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The Registry: Empirical and Epistemological Analyses

Introduction

In this chapter we will discuss the methodological background of the core element of the COURAGE project – the Registry. At the intersection of sociological and IT methodology, the Registry came into being as an interdisciplinary, transnational and innovative online database on cultural opposition with the ambitious aim to create a new approach to analyzing cultural opposition during state socialism in Central and Eastern Europe. One of the main tasks of the COURAGE project was to create an electronic registry of representative collections of cultural opposition (online and offline, private and public) in all former socialist countries in Europe. The aim was to understand how private, public, hidden alternative and large mainstream collections operate, what functions and roles they serve in the respective societies, and how they present their holdings to the public. The online Registry is a transnational database of collections in both the original languages and in English (and, in a few cases also in minority languages), and is now accessible for European archival platforms. The Registry highlights the progressive aspects of the former cultural opposition movements such as democratic participation, autonomy and cultural plurality in times of oppression. Just as importantly, it affirms that civic courage and autonomous cultural values can thrive even under authoritarian rule.

Collections were established and continued to grow from the 1960s, and by the 1970s and 1980s, they had become a part of the opposition movements. Immediately after 1989, the governments and NGOs of the region quickly established specialized archives, collections, museums and institutes of memory, but the “memory fever”¹ of the political transitions had subsided by the late 1990s. Meanwhile, fundamental cultural changes emerged in the world with the widespread use of the World Wide Web and the expansion of the Internet in the second half of the 1990s, which posed a challenge for the archival profession, as well as researchers in the field of social sciences. “The place-specific learning that historical research in a pre-digital world required

1 Huyssen, *Present Pasts*.

is no longer baked into the process.”² The “transnational turn” and the “digital turn” went hand in hand in the past two decades. Source digitization and public digital registries have crucially influenced the practices and geographic scope of research projects. It became possible to conduct cross-border research without having to leave the reading room of the library. Web-based full-text search is currently a regular praxis worldwide, and over the last few years it has produced its own new vocabulary, such as “text-mining,” “distant reading,” “counting, graphing or mapping” digital sources, “big data,” etc.³ The COURAGE Registry takes advantage of these developments using the so-called linked data principle, and publishing structured, interlinked data that enables semantic queries.

The emergence of new conceptions of archiving had an impact on everyone involved in collecting or researching sources and material in different parts of the world. As Aleida Assmann has argued “[...] an archive is not a museum; it is not designed for public access and popular presentations [...] There is, of course, some order and arrangement in the digital archive, too, but it is one that ensures only the retrieval of information, not an intellectually or emotionally effective display. The archive, in other words, is not a form of presentation but of preservation; it collects and stores information, it does not arrange, exhibit, process, or interpret it.”⁴ In an ideal-typical sense, this is true. However, an analysis of the mission statements and the institutional histories of the collections in the COURAGE Registry reveals that the institutions and collections have performed more complex functions. The forms of preservation and presentation, the objectives of commemorative practices linked to the collections, the methods of retrieving information for historical research, and representations of emotion in mass education and artistic projects—in short: the use of digital collections in archives and museums—are varied. As explained in the previous chapter, the reasons for this are—in part—linked to the politicization of the memory of the communist past and the establishment of various institutions after 1989 that became responsible for “uncovering the truth” about the recent past.

The COURAGE Registry differs from conventional archival databases due to the particular “collecting-oneself”⁵ character that many of the collections have. As Richard Brown and Beth Davis-Brown wrote: “Archives are the manufacturers of memory and not merely the guardians of it.”⁶ It is not surprising that, simultaneous with the establishment of large digital archives, a new wave has appeared in the field of research, and private digitized collections have become frequent sources of mainstream historical and cultural in-

2 Putman, “The Transnational and the Text-Searchable,” 377.

3 Ibid.

4 Assmann, “History, Memory, and the Genre of Testimony,” 262.

5 Otto and Pedersen, “Collecting Oneself.”

6 Brown, and Davis-Brown, “The Making of Memory,” 22.

vestigations. The landscape has changed and considerable efforts have been undertaken to integrate these types of private memories and collections into historiography and public history, not only because the owners were prominent representatives of dissent, but also because these are the only sources that bear witness to certain historical events.

Increased and faster access to digital archives has many advantages and disadvantages. The research conditions can be more egalitarian, as well as more open or cost-effective with digitized sources than in the case of classical historical research in the archives. Online access has enabled many scholars who cannot travel extensively or spend months at different research locations to conduct comparative or transnational studies. However, digitization projects were initially completed in English and in other Western European languages, and digitized testimonies in other languages do not reach the same level of transnational visibility and recognition. Hence, certain international collections either in the English language or with an English search engine can be overrepresented, not only in comparative but also in microstudies or in national historiography written by Western scholars. The COURAGE Registry is unique because all descriptions have been produced in both the original language and in English. Due to the transnational character of the Registry, the database also places special emphasis on minority voices, as it includes ethnic, national and religious minorities, as well. The minority voice inherently represents a certain degree of deviation from, and thus opposition to, the official internationalist ideology of state socialism. The Registry thus sheds light on important, but thus far marginalized problems related to minorities in the region.

