

An Album for Tito. Belonging, Transnational Unity, and Social Critique in a Photo Album by the Yugoslav Worker's Club *Jedinstvo* Vienna

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Abstract

This article explores a photo album presented to the Yugoslav state president Tito by *Jedinstvo* (Unity), a Yugoslav workers' association from Vienna, in 1972. It documents the club's activities while also thematically portraying the living conditions of Yugoslav labor migrants in Austria. Using the album as a case study, the analysis investigates how albums, as a communicative and active visual medium, address questions of self-representation and belonging in a transnational context. Following this, the article will analyze how the album marks the confluence of social and political demands, serving also as a vehicle for articulating criticism. In the first section, the article sketches the album's historical context, and its production and transmission history, as well as its formal and material properties. In the second section, the central topics and motifs, as well as the visual narration brought forth by the composition of the album, will be analyzed. A key focus lays on the album's process of meaning-making, namely, how its content was selected and compiled. Which strategies of filling and commemorative practices are evidenced in the material's utilization? Through this approach, an effort is made to explain how content is vocalized through the album's specific media properties.

Keywords: photographic album, migration, Austria, Socialist Yugoslavia, 1970s, workers' club

Introduction

Photography and migration have a long-standing and multi-faceted relationship with one another. Often described as "the diasporic medium par excellence,"¹ photography has played a pivotal role in documenting, representing, and influencing narratives and perceptions related to migration. It empowers individuals to position themselves within larger processes

¹ Dogramaci, Burcu and Helene Roth. 2019. Editorial. *Fotogeschichte* 39(151), *Special Issue: Nomadic camera. Fotografie, exil und migration*, edited by Dogramaci, Burcu and Helene Roth, 3-8, 3 [emphasis in original].

of migration, serving as a transnational means of communication and a repository of (transgenerational) memories. Photographs have not only been instrumental in shaping societal perceptions of migration but have also facilitated the identification and control of migrants, contributed to the process of ‘othering,’ and documented their lives and living conditions.²

In recent years, academic interest in various aspects of this relationship has grown, particularly in a series of contemporary publications. One line of questioning revolves around the representation of migration in photographs, for example, through the use of iconic images of migration, social documentary photo series, and journalistic reports by professional photographers as starting points.³ Another focus of research has been on photographic practices across varying migration contexts, analyzing photography’s role as a reflexive instrument for localizing oneself in new surroundings as well as a communication medium.⁴

These approaches and considerations form an essential research context for this paper’s analysis of a photographic album presented to the Yugoslav state president, Josip Broz Tito, on the occasion of his 80th birthday in 1972 by members of the Viennese branch of the Yugoslav worker’s club, *Jedinstvo* (Unity). The album, now held by the Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, not only serves as a visual record of the club’s activities but also provides insights into the living conditions, dreams, and struggles of Yugoslav migrants in Austria.

Near the time of the album’s creation, Yugoslav workers in Austria, so-called guest workers, were on the threshold of partial inclusion into the workforce yet remained factually excluded as equal citizens. Discriminatory measures and laws limited their time in Austria and linked it to a valid work permit. Their marginalized social status was expressed in uncertain individual perspectives on staying in Austria and their social integration.⁵ At this point, most Yugoslav migrants intended to return to Yugoslavia and invest in a life there.

Through the act of creating an album, its designers simultaneously presented facets of their own histories in Austria. In what was a fairly common practice among citizens and institutions in socialist Yugoslavia, this album, which served as a device of recognition and representation, was ceremoniously given as a gift to President Tito.⁶ In general, the album’s mobility as an object across time and space, coupled with its central role as a remembrance medium, makes it particularly well-suited for discourses relating to migration.⁷

I am interested in investigating how the *Jedinstvo* album’s content mediated Yugoslav migrant experiences and how it addressed questions of self-presentation, self-empowerment,

² Schwartz, Joan. 2006. Migration and photography, in *The Oxford companion to the photograph*, edited by Lenman, Robin and Angela Nicholson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 410-411.

³ Dogramaci, Burcu. 2018. *Fotografische Ihr-Bildungen. Migration in der Bundesrepublik der 1970er und 1980er im Blick der Kamera*, in *Migration ein Bild geben. Visuelle Aushandlungen von Diversität*, edited by Rass, Christoph and Melanie Ulz. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 9-33; Sheehan, Tanya (ed.). 2018. *Photography and migration*. New York: Routledge; Rass, Christoph and Melanie Ulz (eds.). 2018. *Migration ein Bild geben. Visuelle Aushandlungen von Diversität*, Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

⁴ Campt, Tina M. 2012. *Image matters: Archive, photography and the African diaspora in Europe*. Durham & London: Duke University Press; Carville, Justin and Sigrid Lien (eds.). 2021. *Contact zones: Photography, migration and the United States*. Leuven: University Press; Troelenberg, Eva-Maria / Caraffa, Constanza and Anna Sophia Messner. 2020. Encounters: Handling, placing and looking at photographs in relation to Migration. *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity* 8(1), 1-12; Kaçel, Ela and Barbara Engelbach (eds.). 2021. *In Situ: Photo Stories on Migration (= exhibition catalogue, Museum Ludwig Cologne)*. Cologne: Walter König.

⁵ Kapetanović, Mišo. 2022. Yugoslav labor migrants emerging as the Austrian working class (1960-1980), in *zeitgeschichte* 49(1), 87-110.

⁶ See, Adamović, Ana. 2018. *Representative portrait of the childhood in the Socialist Yugoslavia*. Unpublished Dissertation. Academy of Fine Arts: Vienna.

⁷ Compare, Blume, Judith. 2019. *Wissen und Konsum. Eine Geschichte des Sammelbildalbums 1860-1952*. Göttingen: Wallstein, 44, 56.

and belonging within a transnational context. Several related research questions arise from the examination of these aspects: How do migration experiences manifest in the photographic album and influence its creation? How did the album's authors envision their identities and sense of self in a new environment? What was the representational purpose of the album, and what (other) messages did the club intend to convey to President Tito and the broader audience? The goal of this last line of inquiry is to understand how the album not only forged transnational ties and fostered a sense of community and identity across geographical locations but also served as a vehicle for articulating criticism, shedding light on various aspects of the migratory experience in Austria.

