visits to occupation museums considered a part of the history curricula recommended/obliged by the government?

If not, why do you think history educators take school classes to occupation museums?

How many schools in (name of the country) visit the occupation museum?

Is there any precise information (e.g. number) of schools that visit the occupation museums?
Is it possible to see the ethnical composition of the class (e.g. titular nation/ Russophone)

Which age/class and which subjects usually do to occupation museum visits?

Could you say that titular nation schools (homogenous) visit occupation museums more often than the minority schools (Russophone)? If so, why?

Do teachers give the tours themselves to students or usually prefer to take guided tours by the museum guides?

What is the ethnical background of the museum guides (titular nation/minority)? Are there volunteers?

How do you perceive the students' reaction about the exhibitions and collections? is there a difference in attitudes, reactions and perceptions when it comes to age/class/ethnical background of students?

Do school students from big city/small city differ from each other in perceptions towards the titular past VS minority perception of the past?

Would you agree/comment on the following statements?

- Museums are servants of the public (governmental narrative)
- Museums should be more inclusive (present different narratives of the past)
- Museums should be more active agents in history education
- Do you have an idea on how to attract more Russophone kids?

Appendix 2. Interview with Karlis Dambitis

Occupation: the museum curator of the Museum of Occupation of Latvia.

Date: February 16, 2017.

Place: The Museum of Occupation of Latvia; Riga, Latvia.

Consent to make the interview available received on 30.08.2017

V: Vera

K: Karlis

V: As far as I understand, you are a museum guide.

K: I sometimes give tours to special guests, for students, to those who are historians, or from the university, but I am not like a guide for tourists.

V: You are actually a curator.

K: Yes, I am historian, and so I am, how to say, my responsibility is everything about the exposition, so I am making the tours for those who are from universities, specialists from armed forces, for some special topics.

“Here I briefly describe my research to the interviewee”

V: My question is: she [Inguna] told me that children from Russophone schools do not really come here, while titular nations, so Latvians in this case, come very often here. Is this true?

K: I am seeing here some people from Russian speaking schools, but yes, it's most of tours are for Latvian schools.

V: Could you maybe explain or maybe give me your opinion on that? Why does it happen that Russophone kids do not come here with their schools?

K: I think that the main question is about that, well, you know, since the 20th century we have these ex-Soviet problems here. So in the 20th century we had russification process in Latvia, and when we got our freedom back, we had a huge demand for....it is not scientifically correct, but those who came here in the occupation period, so they are living [here], at that moment we can't separate Latvians or Russians, we need to separate them by post-soviet person, or homo sovieticus, or by those who go for the western part. Because of the way of thinking, that's the main question. The main problem is that the large amount of those who are homo sovieticus, they are still living in the Russian information bubble, field, so they are taking their information from Russian speaking sources, and the main problem is that it is not only Russian language sources, but there is a difference between what Kremlin says and for example Dozhd TV. So, they are living in this information bubble - Kremlin area. My second interest is military history, actually the main interest, and actually what happened here in the Baltic region. If we are looking into history, we are saying that citizens abroad are the main effort to get their [Kremlin's] own needs for foreign policy. So, they are using it [them] and I remember that in 2003, if we are talking about the 9th of May, here in Latvia, it was more different than right now. Right now, it is politics from Kremlin. I remember I was in Kaliningrad in 2006, and some years ago in 2003 this way of how they are looking at the end of WWII was lower quality but lower attitude to, I mean not so intensive. Less patriotism. And then after the 2000s, it started for movies, and in 2006 I was in Kaliningrad, and for the first time I saw how industrialization was made. We were with Germans, students and Russian students from Kaliningrad university. And they said we need to go to this parade, to the column of victory in Kaliningrad, and we thought we would go to see this parade, but in Kaliningrad, and in Russia, you are not going to see it, you are going to take part in the parade. So, I had some photo gallery with some children in military uniforms and weapons and etc. And how they are making this militarization for this region. The shocking part was the grocery store after this parade: there are German students and we are

Latvians, we understand what the locals were talking about, and one group of young sportive guys, were looking at Germans and said - look, these are Germans, let's make 1945 again. So those Russian students quickly took them out. So, but it's not like specially the state is making this aggression, but they are not cropping it. They are just leaving it, like you can still think that. At that moment, when we are talking about Latvia, we have also this problem because the main part is that some part of Latvians - they live in that information bubble from kremlin, some of the schools also. They are taking some materials from eastern countries. So, the main problem for us is that we weren't ready to deal with it. And right now, there are some things we sporadically try to do. Then this language question is one of those questions. This is one of the questions when we are talking about the soviet occupation, German occupation, Nazi occupation. This is not in their history viewpoints. They have a different viewpoint- they liberated Latvia from the Nazis.