I. Mixed Methods

Capturing the specificities of the collections of cultural opposition in the Registry required special research methods. The research team developed a mixed approach which combined the practices and core concepts of historical, sociological and ethnographic research methods, resulting in a coherent database that captures the complexity and the uniqueness of the collections at the same time. In addition, we also developed an interview guideline that helped researchers to conduct interviews in an effective way. The guide organizes interview questions into thematic sections pertaining to the major themes of the COURAGE project. This structure enabled researchers to find quick answers to specific questions related to the subject. The guideline also contains instructions/suggestions to assist researchers in dealing with the narrative questions. Furthermore, we compiled a questionnaire to facilitate the gathering of information during desk research. Information for the Registry was gathered in accordance with both the interview guideline and the questionnaire.

The Collections

The Registry as a specific type of database is at the same time an archival, a sociological, historiographical and an IT project, which contains collections as basic units. ‘Collection’ as a concept is defined more broadly by COURAGE than by the specific institutions, and it also applies to cases where the items were not collected intentionally. Besides the large institutionalized collections which had already existed as established collections before COURAGE, such as archives, libraries, documentary centers, we have also included private collections and archives. In particular cases, certain items such as family relics have also been turned into collections as a result of the COURAGE project.

A good example of an established collection is the Václav Havel Library in Prague,⁷ founded in 2004 and containing various types of recordings on Václav Havel that are constantly being archived and digitalized. The Artpool Art Research Centre,⁸ founded in 1979, represents a similar case as an essential Hungarian archive for alternative arts. The well-known collections of Radio Free Europe could be mentioned here, too. Private collections were established according to a different logic. Their creation is typically linked to personal motivations—most commonly the spouse (usually the wife) or a descendant of an important figure would store documents or personal belongings, not necessarily with the purpose of creating a collection, but often just to create an archive for personal reasons. A good example is the collection of the works, letters and photographs of Vasyl Stus, a Ukrainian poet and human rights activist who died in a Soviet prison camp. His son and widow decided to entrust all of Stus’ materials to the Institute of Literature, which eventually turned into the Vasyl Stus Collection.⁹ The Ion Monoran Collection¹⁰ represents a similar case, where Ion Monoran’s materials—letters, manuscripts, including his poems and his army diary, and his typewriting machine—remained in the possession of the Monoran family, and are kept in their private home and preserved by Monoran’s widow.

A particular type of collection is represented by those that have been established with the purpose of self-archiving. This was the case of Lazar Stojanovic,¹¹ film maker of the Yugoslav Black Wave movement, and director of the scandalous cult film *Plastic Jesus*—an ironic work with subtle political im-

7 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Václav Havel Library”, by Michaela Kůželová, 2018. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

8 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Artpool Art Collection”, by Balázs Beöthy and Júlia Klaniczay, 2018. Accessed: October 11, 2018, doi: 10.24389/5123

9 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Vasyl Stus Collection”, by Orysia Maria Kulick, 2018. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

10 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Ion Monoran Private Collection”, by Cristina Petrescu and Cristian Valeriu Pătrășconiu, 2018. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

11 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Lazar Stojanović Collection”, by Jacqueline Nießer, 2018. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

plications. Stojanovic had been preserving his works since his arrest in 1971 when the journal *Vidici*, which he was editor of, made comparisons between the Yugoslav regime and Nazism. Manuscripts, magazines and films produced by him had been confiscated by the authorities numerous times, and only fragments of them have survived. The collection is currently kept by Stojanovic's widow, Suzana Jovanovic.

The majority of collections (86.7%) were already existing, meaning that they had already been defined and institutionalized as a collection related to opposition prior to the project. In cases where only some contents of a collection were deemed relevant for the database, or a collection had a very broad thematic focus, the term “*ad hoc* collection” was used. Only 13.3 % of the collections in the Registry are *ad hoc* collections. *Ad hoc* collection is a separate category within the Registry, and includes entries that were defined as a collection specifically by COURAGE. Most of the *ad hoc* collections are operated by governmental or state organizations (73.3%), thus the majority of such collections belong to large institutions. Only some countries have *ad hoc* collections in the database; Croatia has the most (26.9%). *Ad hoc* collections include works (typically political, art or academic) that are often not organized as a collection—as in the case of the collection Only the Forbidden Newspapers Remain in History¹²—or archival materials under a particular subject that belong together as relics of the resistance, but are stored in diverse locations. The Black Church Restoration¹³ illustrates the latter category, embracing different kinds of materials through different political systems from the late 1930s until 2000. It documents the restoration process which has involved issues of religious freedom, of ethnic self-representation of the Saxons in Transylvania, local politics and of the different aspects of political repression in Romania. Some unusual collections also fall into this category, such as the Life Beyond the Patterns of Communism,¹⁴ which is the private collection of a Bulgarian school teacher and consists of photographs, books, articles and personal memoirs.