A central aim of this paper is to highlight the distinctive value of this historical source as a means of expression for a marginalized social group in the context of migration. From the vantage point of Contemporary History and Migration Studies, my analysis can potentially offer a new perspective on the multi-faceted relations between Yugoslav workers clubs in Western Europe and their homeland. To date, scholarly investigations in this area have predominantly concentrated on written sources and oral history interviews, with photographic explorations remaining relatively rare.⁸

Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

Both Visual Studies and Contemporary History have come to fully recognize that photographic albums are not merely tools for preserving content and memories but, rather, are creators and shapers of meaning. In the recent past, albums have generated increased interest as both historical sources and historical forms of media⁹ that reflect complex visual narratives due to their strategies of organization and display.¹⁰ This stands in marked contrast to the earlier practice of assessing albums according to their (artistic) novelty or the relative interest evoked by the photographs they contain.¹¹

Matthias Bickenbach describes albums as “spatial classification systems for the encountered”, continuing further by saying, “Their space appropriates and restructures material.”¹² The exact constellation of the material allows new contexts of meaning to develop that would otherwise not be self-evident if the images were individually viewed. As a result, the content and meaning of images change to a far greater extent, owing to the way they are *appropriated* – affixed, titled, arranged, and mounted. This focus on ‘doing’ something to images offers insight into the individual and actor-centric strategies of *meaning-making* as well as the meanings that people attach to images.

⁸ See, Bratić, Ljubomir. 2003. Soziopolitische Netzwerke der MigrantInnen aus der ehemaligen Sozialistischen Föderativen Republik Jugoslawien (SFRJ), in *Österreichischer Migrations- und Integrationsbericht*, edited by Fassmann, Heinz and Irene Stacher. Klagenfurt: Drava, 395-409; Baković, Nikola. 2014. Tending the “oasis of socialism.” Transnational political mobilization of Yugoslav economic emigrants in the FR Germany in the late 1960s and 1970s. *Nationalities Papers* 42(4), 674-690.

⁹ This trend has gained recognition through several studies that examine album-making practices in varying historical, geographic, social, and cultural contexts, as well as methodological and theoretical treatments of historical practices. Many of these studies explore the genre of (private) photo albums, the most common way of preserving personal photographs in the 20th century; however, other forms, such as representation albums, scrapbooks, and artistic albums have also been evaluated. For a research overview see, Bakondy, Vida and Eva Tropper. 2022. Fotoalben beforschen. Voraussetzungen, Impulse, Methoden eines interdisziplinären Forschungsfeldes. *zeitgeschichte* 49(2), 137-154.

¹⁰ Bickenbach, Matthias. 2001. *Das Dispositiv des Fotoalbums: Mutation kultureller Erinnerung. Nadar und das Pantheon*, in *Medien der Präsenz. Museum, Bildung und Wissenschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*, edited by Fohrmann, Jürgen / Schütte, Andrea and Wilhelm Voßkamp. Köln: DuMont, 87-128, 88.

¹¹ See, Tropper, Eva. 2019. Einleitung: Ordnungen der Bilder [unpublished manuscript]. Input lecture for the Joanneum Museum Academy's 2019 workshop “Photo Orders. Photo Albums and Museal Practices”, Berlin.

¹² Bickenbach, Matthias. 2013. *Die Enden der Alben. Über Ordnung und Unordnung eines Mediums am Beispiel von Rolf Dieter Brinkmanns Schütte*, in: *Album. Organisationsform narrativer Kohärenz*, edited by, Kramer, Anke and Annegret Pelz, Annegret. Göttingen: Wallstein, 107-122, 107 [emphasis in original].

This approach reflects a general shift in interest over the past three decades with regard to how photographs are dealt with. Apart from the questions of what (and how) an image shows something, researchers seek to explore the ‘social lives’ of images and their active role in social relations.¹³ For this, it is crucial to examine “[...] how and why photos are made, presented, used, circulated, stored, and reused in particular social and historical contexts and what these practices meant to the people and institutions involved.”¹⁴

In this context, Album Studies has benefited from earlier work in Visual Anthropology as well as Material Culture Studies, both of which have examined the social roles of images, their materiality as three-dimensional objects, and their paths of transmission.¹⁵ This means that the materiality of albums and their contents, as well as their usage, have become a key focus of research – starting from the moment of an album’s creation until its archiving, as at each step along the figurative path, a new layer of meaning is formed.¹⁶ It also raises awareness of the fact that albums are not immovable archives: their content and functions can and do change over time and are subject to different interventions, authorships, as well as receptions and readings.

The present article builds on these theoretical considerations. My primary focus is on the genesis of the album, its content, and its strategies of *meaning-making* – on how *Jedinstvo* curated and narrated stories of its presence in Austria and its ties to Yugoslavia.

The analysis will commence by outlining the album’s production and transmission history and reflecting on the role of the Yugoslav worker’s club within the transnational history of Yugoslav labor migration to Western Europe. After that, I delve into a detailed examination of the *Jedinstvo* album and discuss its formal and material properties. I then sketch the album’s central themes and motifs, as well as describe the ways in which different material was appropriated or used. A key question that arises here pertains to the album’s process of *meaning-making*, namely, how its content was selected and compiled: Which images and narratives were deemed worthy of inclusion and why? Which strategies of filling and commemorative practices are evidenced in the material’s utilization? Following from the supposition that albums possess dynamics of their own, the question must also be posed as to what sort of *meaning-making* power it exerted upon the materials it contains.¹⁷

Historical Contexts and Contemporary Reception

The *Jedinstvo* album represents one of approximately 2,300 albums in the collection of the Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade.¹⁸ According to the responsible curators at the Museum of Yugoslavia, the *Jedinstvo* album is the only one sent to President Tito by a Western

¹³ Edwards, Elizabeth. 2012. Objects of affect. Photography beyond the Image. *Annual Review of Photography* 41, 221-234.

¹⁴ Tinkler, Penny. 2013. *Using photographs in social and historical research*. Los Angeles & London: Sage, 79.

¹⁵ Among others, the work of Elizabeth Edwards, is fundamental here. See, Edwards, Elizabeth and Janice Hart (eds.). 2004. *Photographs objects histories. On the materiality of images*. London & New York: Routledge; Edwards, *Objects of affect*; Edwards, Elizabeth. 2020. *The thingness of photographs*, in *A companion to photography*, edited by Bull, Stephen. Oxford: Wiley, 97-111; Caraffa, Constanza. 2020. *Photographic itineraries in time and space. Photographs as material objects*, in *The handbook of photography studies*, edited Pasternak, Gil. London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi & Sydney: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 79-96.