V: *They have another narrative?*

K: Yes, so our ministry of education tried to deal with it, but you can do the institutional part, but you can't deal with families and whatsoever. And this is a problem. I have not seen with my own eyes, but I have heard from others like they say - now you are going to the museum, but remember - they are lying.

V: *Who says it?*

K: The teachers and even the parents. I heard rumours about it. One of the problems is that we have each year the 16th of March - the guys who served in the German army during the WWII, so called Latvian legion. So, they fought against the Soviets, so they are called Nazis. And every year they have meetings, flowers near the freedom monuments, and then they move to the cemetery where their brothers and comrades are buried. One of the main, how to say, targets are those people who fought for the Nazis, so then there are fights, there is police, it's not a battle between those old soldiers, Soviet or Latvian ones, it's a battle between politicians and ideologies.

V: *So, there are two conflicting narratives and they appear both in politics, social life, education etc. One opinion that the Soviet occupation happened and another opinion that there was no occupation in the first place.*

K: Yes, at that moment it is very easy to contradict the.. for example last year we had a case that Russia today [Russian state-run news agency] was in our museum and their main target was to take shots of those parts of the exhibition, maybe you saw, where the swastika is. And making stories that we praise Nazism. This semantic of Nazism and fascism - do you know why the soviet part [people]uses that fascist word? [discussion on Nazism and fascism and how the Soviet Union manipulated it].

V: *Let's come back to the school question. So Russian school kids are influenced by entrance narratives, they exist in the pro Kremlin information field that prevents them from actively participating in the citizenship education? But is this the case for all Russophone schools?*

K: I don't know. I think it's one part. You see, last year we had one interesting poll, for specialists who worked in the Latvian defence academy about local patriotism. The interesting thing was that many of those people who are patriotic to Latvia are also patriotic to Russia.

V: *Have you ever given any tours or heard of anyone giving the tours to the Russophone kids? And how did it go?*

K: No, I haven't seen. But only the guides are allowed to give tours, teachers are not allowed. I remember when I worked in another museum, the teacher would translate from Latvian into Russian the excursion to the kids. But last year actually most of kids know Latvian. They maybe don't speak it in everyday life, but they know it and understand. It's a governmental language and it's quite a big plus for them, they know English, they know Latvian, they know Russian, they are multilingual, it's a great plus for them. It's a huge minus for Latvians

because schools give Russian, but not really good, for example I had Russian for one year at school, I understand almost everything, but I can speak it with difficulties, but look, I work here now, and I don't need Russian, I read only some documents sometimes, but it's ok, but if I like to do something else, work in bank or finance sector, it is a huge minus for me. The biggest part understands Latvian, but constantly speaks Russian. When I am talking about the exhibition in this museum, I am making clear distinctions between the Nazi and Soviet regime - you can't mix them with nations, with regimes. The main problem is that if you say all Soviets are Russian, because they are not. During the 1st occupation, there was a lot of Latvians who were Soviet thinking people who supported the regime. It's not about Russians, it's about the communists. The problem after the 90s, they made this homo sovieticus, and the main part of the language for these people is Russian. Russia says they are not Soviet Union, but they are trying to renew this empire [political discussion for at least 10 minutes] – “I am stopping him”. They use the Russian language as a weapon. Education is a part of this battlefield, that's the problem.

V: That's an interesting statement, could you please comment on it? How do you see this battlefield happening here in the occupation museum?

K: Our main target is to give the opinions, to teach the facts, and to give the way how these school children can understand it, how they can weigh what is right or wrong. (moving between the rooms) “continues”: so that they start thinking. If we only give the ready opinion, finished opinion, ideas, then it's propaganda. We try to start the brains, how to think.

V: You know I have not actually noticed that you want to give different opinion, my impression was again the Latvian dominant narrative.