The Main Questions about the Collections

In order to organize and categorize the collections in the Registry, it was essential to obtain informative and comparable data and metadata. This task was completed on the basis of a standardized set of questions in relation to:

- The history of the collection: how, when, and why it has been founded;
- Key agents; i.e. people and institutions that played an important role in establishing and/or managing the collection;
- The contents of the collection;

12 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Only the Forbidden Newspapers Remain in History”, by Anelia Kasabova, Dr., 2018. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

13 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Black Church Restoration Ad Hoc Collection in Braşov”, by Corneliu Pintilescu, 2017. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

14 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Life Beyond the Patterns of Communism”, by Anelia Kasabova, Dr., 2018. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

- The operation of the collection (people and institutions) including the owners of, and contributors to the collection (founders, collectors);
- The financial situation of the collection;
- Typical items that represent the collection;
- Important events in the history of the collection;
- Access, visitors, publications.

At the beginning, there were three competing methodological approaches to the research: 1) the interview, which is a typical field method of qualitative sociological inquiry; 2) the questionnaire, which is the standard tool of quantitative research, and 3) archival research, which is generally applied in historical research. The consortium eventually decided to implement a mixed methodology, combining interviewing and data collection with desk research. An interview guideline was prepared which followed the structure of the Registry and enabled researchers to ask interviewees about the collections in detail. In general, researchers were instructed to aim at conducting an interview, instead of doing desk research only. The objective was to highlight the importance of primary sources, and make the database of COURAGE unique. Furthermore, the interview and the questionnaire also gave an opportunity to obtain data and metadata on small, marginal or less known collections, and where it was more difficult or even impossible to find archival information. A case in point is Gheorghe Muruziuc,¹⁵ a Moldavian worker, who put the Romanian flag on the factory building as an expression of resistance against the Soviet occupation. In addition, even in the case of well-known collections, an interview with the founder(s) could highlight the unique and authentic aspects of the history of the collections and bring them closer to the general public. An example of this is the Polish Exchange Gallery¹⁶ and the interview with its founder, Józef Robakowski. Since it was not always possible to conduct an interview researchers also used archival materials, available publications or audial materials (lectures) on the subject. 83% of all the collections have been described using one interview source. For 9% of the collections, two or more interviews have been used. 8% of the collections were described without using any interviews—in these cases, the researchers could describe their sources in a separate tab.

15 COURAGE Registry, s.v. "Gheorghe Muruziuc Collection at SIS Archive Moldova", by Cristina Petrescu and Andrei Cusco, 2017. Accessed: October 11, 2018, doi: 10.24389/23399

16 COURAGE Registry, s.v. "Exchange Gallery", by Xawery Stanczyk, 2017. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

II. The Digital Databank of the Registry

The Registry is based on a linked data structure. For this purpose, it was essential to structure the Registry—and the interview guidelines—around discrete entities that can be linked afterwards to highlight the rich connections between them. Research was organized, and data was collected around the following main entities:¹⁷

- The collection. It is the most important entity of the Registry; every other entity is connected to one or more collection(s). We investigated the history, provenance, the importance of a collection, its content, how it is accessible, who the visitors are, etc.;
- Interviews with knowledgeable persons who could provide information about collections;
- People, groups and organizations that had an important role in the history of the collection from its foundation to the present, such as:
 - owner(s),
 - founder(s),
 - operator(s),
 - others who do not belong to the above-mentioned categories but have an important stakeholder role,
 - creator(s) of the content in a collection,
 - creator of a collection,
 - supporters of a collection;
- Key events in the history of a collection;
- Featured items that are important/characteristic/interesting/typical of a collection;
- Roles. All the above-mentioned categories are connected with one or more collection(s) via one or more “roles(s)”. For example, a national library can have an operator role connected to several collections, and/or can be the owner of them. Or a person collecting interesting materials can have a founder or a creator role for the same collection. Data was also collected with regard to the characteristics of the roles. For example, under the operator role in the Registry, one could find information about employees, the budget, the networking activities and the structure of the organization operating the collection. The chronology of the collections can be traced due to the fact that all the roles have beginning and end dates.

The Registry stores data using the linked data model, which uses the following building blocks:

- X is of type T,
- X has OP property Y (object property),

¹⁷ There are many more.

- X has TP property: “...some text...” in language L (text property),
- X has DP property: “some number, true/false, date” (data property).
An example description of a collection could be:
- X is of Collection type,
- X has founders Y (Júlia Klaniczay) and Z (György Galántai),
- X has name “Artpool Art Research Center” in English,
- X was founded in 1979, etc.