¹⁶ Schwartz, Joan. 2020. *Working objects in their own time. Photographs in archives*, in *The handbook of photography studies*, edited by Pasternak, Gil. London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi & Sydney: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 513-526, 525.

¹⁷ Tropper, Eva. 2006. *Medialität und Gebrauch oder was leistet der Begriff des Performativen für den Umgang mit Bildern. Die Ansichtskarte als Fallbeispiel*, in *Wie wir uns aufführen. Performanz als Thema der Kulturwissenschaften*, edited by Musner, Lutz and Heidemarie Uhl. Vienna: Löcker, 103-130, 105.

¹⁸ Museum of Yugoslavia (MJ): 1-6-1696.

European Yugoslav workers club.¹⁹ The majority of these 2,300 albums President Tito received during his tenure as the Yugoslav head of state, mostly around May 25th, when his birthday and the Day of Youth were officially celebrated.²⁰ In her unpublished dissertation, *The Representative Portrait of the Childhood in Socialist Yugoslavia*, Ana Adamović was one of the first to scientifically analyze a wide selection of these 2,300 albums. She highlights how they were sent by official institutions, organizations, city administrations, municipalities, as well as sports and art collectives, along with a variety of private individuals and dignitaries from all over Yugoslavia. Most contain photographs. However, several hundred include collections of drawings, literary essays, press clippings, urban development plans, diplomas, and certificates of honor. Only recently have several of these been studied and displayed.²¹

The *Jedinstvo* album's history, as well as its reception, provide three figurative 'threads' to pull on: First, the history of Yugoslav labor migration to Austria in the 1960s and 1970s, following the ratification of a bilateral agreement in 1965/66 between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (hereafter, Yugoslavia) and Austria. After the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), Austria was the second-most frequent destination for Yugoslav labor migrants in Western Europe.²² When the album was created, Yugoslav labor migrants constituted the largest group of foreign workers in Austria.²³ Their presence led not only to the creation of an accompanying infrastructure (transport routes, businesses, media, support services, clubs, etc.) but also increased public discourse on the problems and challenges of migration, both in Austria and their country of origin, Yugoslavia.²⁴ At this juncture, most Yugoslav migrants planned to return home, which, along with the then ongoing debate(s) about migration, are readily apparent in the *Jedinstvo* album.

Second, the album's present-day reception reflects the renewed interest in Yugoslav migration history. The *Jedinstvo* album was displayed to the wider public in 2016 at the Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade as part of the exhibition *Yuga, my Yuga*²⁵ – *Gastarbeiter stories [Jugo, moja Jugo – gastarbajterske priče]* detailing the history of Yugoslav labor migration to Western Europe starting from the 1960s.²⁶ Individual photos from the album were subsequently circulated by the media to visualize this transnational migration

¹⁹ Email from Radovan Čukić to the author, 27 February 2020.

²⁰ Adamović, *Representative portrait*, 9.

²¹ Adamović, *Representative portrait*, 9.

²² The FRG was the most frequent destination country (61% of Yugoslav migrants), followed by Austria (12%), Australia (6%), France (5%), and Switzerland. Brunnbauer, Ulf. 2009. *Labour emigration from the Yugoslav region from the late 19th century until the end of socialism: Continuities and changes*, in *Transnational societies, transterritorial politics. Migrations in the (Post-)Yugoslav region 19th-21th century*, edited by Brunnbauer, Ulf. Munich: Oldenbourg, 17-49, 23.

²³ As of 1973, when guest worker employment reached its first climax, 78.5% of Austria's 250,000 migrant labourers were Yugoslav citizens. Matuschek, Helga. 1985. Ausländerpolitik in Österreich 1962-1985. Der Kampf um und gegen die ausländischen Arbeitskräfte. *Journal für Sozialforschung* 25(2), 159-194, 173-172

²⁴ For Yugoslavia see, Brunnbauer, Ulf. 2019. Yugoslav gastarbeiter and the ambivalence of socialism: Framing out-migration as a social critique. *Journal of Migration History* 5, 413-437; For Austria: Mayer, Stefanie. 2009. *Migration and labor markets*. Political discourse in Austria, in *Debating migration. Political discourses on labor immigration in historical perspective*, edited by Mayer, Stefanie and Mikael Spang. Innsbruck, Vienna & Bozen: StudienVerlag, 25-73; Fischer, Wladimir. 2009. Vom ‚Gastarbeiter‘ zum ‚Ausländer‘. Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Diskurses über ArbeitsmigrantInnen in Österreich. *ÖGL* 53(3), 1-18.

²⁵ Yugoslavia, my Yugoslavia.

²⁶ Email conversation with Radovan Čukić, 27 February 2020; Muzej Jugoslavije. *Exhibition Yuga, my Yuga* (accessed: 24 June 2024).

history.²⁷ With the exhibition, a large, socio-historical exhibition covering the topic was displayed in the former Yugoslav capital.²⁸

Third, the album is relevant to the history of Yugoslav workers' associations in Western Europe. These formed transnational networks, mediating between the Yugoslav state and its citizens "temporarily employed abroad". Such associations were founded at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s not only in the major cities of Western Europe, host to sizable populations of so-called Yugoslav 'guest workers' but in smaller urban centers as well.²⁹ The clubs offered important social meeting points and also formed a support network for everyday concerns, assisting migrants in finding jobs and housing and solving legal or bureaucratic matters. In Vienna, *Jedinstvo*, which still exists today, provided educational activities for the children of guest workers, organized a Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (BCS) driving school program, and operated the *Servis kluba Jedinstvo* (1972-1986), which offered advice in administrative and bureaucratic matters for Yugoslav workers.³⁰ As various studies have shown, one of the club's main goals was to maintain ties between Yugoslav migrants and their homeland through promoting cultural and sports activities linked to home, i.e., celebrating national holidays and festivities, as well as sports and cultural events according to socialist Yugoslav principles.³¹ As Brigitte Le Normand has shown, however, not all of the club's activities were ideologically or politically motivated: Social evenings and sporting events were two local and apolitical examples, which instead fostered a greater sense of community.³² Through the organization of popular cultural and social events, like concerts, film screenings, and sporting events, the worker's clubs "[...] reached a far larger audience than just their memberships".³³ The clubs were often founded by workers themselves, even though "[...] the state tried to assist their opening and functioning through financial and logistical support", as noted by the historian Nikola Baković with reference to his fellow historian, Vladimir Ivanović.³⁴ By the beginning of the 1970s, owing to growing concerns about the alienation of Yugoslav migrants, the Yugoslav state decided to intensify its outreach to Yugoslav citizens abroad. Workers clubs provided a way for the Yugoslav state

²⁷ Among these is one that featured on an exhibition poster depicting a young woman holding a child in front of the Vienna *Riesenrad* (Giant Ferris Wheel). Other images were used to illustrate exhibition reports, such as: Arslani, Merita. 2016. 50 godina gastarbajtera: Titu su slali darove za rođendan. *Express*, 28 December 2016.