K: Yes, we are presenting one narrative. But we are not presenting it like it is the only. It is facts, but it's the story of all this “does not finish, start a new sentence” - but this is our short exposition, we are renovating the new one, it will open soon, for example we have a plenty of scientific works about industrial factories. For example, the Soviet stories that they brought us economics, that before the Soviets there were peasants. OK, they brought technologies, the other thing is that our historians found out that in the Soviet Union we were funding Moscow, not Moscow was funding us. [discussion on the USSR]

V: Many people complained that the dominant narrative of the museum, Latvian, does not allow other narratives.

K: This is one of the things we try to include, inclusivity, because we can't talk about Latvians, Germans, Russians, we can talk about Latvian citizens. Because right now we were talking about it in our new exposition, the first themes, what I tried to give to the first part is OK, the state is Latvia, the main basically thing is that the state is not the diamond, but the opportunities that the state gives. Latvia historically has a lot of cultures. What was lost in the Soviet occupation period was that multiculturalism and chances to do something. Latvia gives the opportunity to preserve the culture. In the Soviet Union the opportunities to preserve were cut down. This is what we try to show in this period. 1941, deportations, for example. Jews were the most deported persons. The guide knows all their stories and the purposes of the exposition. We are specialists in this period. So, they are going to us. So, as I said often the teacher will not know about everything of this special topic, and sometimes it's going to be his own interpretation.

V: What is the ethnical background of the guides in this museum?

-K: We have Latvians, one Ukrainian guy, we have also some Germans sometimes, we don't have Russians, I don't remember we ever had any Russians. There is one person [Russian] who tried to become a guide here, but it wasn't for him. This guide job is quite difficult and hard, though interesting. For Russians, the problem is that this is the story of the Soviet period, and it is on the crossroads of what their families were teaching them before.

V: *Did you consider how to attract more Russophone schools or Russophone kids in here? Maybe the narrative you tell here is too harsh to absorb, so maybe you have considered changing approaches or something like that. Do you actually agree that there should be more Russophone kids here in the first place?*

K: Yes, I agree. Eh, the main way how to do it [is] the language, but then we are going against our language requirement, Latvian interests, the Latvian language needs to be the main language here, and so the Russian language is more for Russian tourists and Ukraine. For schools we, this is, if we want to have more of them here, we need to speak Russian, but at this moment, there is this problem, if we speak Russian, we, how to say, (me helping him - *continuing the tradition of the occupation*) - Yes, yes. So, we understand that actually, we have this idea that there should be two languages, but for the reasons that I mentioned already we are not going to do it. For kids from Russia - no problem, for kids from Latvia but Russians - no.

V: *OK, it is the language of instruction issue, but what about the general content? Because you actually told me that Russophone kids do not have problems with the Latvian language.*

K: Yes, I think this is the way of thinking. About how I said this informational war, about ideas that Kremlin is faulting in this part of minds. One of the problems is probably that our society like Latvia are trying not to do it, because everyone that lives here speak Latvian, Latvian patriotism is our friend and our own thing, but as I said we have two societies - we have Latvians and Russians. And those Russians that are in Latvia, they do not compare to Russians who live in Russia. Because who are living in Russia are looking at our Russians like they are not really Russians. One of the problems is that they could be like forgotten but we are afraid that Kremlin will not forget about them.

V: *What do you mean by forgetting them?*

K: They remember that these are Russians and we [they] can use them for Kremlin. For political things. We don't have problems with those more those who have lived here before the Soviet occupation. Because they were Latvian citizens. But the problem with them who came here during the Soviet occupation because and who stayed here because they think it is their motherland...

V: *Which is true.*

K: Which is true, and we need to how to say...

V: *To inject the Latvian citizenry into them?*

K: Yes, yes, yes, for most of guys who don't have the Latvian citizenship, the main problem for them is language question.

V: *They cannot obtain the citizenship because of the language issue?*

K: Yes, most of them will know the Latvian language, but they just don't use it. Because if you are living for 30 years in a country that is Latvian speaking, so you can't even remember so basic sentences in Latvian? So, this means it is not your educational....it is your attitude to the state. So, this attitude, against our...this is the main problem. Many Russian people they have this citizenship. Russian kids have Latvian citizenships because they were born here. The problem is in their families, sometimes.

V: *OK, I understand. So how do you want to attract more Russophone kids? Does the museum work on this? Because you agree that it is important, but how would you actually do it?*

K: We could do it with them who want to see it. For example, Russians in the 20-30s [20th century], who were living in Latvia, their stories, for those who are ...whose parents came in the 60-70s, and probably the 90s, I don't have an idea.