Therefore, we get typed connections between items which can be used in both directions: the founders of X, or the things founded by Y. This is the main advantage of linked data compared to traditional questionnaires; there is a greater number of described entities which are then reusable. The Archive of the Party History Institute of Soviet Lithuania,¹⁸ for example, figures several times in different collections. It appears as a founder for at least five different collections, as an owner for at least seven, as collector in five collections, and as a main actor in three others (with overlaps). The other advantage is the avoidance of duplication: if person X had two collections and the per collection description method was used, they could have two separate and somewhat different descriptions for each collection. In the COURAGE Registry, however, person X has a single description connected to all collections where they had a role (Figure A0).

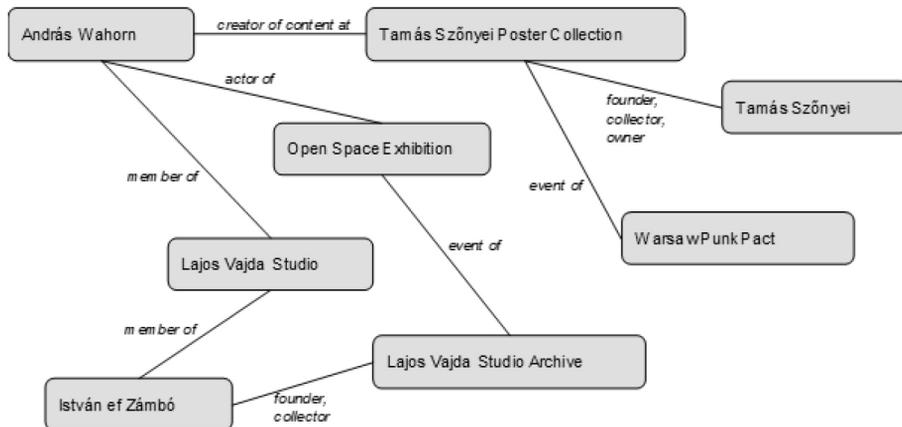


Figure A0. An excerpt from the connection network in the Registry

Furthermore, the types and properties have a predefined structure, which is called schema or ontology, depending on the complexity of constructs used. In essence, the properties an item may have depends on its type. Types and

¹⁸ COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Archive of the Party History Institute of Soviet Lithuania”, by Vldas Sirutavičius, 2017. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

properties may have one or more subtypes or sub-properties respectively, leading to a type and a property hierarchy. A part of the type hierarchy of the COURAGE Registry is shown in Figure A1. The main type is a Historical item, which is described for historical purposes. This type may have a name, a location, a short description, and a website. On the next level there are agents, assets, events and interviews. An asset can be a collection, an item of a collection or a publication (e.g. a collection catalogue), and as common properties they may have topics, they may be available in some languages and their reuse may be restricted in some way. Interviews are handled separately from assets and events, although interviews may have some common characteristics with both types, but the aim was to separate them as sources of information and personal statements from the other descriptive items. Events (such as exhibitions, donations, important acquisitions, publications) have a start and end date in common and are connected with collections and the related agents. For all date properties the database uses years, as exact dates are often difficult to establish. On occasion the year is only an estimation; in such cases a special comment field containing an explanation was added.

Agents have the most complex type of hierarchy. They share the ability to take roles for assets or events. An agent can be a person or a group, which in turn can be a formal organization with some legal documentation, an informal group, or a network. People are divided into three subtypes: *researchers* conduct interviews or desk research to describe the other two types of people:

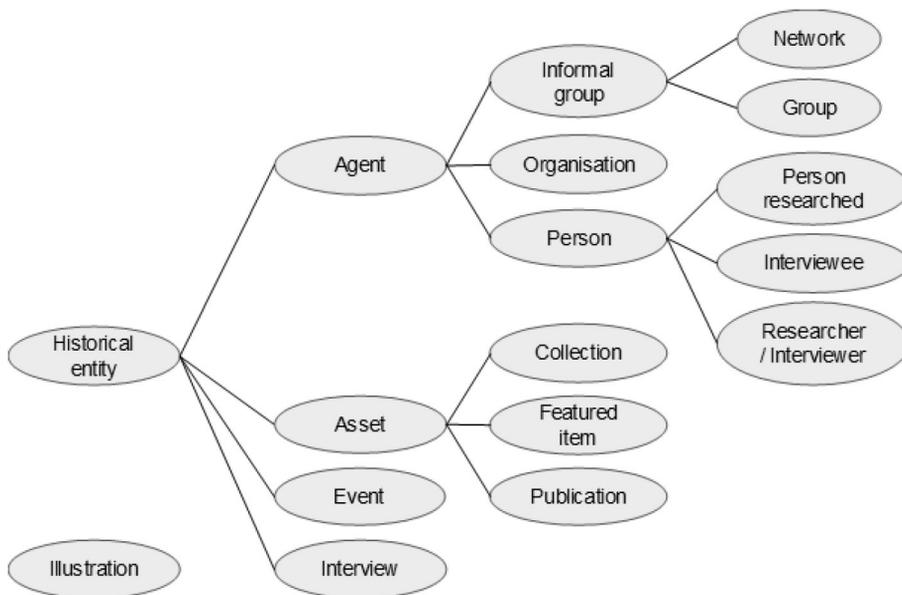


Figure A1. The main types of the Registry and their type hierarchy

the *people* who are *researched* and described in the COURAGE Registry, and people without a role in our focused research, of whom less data is provided; this is the category called *interviewee*. People naturally have common properties such as first and last name, birth place, birth date and other personal data.