²⁸ The first examination of Yugoslav labour migration after 1945 was conducted in the 1970s by Zagreb's Institute for Migration Research, under the supervision of Ivo Baučić. Austria, as a destination country, is only mentioned on the margins of this work. The FRG was the focus of early studies on 'guest worker' emigration in the 1960s and 1970s and remains so to this day. For a broad historical overview of labour migration from Southeastern Europe from the 19th century until the end of the communist regime, see Brunnbauer, *Labour emigration*. In connection with research into labour migration from Yugoslavia to Austria, Vladimir Ivanović has produced a pioneering work. Ivanović, Vladimir. 2012. *Geburtstag pišes normalno. Jugoslovenski gastarbajteri u SR Nemačkoj i Austriji 1965-1973*. Beograd: Institut za Savremenu Istoriju. His transnational study examines Yugoslav labour migration to the FRG and Austria from 1965-1973. In recent years e.g. Brigitte Le Normand's study of socialist Yugoslavia as a migration state and migrant workers in Western Europe has offered some important new insights. In her introduction to the book she offers a broad overview on the state of research on the topic in the twenty-first century. See, Le Normand, Brigitte. 2021. *Citizens without borders. Yugoslavia and its migrant workers in Western Europe*. Toronto, Buffalo & London: University of Toronto Press.

²⁹ Ivanović, *Geburtstag*.

³⁰ For an overview of these activities, see the association's chronicle on the occasion of its 30th anniversary: Belovuković, Miodrag / Miloradović, Zlatko / Mijatović, Niko and Goran Novaković (eds.). 2001. *Klub Jugoslovena "Jedinstvo" – Beč 1970-2000 [Klub der Jugoslawen „Einheit“ – Wien, Beč-Wien 1970-2000]*. Vienna: Jedinstvo.

³¹ Bratić, *Soziopolitische Netzwerke*, pp.397; Waldrauch, Harald and Karin Sohler. 2004. *Migrantenorganisationen in der Großstadt: Entstehung, Strukturen und Aktivitäten am Beispiel Wiens*. Frankfurt: Campus, 184.

³² Le Normand, *Citizens*, 150.

³³ Le Normand *Citizens*, 23. Ivanović claims that only a small portion of Yugoslav migrants (5-7%) participated in these clubs. See, Ivanović, *Geburtstag*, 341.

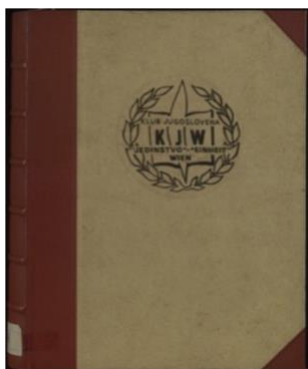
³⁴ Ivanović, cited in Baković, Nikola. 2014. Tending the "oasis of socialism." Transnational political mobilization of Yugoslav economic emigrants in the FR Germany in the late 1960s and 1970s. *Nationalities Papers* 42(4), 674-690, 678.

to communicate directly with their citizens, distribute information, cultural products, and propaganda, and strengthen their political and ideological loyalty.³⁵ But the clubs also represented an important way for the Yugoslav regime to monitor migrants, as Nikola Baković has examined in the case of West Germany.³⁶ As the content of the *Jedinstvo* album suggests, the association used activities to foster a sense of community among Yugoslavs in Vienna and to act “as a ‘home away from home’”.³⁷

The Object: On the Album’s Materiality and Content

The album measures 25 by 30 centimeters and has a very simple and straightforward design. Its front and back covers are made of light-brown cardboard and bound together by red leather, with the *Jedinstvo* logo displayed prominently in the upper center of the front cover. Elizabeth Edwards argues that “[t]he form of albums, their material, size, and decoration, frame the photographs contained within them, extending and shaping meaning through a material “appropriateness.”³⁸ In the case of the *Jedinstvo* album, its external form endows it with an air of officiality, fulfilling its formal function as a representational gift.³⁹ This appearance is only further underlined by the absence of any handwritten notes or comments within the album that might lend its content a personal touch.⁴⁰ Within the Museum of Belgrade’s collection, there is a sort of cover letter prepared by the then-acting chairman of *Jedinstvo*, Momčilo Mirković, confirming that the album was given on the occasion of Tito’s birthday.⁴¹

Figure 1: Front Cover⁴²



The album has 28 (originally blank) sheets of light-yellow paper, comprising 56 pages in total. All pages, including the inside of the album’s front and back covers, are covered in material to such an extent that it very nearly overflows with photographs, press clippings, and press reports. Apart from intermediality, the album’s content, still to be discussed, is best characterized as a sort of archival montage. Owing to their arrangement, new types of

³⁵ Le Normand, *Citizens*, 142. Other measures included targeted media campaigns (radio programmes, newspapers), the organization of a cross-border educational system for migrant youth, and the founding of so-called Cultural-Information Centre’s.

³⁶ Baković, *Tending*, 678.

³⁷ Le Normand, *Citizens*, 147

³⁸ Edwards, *The thingness*, 101.

³⁹ Compare with Blume, who discusses albums as presentation objects, and the material and terminological ramifications that this has: Blume, Judith. 2019. *Wissen und Konsum*, 62-63, 67.

⁴⁰ As Anne Dahlgren determined in her study on the genesis of modern photo album in the first half of the 20th century, printed material and photographs were seen in the 1930s and 1940s as more ‘authentic’ than drawings, which, in turn, were viewed as subjective interpretations of reality. Dahlgren traced this assessment to the influence of the *New Objectivity* (*Neue Sachlichkeit*) artistic movement, among others. Dahlgren, Anna. 2013. *The ABC of the modern photo album*, in: *The photograph and the album*, edited by Carson, Jonathan / Miller, Rosie and Theresa Wilkie. Edinburgh: MuseumsEtc, 76-103, 84.