V: *You don't know what can attract them?*

K: Yes, I don't know. Probably it is my fault, I need to say...this is my problem, but at this moment I don't have an idea how to do it, because I think it is not only museum problem ,

but it is a problem on how to attract them to the Latvian state, how to attract them to our way of thinking.

V: *OK I understand you.*

K: We can be like weapon, but like a tool. But we can't be like the main effort. Like idea.

Those who are thinking how to do it, we are a tool, not the brain.

V: *OK. understood. I have a couple of specific questions left. [discussion on the fact that the other Karlis will help me out better with them]*

V: *Is there anything that you would like to add that you think that I missed in my interview? [I remind my thesis topic interest].*

K: Our side of the medal is that the aim of our museum - that we are the occupation museum, so all the things we have here are collected in 1990s and 2000s, is from those who suffered from occupation, it is - we are a political museum, for the most, and the main thing is just that we are looking at these political things, we try to explain what happened here, because many citizens, people, and we are seeing that sometimes, ok, it was bad, but sometimes it wasn't bad, actually there was free medical care etc. So our task is to explain how it happened, not the medical care was bad, but the system of Soviet union, how it worked, the system of Nazi Germany, how it worked, and we need to compare those two regimes and the main target is, you know, in other part of the world they are known as Nazis, but the soviets had higher casualties in their period, this regime was - there are many differences between those regimes, but also similarities, so we need to tell the story that OK, Nazi Germany was bad, but don't forget the Soviets. They also were bad. Even if you were in the university in 1960-70, when the soviet ideas were ones of the greatest ideas, for those student minds, but remember that there is theory how it needs to be and practice. And it was here. So, it was very bloody thing here. So, this is the main task we need to explain. Right now, if we are looking at our current geopolitical situation, at Kremlin, I don't like this type of Russian Federation. It's Kremlin, it's politics. It's not people, it's a group of people, they are just ruling the minds. So right now, if we are looking at what they are doing right now in their own country and we see that they try to, how to say, rehabilitate the regime, it means that this regime could come back. Do you know where the last concentration camp was in Europe? 1990s, Yugoslavia. Some things are not distant past, and it's very very dangerous to reknow [repeat] it with our new technologies. It is one of our museum missions - to remember what happened, to explain why it happened, because we can say that the soviets did it, but it's not only them - it's also us, we slept it [missed] in the 30s, we were not ready for what happened. Our nation was very young but what happened in one year that neighbour Latvians killed Jews, Jews killed Latvians. It happened after one year that all those guys were friends. This is undone homework. Our task is to explain what happened, how it happened, and tell the story to our audience to make them think about it and do their own mind identification to mobilize society, to not to allow to forget it.

Appendix 3. Questionnaire

Google Forms 'Visits to Museums of Occupation with School Classes'

Link to the English version:

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSf7vHahqzwXUfn6-E7gThubxW2KOZIn_VrV3X-VvKvaVaMKzA/viewform?usp=sf_link

Links to the Russian version:

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSeYDAjhb8fQS8OOf7a2heu2sbqusdGVJ41wR2Kbgj4jh4iYgg/viewform?usp=sf_link

General Information

Have you visited an occupation museum in your country with the class(es) you teach in the last 3 years? *

- Yes
- No

If the answer to the previous question was NO, please indicate the reasons. After answering this question, please proceed to Section "Improvements" in the very end of the questionnaire.

*You can choose more than one option

- The museum presents facts that are far from reality
- The museum is propagandistic
- The museum does not present the titular national (Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian) narrative enough
- The museum does not present enough of minority (Russian, Jewish, Ukrainian, Polish etc.) narratives
- There is not enough time for visits to occupation museums in our school history curriculum
- Other:

If yes, which museum have you visited with the class(es)? *You can choose more than one option

- Museum of Genocide Victims, Vilnius, Lithuania
- Museum of Occupation of Latvia, Riga, Latvia
- Museum of Occupations of Estonia, Tallinn, Estonia
- Other:

How often do you visit occupation museum(s) with the class(es)?

- Once a year
- 2-3 times a year
- More than 4 times a year
- Other:

Which classes do you usually take to the occupation museum? *You can choose more than one option

- Primary School classes (1-4)
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- Other:

Is there a recommendation or a policy at your school that encourages such visits to occupation museums?