The roles are also assigned a start and an end date (interval role), while the founder only has a single date property (Figure A2).

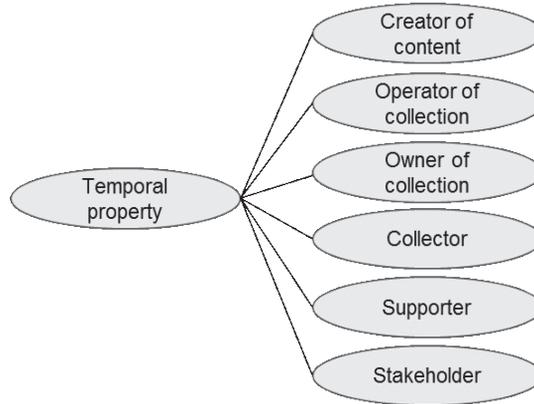


Figure A2. Role types of the Registry

Figure A3 shows how the subsequent owners of a collection are stored in the Registry using the owner role construct.

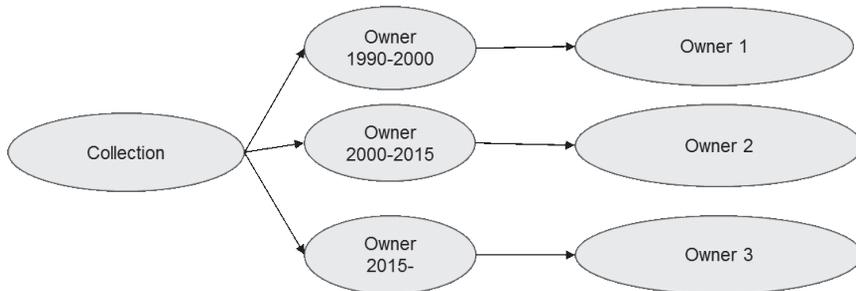


Figure A3. Example: the owner roles of Artpool

III. Some Characteristics of the Registry

It needs to be stressed that the current analysis does not focus on the collections of cultural opposition under socialism in general but solely on the collections in the Registry. Although the selection of the collections was a deliberative process at the beginning of the project, it was largely the responsibility of

the researchers to choose from a wide variety of different collections. Besides academic reasons, practical considerations also played a role.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the Registry of COURAGE grew to be the most comprehensive database on cultural opposition to date and thus provides a valuable source material for an analysis on the subject.

Content

There are almost 300 published collections in the COURAGE Registry (as of 27 September 2018). The project aims at describing 400–500 collections altogether by the end of the project. The collections can be categorized according to various typologies. They come from over 15 countries, include dozens of private, public and *ad hoc* collections, and cover hundreds of subjects related to cultural opposition, which demonstrates just how diverse the opposition was.

On the basis of who produced the materials it is possible to make a differentiation between collections “from below” and the ones “from above.” Most of the collections fall under the first category and contain collections representing the opposition of the “people” (artists, scholars, human right activists, church representatives, or just “ordinary” people), and documentary traces of their activities. Collections “from above” contain materials that were collected about the activists by the regime. There are numerous collections about KGB surveillance, including the Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Moldavian KGB, and the activities of the *Stasi* in East Germany. The collections representing the voices “from below” are the most numerous in the Registry. Such collections also reveal details about the activities of various minorities, including the activities of national minority groups (Hungarians in Romania and present day Slovakia, Turkish minorities in Bulgaria), ethnic groups (the Roma), or sexual minorities (gay activists in Poland and in Hungary).

The content of the collections is very diverse, with 65% containing two or more types of content. 20 categories were identified to describe the type of materials a collection can contain. The researchers were able to specify as many categories as they found appropriate. The category “legal manuscripts” is the most common, approximately 49% of all the collections in the Registry contain such materials. Both publications and photos were represented in approximately 45% of the collections. Grey literature with 33% was the fourth most common content type.

The numbers of collections in each country represented in the Registry are the following:

¹⁹ Practical considerations may include good personal or institutional relations with collections or their operators.

Number of collections by countries		
	N	%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1	0,3
Bulgaria	12	4,1
Croatia	37	12,6
Czech Republic	38	13,0
Estonia	9	3,1
Germany	14	4,8
Hungary	44	15,0
Kosovo	1	0,3
Latvia	7	2,4
Lithuania	22	7,5
Poland	22	7,5
Republic of Moldova	14	4,8
Romania	36	12,3
Serbia	12	4,1
Slovakia	9	3,1
Slovenia	3	1,0
Turkey	1	0,3
Ukraine	6	2,0
United Kingdom	3	1,0
United States of America	2	0,7
Total	293	100,0

Nodes

Due to the linked structure of the database, it is possible to identify the most significant nodes of the Registry: points where many collections connect. The five largest nodes of organizations are the following: Soviet Moldavian KGB; Croatian State Archives; Museum of Czech Literature; the Securitate (Romania), and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia. These institutions have the highest number of connections to different collections in the Registry.²⁰ The persons who are connected to the highest number of collections and institutions are the following: György Galántai and Júlia Klaniczay from

²⁰ The project partners adopted different strategies in completing the Registry: some of the partners added many persons to an institution/collection, others only added the most important organizations, or individuals.