⁴¹ Email from Radovan Čukić to the author, 2 March 2020.

⁴² All images: courtesy of Museum of Yugoslavia Belgrade/Serbia (MJ 1-6-1696).

information and meaning(s) are created, extending beyond the purely visual or textual dimensions. The photographs are exclusively in black-and-white and mostly formatted in a style fitting to the press photography of the era. In them, people are portrayed in different places and social spaces, ranging from their places of work to worker's clubs, educational institutions, social meeting points, and public places. On many of the album's pages, the photos' formats (landscape or portrait) determined how they were arranged. Both photos and text were cropped and clipped to fit them into new graphic contexts on the individual pages. Compounding this, the photographic crops indicate that (already existing) prints were used in the compilation. The album's press clippings and reports originate from newspapers and magazines written in BCS; however, their dates and venues of publication are not cited. On several occasions, entire articles, including their titles, were clipped and glued in. Once again, the way these were affixed attests to the album's creators' desire for the album to both be permanent and not subject to subsequent changes or modifications. Signs of usage, which would suggest both regular viewing and modifications to its content, are not visible.

Apart from one photograph, the provenance of which is unclear, all pictures in the album were taken in Austria at the beginning of the 1970s by the Yugoslav photojournalist Jovan Ritopečki (1923-1989). They originate from various photographic series in Ritopečki's archive. The content of these pictures generally reflects Ritopečki's documentary focus as a press photographer examining guest work in the early 1970s. However, it is noticeable that his photos depicting migrants in private settings are missing from the album. Most of the chosen photographic motifs were published in other contemporary sources as well (such as newspaper articles and exhibitions). This strongly suggests that the album's creators relied on proven, already circulated photographic motifs.

Jovan Ritopečki (born in Deliblato, in present-day Vojvodina, an autonomous region of Serbia) migrated from Belgrade to Vienna in 1966. For more than 15 years before he arrived in Austria, the trained radio technician and autodidact had worked as a professional photojournalist in his homeland for state news agencies.⁴³ In Austria, he started working first for the Viennese image agency *Votava* as a photographer before becoming self-employed in the 1970s. From then on, his clients included, among others, media and publications, whose primary audience was Yugoslav labor migrants in Austria.⁴⁴ Furthermore, members of the community purchased his photographs as private souvenirs. This indicates that the people pictured in his photographs considered Ritopečki's images as valid representations of themselves and their contexts. Ritopečki was himself a founding member of *Jedinstvo* and responsible for the club's so-called "information section".⁴⁵ In this role, he was able to document the club's activities from its beginnings, designing photographic exhibitions and displaying his work at their functions. Today, his photographs still circulate among members of the ex-Yugoslav community and form an essential material base for their social belonging and anchoring in Austria.

Research has shown that most press clippings and reports found in the album were taken from two of the newspapers that Ritopečki worked for at the time. One of these was *Yu*

⁴³ This included, Jugofoto, Tanjug (the state news agency) from 1950 to 1960, and from 1960 until 1966, Politika. In 1963, Ritopečki's photos of the Skopje earthquake's effects came in second place at the World Press Photo Award '63, leading Ritopečki to be personally commended by Tito. Source: See the personal Kudlacek Ritopečki, Slobodanka. 2020. "Jovan Ritopečki" [*curriculum vitae*], received by the author from Slobodanka Kudlacek Ritopečki, 19 February 2020; Ritopečki, Jovan. 11989. Moji kratki biografski podaci na polju fotografije. *Mi o Inostranstvu*, 7 August 1989, 12.

⁴⁴ Kudlacek Ritopečki, "Jovan Ritopečki" [*curriculum vitae*].

⁴⁵ Belovuković / Miloradović / Mijatović and Novaković, *Klub Jugoslovena*, 25.

Novosti, a bi-weekly periodical, launched by the Yugoslav Federal Office for Employment Matters in 1966, and catering to Yugoslav citizens ‘temporarily employed abroad’. Other press material in the album can be traced to *Naš List* (Our Paper), a bulletin prepared by the Austrian Industrial Union of Yugoslav Labourers and issued quarterly from 1970 until 1982.

Apart from Ritopečki’s work, there are no further indications of who was involved in producing the album. With that said, based on the origin of most of its content as well as Ritopečki’s role within *Jedinstvo*, he must have played a significant part in its creation. This is not just circumstantially apparent but also contextually as other examples of his photographic material adhere to similar aesthetic principles, relying on the same displaying or mounting techniques.⁴⁶ In comparing the *Jedinstvo* album to the album-making cultures of other socialist countries, their role as a tool for communicating with the regime is confirmed. For example, Monica Rùthers demonstrated in her investigation of album cultures among Soviet pioneer camps in the 1960s, and 1970s that album design and compilation were entrusted to those with the necessary skills.⁴⁷

Whoever it was that oversaw or created the album needed to make several decisions, such as what direction its content should take, as well as to select and compile appropriate materials. Through these, what should be said or left unsaid? According to which organizational framework should the effort proceed?

Narrative Strategies

The album’s content is not chronologically organized and lacks a cohesive or overarching narrative structure, instead featuring several different subjects, two of which are dominant. The first of these is a documentation of *Jedinstvo*’s achievements, accomplishments, and provision of entertainment to Vienna’s Yugoslav community. The second narrative concerns the general living conditions of Yugoslav citizens in Austria. Some pages of the album call attention to the Yugoslav state’s lack of support and remigration programs for its ‘citizens temporarily employed abroad,’ the absence of perspectives for a better life ‘at home,’ and a general sort of homesickness. I would like to argue that these different narrative threads culminate not only in taking the country of origin to task but also indirectly and implicitly accusing it of wanton disinterest.