- Yes
- No
- Other:

In the framework of which school subjects do you visit occupation museums? *You can choose more than one option

- National History
- Social Sciences (Politics and Sociology)
- Literature
- Other:

Which topics in your history/ subject curricula correspond with the visit to an occupation museum? *You can choose more than one option

- World War I
- Independence War
- First Soviet Occupation
- Nazi Occupation
- World War II
- Soviet Occupation Period
- Restoration of Independence (1990s-until now)
- Other:

Do parents of school children appreciate visits to occupation museum?

- Yes
- No
- I do not know
- Other:

Before the visit

Do you get any tasks from the museum for students' preparation for the visit?

- Yes
- No
- Other:

Do you prepare students for the visit? If so, how?

Your answer

Are there any students who do not want to go? If so, why?

Your answer

During the Visit

Before proceeding to the next question, please indicate which exhibition and museum you are talking about, which class was on a visit, in which year. If you speak in general (e.g because you and your class(es) visit the museum(s) often), please indicate it as well.

Your answer

Do you agree with the following statements?

- The museum itself and/or exhibition is neutral and presents facts only

Strongly disagree

Disagree

N/A

Agree

Strongly agree

- The museum itself and/or exhibition presents only titular (Lithuanian/Latvian/Estonian) national dominant narrative

Strongly disagree

Disagree

N/A

Agree

Strongly agree

- The museum exhibition presents both the dominant national and the minority narratives to an equal extent

Strongly disagree

Disagree

N/A

Agree

Strongly agree

- Do you agree as a history educator with the story the museum tells in general (e.g. the content of the exhibition)?

Yes

No

Other:

- Do you agree as a history educator with the story the museum guide tells during the guided tour?

Yes

No

Other:

What kind of activities do you have during the museum visit with the class(es)?

- Museum guided tour
- Discussions
- Work with primary sources (objects, documents, photographs)
- Watch documentaries
- Other:

Do you have any comments concerning the activities (both before and during the museum visit) the occupation museum offers to you as an educator and the schoolchildren?

Your answer

Students' perceptions and experiences.

In your opinion, do students like visiting occupation museum(s)?

- Yes
- No
- Other:

Have you come across extraordinary reactions (positive or negative) of students concerning the content of the museum, exhibition, the museum guide's story etc.?

Your answer

Post-museum Visit

What kind of exercises do you do with class(es) after the museum visit?

Your answer

What do schoolchildren in general tell you about their post-visit experiences?

Your answer

Does the visit to an occupation museum change the students' view on history? For example, the students' view on Soviet Occupation, etc.

Your answer

Improvements

Is there anything that the museum could do in order to arouse your interest as an educator to take your school children for a visit to the museum? *

Your answer

Is there anything that the museum itself could do in order to improve its performance? (please answer this question if you visited the museum with schoolchildren)

Your answer

Background Information

Please fill in this section for the statistics.

Full Name

Your answer

Country *

- Lithuania
- Latvia
- Estonia
- Other:

City *

Your answer

Age *

- 20-30
- 30-40
- 40-50
- 50-60
- 60>

Gender *

- Male
- Female
- Other:

Ethnical Background *

- Lithuanian
- Latvian
- Estonian
- Russian
- Ukrainian
- Polish
- Other:

Native Language *

- Lithuanian
- Latvian
- Estonian
- Russian
- Other:

Good knowledge of other languages except for the native language * you can choose more than one option *

- Estonian
- Latvian
- Estonian
- Russian
- English
- German
- French
- Other:

School in which you work

Your answer

What type of school is the school where you work? *

- Majority School (e.g. Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian)
- Minority School (e.g. Russian, Polish, Jewish)
- Other

Classes you give lessons to. * you can choose more than one option *

- Primary School classes (1-4)
- 5

- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- Other:

Subjects you teach * you can choose more than one option *

- National History
- Social Sciences (Sociology and Political Science)
- Literature
- Other:

Would you like to share your opinion and experiences, as well as your teaching methods and techniques related to incorporation of occupation museums in detail, e.g. by participating in a semi-structured skype interview? The interview will not take more than 30-60 minutes (highly appreciated if you have interesting stories about extraordinary reactions and experiences in class dynamic and/or yourself as an educator with the occupation museum, like techniques and methods that you use as an educator to incorporate the occupation museum in your school's history curriculum?). *

- Yes
- No

If yes, please leave your email address or any other contact form so that I could get in contact with you! *

Your answer