Hungary, Václav Havel from Czechia, Igor Cașu from Moldova, and Jiří Gruntorád from Czechia. These nodes do not necessarily reflect a ranking of these people in terms of their significance in the history of cultural opposition; they merely indicate their position(s) in relation to collections on specific topics. The nodes are also determined by the number of collections from a specific country in the Registry.

The average ratio of female employees among the persons, groups or institutions operating the collections is 56%.²¹ This means that women are slightly overrepresented as employees. In the Registry, however, approximately 74% of the researched persons are male. This seems to be a substantial disparity. It requires further research to establish whether such a discrepancy is due to the sampling of the collections in the project, or due to the overrepresentation of men in cultural opposition.

Topics

One of the most important aims of COURAGE is to highlight the rich diversity of alternative cultural scenes that flourished in Eastern Europe despite strict state control before 1989. In order to present the complexity and the variety of cultural opposition in the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, 35 thematic categories (topics) were identified for the Registry. The researchers were free to select the topics to best describe their collections. Due to some overlaps between the different topics, researchers were able to describe collections as accurately as possible, without a limitation on the number of topics that they could choose. The topics are (1) alternative forms of education (e.g. flying universities), (2) alternative lifestyles and everyday resistance, (3) avant-garde, neo-avant-garde, (4) censorship, (5) conscientious objectors, (6) critical science (against state-supported), (7) democratic opposition, (8) emigration/exile, (9) environmental protection (e.g. antinuclear movement), (10) ethnic movements, (11) film, (12) fine arts, (13) folk culture (e.g. folk dance movements) (14) human rights movements, (15) independent journalism, (16) literature and literary criticism, (17) media arts (digital arts), (18) minority movements, (19) music (rock, punk, alternative, classical, etc.), (20) national movements (patriotic opposition), (21) party dissidents (outcasts from the party), (22) peace movements, (23) philosophical/theoretical movements (neo-Marxists, Maoists, reform socialists, etc.), (24) religious activism, (25) samizdat and tamizdat, (26) scientific criticism, (27) social movements (general), (28) student movement, (29) surveillance (various), (30) survivors of persecutions under authoritarian/totalitarian regimes, (31) theatre and performing arts, (32) underground culture, (33) visual arts, (34) women's movement (35) youth culture.

21 COURAGE has information about approximately 89% of the current operators.

Topic	Number of times mentioned	%
alternative education	11	3,8%
alternative lifestyle	54	18,0%
avantgarde	38	13,0%
censorship	35	11,9%
conscientious objectors	2	0,7%
critical science	10	3,4%
democratic opposition	73	24,9%
emigration	52	17,7%
environmental protection	10	3,4%
ethnic movements	5	1,7%
film	11	3,8%
fine arts	25	8,5%
folk	10	3,4%
human rights	54	18,4%
independent journalism	13	4,4%
literature	47	16,0%
media arts	8	2,7%
minority movements	11	3,8%
music	24	8,2%
national movements	50	17,1%
party dissident	11	3,8%
peace movements	7	2,4%
philosophical movements	11	3,8%
popular culture	16	5,5%
religious activism	27	9,2%
samizdat	51	17,4%
scientific criticism	14	4,8%
social movement	14	4,8%
student movement	18	6,1%
surveillance	24	8,2%
survivors of persecutions	22	7,5%

Topic	Number of times mentioned	%
theatre	13	4,4%
underground culture	36	12,3%
visual arts	35	11,9%
women	7	2,4%
youth culture	34	11,6%

More than one topic was assigned to the majority of the collections. The graph below shows the average number of topics selected by researchers per collection:

Number of topics		
	N	%
1	38	13,0
2	67	22,9
3	101	34,5
4	46	15,7
5	22	7,5
6	4	1,4
7	4	1,4
8	5	1,7
9	3	1,0
10	2	0,7
17	1	0,3
Total	100	100,0

Most of the collections cover three (35.0%) or two (22%) topics.²² 13% of the collections are single topic collections. Collections with more than 5 topics are very rare in the Registry. In a very extreme case, 17 topics were assigned to a single collection (Memory Nation from the Czech Republic).²³

The Registry consists of collections from 17 different countries, with small differences noticeable in the number of topics they cover.

²² The number of topics chosen for a collection was undoubtedly dependent on the researchers' subjective considerations and attitudes to the topic, as well.