Performing a Transnational Community

The album covers the years 1971 and 1972 and, as such, corresponds to the beginnings of *Jedinstvo*. Its first page, the inner side of the album cover, offers some basic indications as to the work’s thematic frame. To the left, a newspaper report describes the founding of *Jedinstvo* and its goals. *Jedinstvo* is a Yugoslav club open to all, regardless of their ethnic or regional origin. This clipping bears a subtitle in its lower left corner stating: “Unanimous: In order to live together, we have to be united,” aligning with the socialist ideology of the Yugoslav state and its guiding principle of unity and Yugoslav rather than ethnic, identity. Further symbolic credence is given to this message by the first word being written in Latin letters (ostensibly from Croatian) and the phrase below in Cyrillic (from Serbian). Latin letters appear on the

⁴⁶ This concerns, e.g. a collection of 31 large format B/W photographs/prints from the Ritopečki estate that shows how its author utilized the visual medium to reflect on the experiences of Yugoslav migrants in Austria in a more playful, poetic, and multi-layered or complex manner than was possible for him in his work as a press-photographer owing to the accompanying editorial and political guidelines. For this creative work, Ritopečki scoured his photo archive of thousands of negatives and his personal press archive. 19 of the 31 photographs feature short titles or captions clipped from newspaper reports and subsequently attached as commentary.

⁴⁷ Rùthers, Monica. 2019. Picturing Soviet childhood. Photo albums of pioneer camps. *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 67(1), 65-95, 79. She cites the camp photographers or librarians as examples.

next page.⁴⁸ The following page, to the right, provides a further ideological reference, cementing the authors' connection to the shared country of origin. A photograph of *Jedinstvo's* president, Momčilo Mirković, addressing an audience is accompanied by the text: "With stronger ties to the homeland, it is also easier to live outside of it".

Figures 2 and 3: Inner Side of Album Cover, First Page



The first and final pages of an album usually offer clues as to its thematic structure.⁴⁹ For the *Jedinstvo* album, these reinforce its author's ties to their home country. The last page depicts a large format photograph of a concert, at the center of which is a singer in a Yugoslav folk costume. Against a wall in the image's background, a group of musicians can be seen, as well as three *Jedinstvo* club emblems. Subsequent research has shown that the picture was taken at a ceremony marking the organization's one-year anniversary, during which an amateur contest was held showcasing Yugoslav entertainment and folk music.⁵⁰ On its own, the singer's outfit offers a visual and symbolic linkage to Yugoslavia. However, the picture is also titled: "Pevam i tugujem Jugo moja Jugo" (I sing and long for Yugo[slavia], my Yugo[slavia]). The text references a contemporary song, "Jugo moja jugo" (1971), by Silvana Armenulić, whose lyrics encapsulated the longing, bordering on homesickness, that many Yugoslav migrants felt for their homeland. As such, this page of the album has far less of an ideological tinge, reflecting instead the desire for home. A collage of newspaper clippings on the opposite page (the second-to-last page of the album) underlines this impression, with such passages as The heart is tied to Yugoslavia, "Call me – I will come!", There is no 'Jugo ambiance,' etc.

⁴⁸ Cyrillic appears again on three pages in the middle of the album, further strengthening this sentiment.

⁴⁹ Breckner, Roswitha. 2010. *Sozialtheorie des Bildes. Zur interpretativen Analyse von Bildern und Fotografien*. Bielefeld: transcript, 180.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Ritopečki, Jovan. 1972. Rodenska "torta" sa jednom svećicom u Beču. *Yu Novosti*, 22 March 1972, 24-25.

Figures 4 and 5: Next to Last Page and Last Page



The way the first pages are laid out and narrated continues throughout the album. Time and again, *Jedinstvo's* activities and its entertainment program for Yugoslav workers in Austria are documented, underlining the association's ideological connection to Yugoslavia as well as those of its members. As such, the album permits its reader to retrospectively see how Yugoslav workers organized themselves in Austria, participated in various cultural or sports activities, and entertained themselves without losing their connection to the homeland.

Figures 6 to 11: Different Album Pages





This also reflects the album's community-building function, which frames the concept of community along transnational lines. In this context, the medium's performative dimensions appear essential since they enable the people (in this case, the members of *Jedinstvo*) to (re)connect and negotiate their own history and ties to the homeland through the act of compilation. As Mette Sandbye notes, albums are not static but dynamic and social objects that "perform stories about gender, national identity, the family, and much more."⁵¹ With such a reading, the album is endowed with *meaning-making power* that allows a transnationally-conceptualized community to "perform".⁵² In reviewing the association's first year, the album highlights both *Jedinstvo's* achievements while also tackling more difficult questions relating to self-empowerment and identity in the host country.

Articulating Criticism

The second dominant narrative I have identified relates more to the latter aspect, namely, an appraisal of the living conditions of Yugoslav migrants in Austria, as well as their needs, desires, and hardships. To introduce this thematic frame, starting from the second page of the album, the album's creators selected a highly symbolic image: A throng of people in the entrance hall of Vienna's *Südbahnhof* (South Station), the main point of arrival and also meeting place for Yugoslav citizens in Austria. Historical photographs of those departing, arriving, or waiting at the *Südbahnhof* from the 1960s and the early 1970s serve an important role in visualizing labor migration and conveying its history. As Burcu Dogramaci suggests in a text concerning the visual representations of migration, even in the present, pictures of migrants at train stations offer a "lasting image of the dislocation of human existence."⁵³ Since the beginning of the 1970s, images of *Südbahnhof* accompanied discourse among Austrian media and were used both to symbolize the migrants' "attachment to the homeland" (*Heimatverbundenheit*) as well as the growing negative perception of them: Mostly men, seemingly loitering in public places.⁵⁴

The album's photograph delineates the *Südbahnhof* as a social meeting point and transit area for migrants. From a bird's eye view, in the classic style of press photography, the image

⁵¹ Sandbye, Mette. 2014. Looking at the family photo album: A resumed theoretical discussion of why and how. *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture*, 6(1), 1-17, 4.

⁵² Tropper, *Medialität*, 105.

⁵³ 76-103.

Dogramaci, Burcu. 2016. Gekommen, um nicht zu bleiben. Bilder der Ankunft als visuelle Repräsentationen von Migration. *Ars & Humanitas* 10(2), 31-46, 32.