²³ COURAGE Registry, s.v. "Memory of Nations", by Anna Vrtálková, 2017. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

Number of topics by countries																
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	17					
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0,00%	100,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Bulgaria	0,00%	8,30%	41,70%	16,70%	16,70%	0,00%	0,00%	16,70%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Croatia	5,40%	18,90%	43,20%	21,60%	2,70%	0,00%	2,70%	5,40%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Czech Republic	5,30%	7,90%	31,60%	21,10%	13,20%	5,30%	2,60%	2,60%	2,60%	5,30%	2,60%					
Estonia	11,10%	33,30%	22,20%	22,20%	11,10%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Germany	7,10%	21,40%	35,70%	7,10%	21,40%	7,10%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Hungary	18,20%	25,00%	31,80%	9,10%	9,10%	2,30%	2,30%	0,00%	2,30%	0,00%	0,00%					
Kosovo	0,00%	100,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Latvia	57,10%	28,60%	14,30%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Lithuania	31,80%	50,00%	9,10%	9,10%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Poland	13,60%	27,30%	27,30%	31,80%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Republic of Moldova	0,00%	0,00%	78,60%	14,30%	7,10%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Romania	8,30%	25,00%	52,80%	5,60%	8,30%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Serbia	25,00%	25,00%	16,70%	25,00%	8,30%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Slovakia	33,30%	44,40%	11,10%	11,10%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Slovenia	0,00%	33,30%	33,30%	33,30%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Turkey	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	100,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
Ukraine	0,00%	16,70%	16,70%	50,00%	0,00%	0,00%	16,70%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
United Kingdom	33,30%	0,00%	66,70%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%					
United States of America	0,00%	0,00%	50,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	50,00%	0,00%	0,00%					

There is a relatively high rate of single topic collections (over 10%) in Latvia (57% of all the Latvian collections), Lithuania (32% of all Lithuanian collections) and in Hungary (18% of all the Hungarian collections). Collections from Czechia, Estonia, Poland and Ukraine are characterized by rich thematic relations, and most of these collections include four or more topics.

Democratic Opposition

Even though an explicit aim of the project was to bring the less known and less represented collections to the foreground instead of reproducing already existing narratives of the democratic opposition, the most frequent topic in the collections in the Registry is democratic opposition. Democratic opposition was selected as a topic for 90 collections (31% of the collections), and it appears most frequently in collections from the Czech Republic. However, while 26% of such topics are assigned to Czech collections, the topic also features prominently in collections from Germany (67% of the collections) and in Bulgaria (58% of collections). COURAGE also anticipated a more prominent representation of the fine arts and the avant-garde in the collections. However, these topics only feature in a small minority of the collections (with 8.5% of the collections covering fine arts and 13% concerning avant-garde, with some overlaps).

Environmental Movements

At the same time, environmental movements, which had a great influence on the crystallization of the opposition in several countries (Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, the Baltic states etc.), appear to feature less prominently in the Registry. The theme is covered by 13 collections (1%), which include collections about the Danube movement²⁴ in Hungary, the protests against the Daugavpils plant²⁵ in Latvia and the anti-chlorine pollution demonstrations in Ruse, Bulgaria.²⁶ These ratios are far from being representative, as the total number of collections in the respective societies remains (and will remain) unknown. Nevertheless, they demonstrate the challenges of producing new narratives on cultural opposition in the region.

Data in the Registry also shows that collections related to democratic opposition are mainly operated by governmental/state organizations, and are therefore, connected to other collections in larger institutions. This indicates that the heritage of the democratic opposition has mostly been archived by

24 COURAGE Registry, s.v. "Documents of the Danube Circle's Association", by Zoltán Pál, 2017. Accessed: October 11, 2018, doi: 10.24389/16054

25 COURAGE Registry, s.v. "Protest campaign against construction of the Daugavpils HPP in 1986–1987", by Daina Bleiere, 2018. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

26 COURAGE Registry, s.v. "Ecological protests against the chlorine pollution in Ruse", by Anelia Kasabova, Dr., 2017. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

governmental institutions. The diagram below shows the collections that include “democratic opposition” among the topics assigned to them (the column labeled with “yes”); the ones that do not include material relevant to this topic (the column labeled with “no”); and the overall average (column without a label).

Democratic opposition collections by current operator type			
	no	yes	total
association	4,7%	16,7%	7,8%
corporation	0,5%	0,0%	0,4%
Government/State orga-nisation	50,7%	56,9%	52,3%
international organisation	0,5%	0,0%	0,4%
other for-profit organiza-tion	0,5%	0,0%	0,4%
other non-profit organi-zation	12,8%	6,9%	11,3%
partnership	0,5%	2,8%	1,1%
private foundation	6,6%	2,8%	5,7%
public foundation	3,3%	4,2%	3,5%
person or group	19,9%	9,7%	17,3%

Alternative Lifestyles

The themes of alternative lifestyle (*Aktionsgruppe Banat*²⁷ in Romania, the Polish Punk Collection of Anna Dąbrowska-Lyons),²⁸ human rights (Jan Patočka Archives),²⁹ samizdat (Havel collection),³⁰ national movements (the Promethean movement³¹ coordinated by the Polish military intelligence), religious activism (The Jesuit Order in Hungary),³² avant-garde (the FV 112/15 Group

27 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Aktionsgruppe Banat Ad-hoc Collection at CNSAS”, by Cristina Petrescu and Corneliu Pintilescu, 2018. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

28 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Polish Punk Collection by Anna Dąbrowska-Lyons”, by Xawery Stanczyk, 2017. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

29 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Jan Patočka Archives”, by Michaela Kůželová and Anna Vrtálková, 2017. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

30 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Václav Havel Collection of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre”, by Anna Vrtálková, 2018. Accessed: October 11, 2018; COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Václav Havel Library”, by Michaela Kůželová, 2018. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

31 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Prometheus Collection”, by Mikołaj Kunicki, 2017. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

32 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Archives of the Jesuit Order Hungary”, by Béla Mihalik and Zoltán Pál, 2017. Accessed: October 11, 2018, doi: 10.24389/10677

Collection³³ in Slovenia), and literature (Danilo Kiš Collection)³⁴ also appear repeatedly in the Registry. Literature as a topic was selected in more than 16% of the collections. Other topics such as alternative education, minority movements, women, ethnic movements, folk movements are rarely represented in the Registry. From the perspective of the topics, the collections of the Registry can be regarded as heterogeneous.

Operators

Among the current operators of the collections, approximately 24% are archives, 19% are museums, 16% are libraries and 17% are private persons. Other types of operators (societies, or galleries, for example) feature in the collections much less frequently. More than half of the organizations in the Registry operating a collection are government or state organizations, 11% are non-profit organizations, 17% are private individuals or groups.

Approximately one third of the collections employ 1–8 employees, with 15% of all the collections are run only by a single employee, usually the owner of the collection. In such cases the term “employee” does not necessarily involve formal employment. Another third of the collections have 9–65 employees; the last third consists of large collections with more than 65 employees. Networking seems to play a fairly important role in the lives of these operators: approximately 80% of them take part in some networking activities (archiving, digitizing, etc.) involving other institutions.

Approximately 12% of operators have no financial support for managing the collections.³⁵ The mean yearly budget in EUR is 1,915,703, but the standard deviation is very high. This high figure is generated by a relatively small number of large organizations. For all the operators we have information on, the median yearly budget is approximately 530,000 EUR. This means that 50% of all the operators have a budget lower than the median. The figures in the Registry often include the entire budget of the institution operating the collection, and therefore indicate the size of the institution that hosts the collection. However, the figures do not normally include the amount of money dedicated to the management of a single collection. The institutions in the Registry operating with the largest budget come from Germany, followed—after a large gap—by Croatia. The amounts in EUR are shown below.

33 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “FV 112/15 Group Collection”, by Marta Rendla, 2018. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

34 COURAGE Registry, s.v. “Danilo Kiš Collection”, by Sanja, Radović, 2017. Accessed: October 11, 2018.

35 There is no information about the budget for 16% of the operators.

country	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Bulgaria	867885,5	8	1157895,31
Croatia	3379436,94	35	2679495,737
Czech Republic	1111826,53	34	2301084,775
Estonia	2369571,43	7	2631693,615
Germany	13523137,5	8	35779969,44
Hungary	1475783,19	27	2650699,556
Kosovo	700000	1	.
Latvia	1448164	7	2142642,258
Lithuania	978854,79	19	541662,691
Poland	736686,87	16	1281423,461
Republic of Moldova	0	3	0
Romania	761107,94	36	962357,94
Serbia	502965,5	4	308815,679
Slovakia	773465	2	1093844,693
Slovenia	350000	1	.
Ukraine	207271	1	.
Total	1915703,6	209	7276286,395

Germany's position on the list is mostly due to the substantial annual budget of EUR 101,970,000 of the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic (BStU). The institution in the Registry with the second largest budget (12,761,667 EUR) is the Hungarian Heritage House, followed by the National Gallery in Prague with a budget of 12,583,000 EUR. The most frequent current operators and those with the largest budgets are government or state organizations, followed by (a very small number of) partnerships:

Type of the operator	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
association	158555	18	162628,125
Government/State organization	3011956,95	119	9410530,384
other for-profit organization	675675	1	.
other non-profit organization	566284	15	1436556,337
partnership	2850000	3	0
private foundation	218881	12	300251,78
public foundation	2079838,56	9	4331585,658
person or group	1253	32	7070,52
Total	1915703,6	209	7276286,395

IV. Conclusion

This chapter introduced the methodological background and the construction of the Registry as a particular type of database, and an interdisciplinary product at the cross-roads of archiving, sociology, historiography and IT, with collections as its basic units. The Registry has clearly benefited from the changes in archiving practices in recent years: it applies the so-called linked principle, which enabled semantic queries and the interlinking of data. The Registry is unique in the sense that it allows the interactive updating of data with the special “collecting-oneself” character.

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