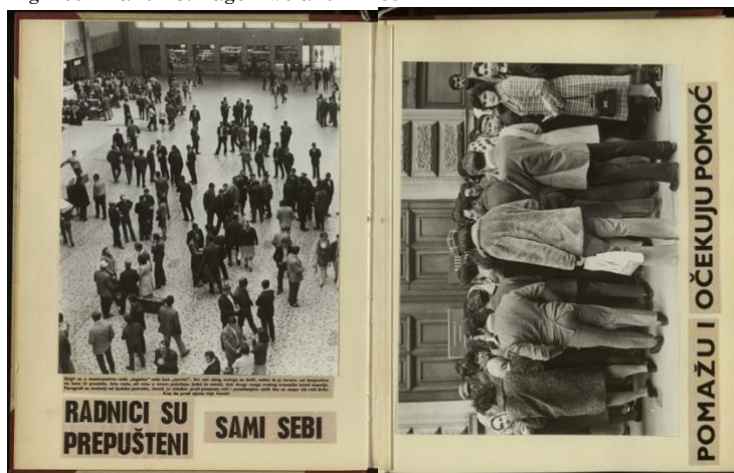
⁵⁴ Fischer, *Vom ‚Gastarbeiter‘*, 252; Ivanovic Geburtstag 236; Kapetanović, Mišo. 2022. Yugoslav labor migrants emerging as the Austrian working class (1960-1980). *zeitgeschichte* 49(1), 87-110, 98-99.

shows a faceless mass from a distance, which simultaneously can be discerned as a group. Smaller subgroups of people huddle together and speak while others move through the arrivals hall. The image is accompanied by a newspaper clipping detailing personal motivations and ways of entering the country, focusing on the precarious legal and social situation of those who stay in Austria without a legal right to (temporary) residence. It says:

[...] Some will stay, while others can be kicked out at any moment. The [legal] paragraphs are more powerful than human needs, the human being is tiny compared to the written word and the behavior of those who blindly follow them. It is as if there is no human being before them!

The collage of image and text on the left is accompanied by the words: “The workers are left to fend for themselves”. This message is further strengthened by the selected motif. The spatial distance between the photographer and the photographed can be understood in this context as an expression of abandonment and detachment.

Figures 12 and 13: Page Two and Three



The next page continues this narrative line and is dominated by a photograph depicting a crowd waiting in front of a closed door. Most of those photographed stand with their backs to the camera, with only a few looking towards the photographer, giving the image an observational quality. Under the photograph, the block letters read, “They help and await help”. In my interpretation, the combination of image and text reiterates the lack of support for Yugoslav migrants who contribute to the well-being(s) of both of their societies, that of the host country and that of their homeland. Still, deciding who this call for support is directed at, Austria, Yugoslavia, or both, is left to the viewer. As such, one of the album’s central narrative strategies is revealed, namely, the pronouncement of grievances without explicitly stating who should be held responsible for remedying them. As the historian Ulf Brunnbauer has argued in his analysis of representations of guest workers in the Yugoslav press of the 1960s and 1970s, the furthest the contemporary media in Yugoslavia went in its critique of the state’s migration policy was “to deplore the lack of support mechanisms” for Yugoslav workers abroad.⁵⁵ As such, the *Jedinstvo* album echoes a point of critique that was – since the beginning of the 1970s at least – commonly touched upon by the Yugoslav press.

Throughout the album, the Yugoslav state, and its president, Tito, are never openly criticized. In contrast, the only album page on which Tito is featured portrays him as an example of those who view the migration of Yugoslav specialists critically owing to how it

⁵⁵ Brunnbauer, *Yugoslav Gastarbeiter*, 435.

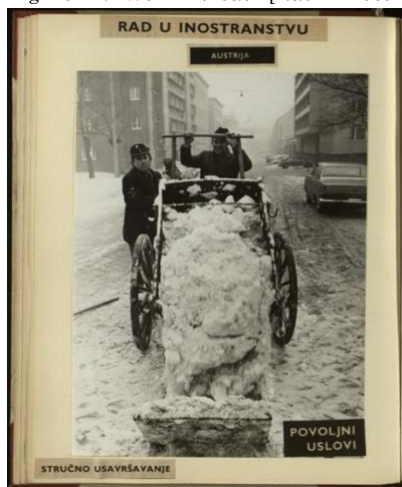
disadvantages the state's labor market: "I am concerned about the departure of those whom we educated" [*Zabrinjava me odlazak ljudi koje mi školujemo*], "I do not support such a policy" [*Ne stojim iza takve politike*]. Negative remarks relating to the Yugoslav migration policy within the album do not break with those published in the media of the period. In this respect, the album's content falls within the bounds of what was being said among the Yugoslav public at the time.

Around the time of the album's creation, Yugoslav state media began to depict labor migration as providing less of an opportunity and posing instead more of a problem. To underline this, the media featured regular reports on the appalling living and working conditions endured by Yugoslav citizens abroad.⁵⁶ This can be traced to growing political disillusionment with the state's migration policies and the massive outflow of Yugoslav labor abroad, resulting in increasingly negative media coverage both concerning it and its consequences.⁵⁷

Display Strategies: Archival Montage and Re/Coding

As the above examples have sought to demonstrate, the album's creators combined newspaper reports and press clippings with black and white photographs depicting migrants in various places and settings. The album, understood as a "spatial ordering system"⁵⁸, fuses disparate materials and restructures them, thereby creating new and often more critical meanings. Pertaining specifically to the photographs, these are often symbolically redefined and re-coded. One conclusion that can be drawn is that the photo montages playfully and creatively translate the actual experiences of migrants in Austria.

Figure 14: "Work Abroad" [Rad u Inostranstvu]



In this photograph, found in the middle of the album, two men can be seen clearing snow from a street. Text, in the form of a title ("Work Abroad: Austria"), caption ("Favorable Working Conditions"; lower right), and description ("Further Professional Training"; bottom left), is combined with the image. The caption and description both contradict the implicit message conveyed by the photograph as snow-clearing jobs, then as now, do not require specific qualifications (let alone additional professional training) and are usually poorly paid, practiced under less-than-ideal conditions, and seasonally limited. As such, the promised "Favourable Working Conditions" in Austria, often cited in advertisements for such positions,

⁵⁶ Brunnbauer, *Yugoslav Gastarbeiter*, 431.

⁵⁷ Brunnbauer, *Yugoslav Gastarbeiter*, 429.

⁵⁸ Bickenbach, *Die Enden*, 107.

are revealed to be anything but. In this way, the album's pages can be understood as an ironic/critical reaction to unfulfilled or broken promises, with emphasis on the actual working conditions of Yugoslav migrants in Austria as documented by the photograph. As several studies have shown, the professions in which Yugoslav workers were employed in Austria, for the most part, afforded neither good pay nor prospects for advancement.⁵⁹ Migrants generally occupied predominantly unqualified and manual labor positions, for which few Austrians were ever available. These jobs were characterized by low pay, unpleasant and unhealthy working conditions, shift and contract work, and a notably higher risk of seasonal and cyclical unemployment.⁶⁰

Some of the inserted text snippets appearing alongside photographs of migrants are direct quotations, representing not only commentaries on the current social situation confronting the Yugoslavian workforce in Austria but lending these individuals a symbolic voice as well. What is quite remarkable in this context is the visibility of female workers in the album, expressing migrant experiences. This stands in stark contrast to the then-dominant depiction of migrant workers as male, both in Yugoslavia as well as in the host society.⁶¹

Figure 15: "I Had to Leave" [Morala Sam Otići]



⁵⁹ See for example: Matuschek *Ausländerpolitik*; Wimmer, Hannes (ed.). 1986. *Ausländische Arbeitskräfte in Österreich*. Frankfurt & New York: Campus.

⁶⁰ Bakondy, Vida. 2017. "Austria attractive for guest workers?" *Recruitment of immigrant labor in Austria in the 1960s and 1970s*, in *Migration in Austria, Contemporary Austrian Studies* vol. 26, edited by Bischof, Günter and Dirk Rupnow. New Orleans: UNO Press/Innsbruck University Press, 113-138, 115.

⁶¹ See Le Normand, Brigitte. 2016. *The Gastarbajteri as a transnational Yugoslav working class*, in *Social Inequalities and discontent in Yugoslav socialism*, edited by Rory Archer/ Duda, Igor and Paul Stubbs, London/New York: Routledge, 38-57, 89; Bernard, Sara. 2019. *Deutsch Marks in the head, shovel in the hands and Yugoslavia in the heart. The gastarbeiter return to Yugoslavia (1965-1991)*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 183-184.

Figure 16: “Return: We Need Jobs” [Povratak: Trebaju Nam Radna Mesta]

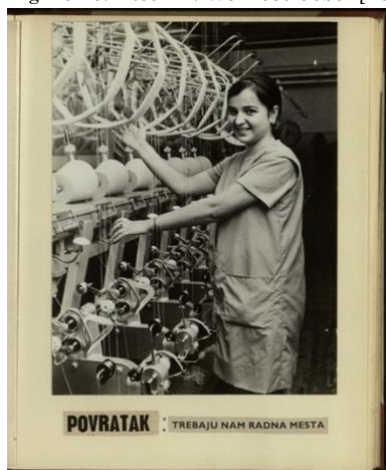


Figure 17: “Return or Stay” [Vratiti Se ili Ostat]i



In this process, the newspaper snippets can be read as “indexical signs, authentic remains from the world of experience”.⁶² The cited examples provide intricate details about the lack of opportunities at home, as is also articulated in a contemporary survey of migrants concerning return options. As Le Normand notes in her analysis:

*In the case of nearly all respondents (whether unskilled, skilled or professional), what is clear is that most migrants yearned to return home but felt unable to do so because they could not find employment or accommodation. A recurring theme of all survey responses was securing a job or using an apartment as a fundamental precondition for their return to Yugoslavia. Migrants would only return if the state could ensure them a suitable standard of living.*⁶³

The photo and text montages found in the album might be an attempt to “create a collage of experiential space”⁶⁴, while consciously refraining from individualized elements, such as portrait photographs featuring names and short bios, contrasting with news reports of the time.⁶⁵ As a result, the album serves as a platform for sharing the collective interests, needs,

⁶² Dahlgren, *The ABC*, 84-85

⁶³ Normand, *The Gastarbajteri*, 50-51. The survey was conducted in the years 1970 and 1971 by the Institute for the Study of Migration and Nationalities of the Republic of Croatia, and directed at migrants from across Yugoslavia.

⁶⁴ Bickenbach, *Die Enden*, 107.

⁶⁵ Compare, for example an article published about the Bad Vöslau worsted yarn factory in, Unknow author, *Yu Novosti*, Gradić kao Banja, (incomplete issue) 20-21 [photographic estate of Jovan Ritopečki: newspaper fragment].

and desires of the Yugoslav workforce in Austria, with individual voices (but not individual stories and biographies) exemplifying collective experiences. More than anywhere else, this can be seen on one of the album's final pages, consisting of a bricolage of newspaper snippets. These represent impressions and observations, detailing needs, hardships, the longing for home, and loneliness. For example:

[My] voice has remained in the homeland; The memory of leaving; Vienna: I can't sleep at night; Promises and criticism; Broken and lonely; There is no 'Jugo ambience'; A feeling of neglect; Our girls are missing; Mama, come back!; Our beautiful Međimurje, give us work; Return Return; The heart is tied to Yugoslavia; Work abroad and divorce; There is hope; You want to escape the ghetto; I would return to the old company; 'Call me – I will come!' [...]

Figure 18: Next to Last Page



While albums as a medium generally have a single author/creator and a dominant or overriding narrative, the *Jedinstvo* album possesses a multitude of both. First, as an association, *Jedinstvo* served as the album's official author, and a collective rather than individual effort went into its production. Second, the narrative voice, or person, changes throughout the album between a common 'we/us' and 'I' (first-person account) and a more neutral or removed one, referring to the workers in the third person ('them'). The latter position tended to be used when references were made to the living conditions of Yugoslav migrants. Third, somewhat contradictory messages can be found, even on a single page, thus offering a range of readings and interpretations. The meanings inherent in this form of compilation are not always readily discernible, with comments sometimes producing contradictory messages and surpluses of meanings. As such, the album's content does not adhere to linear logic and requires multiple types of readings.

Another reason may lay in the fact that the album integrates extracts of media discourses on labor migration through its usage of newspaper clippings and articles, thus representing not only multiple viewpoints but also an additional level of mediality within the album itself. Such media discourses serve two purposes. On the one hand, they document contemporary newspaper reports pertaining to labor migration, such as when entire texts are included. In this context, Blume's position that images in albums lose their fundamental 'volatility' and are assigned a place and an order that prevents them from being lost or forgotten seems

One photo from the series was published in a report about the Bad Vöslau worsted yarn factory showing the same young woman, Poliksena Vangelovska, as in the album, but offering some biographical information on the person.

pertinent.⁶⁶ At the same time, the collage of image- and textually-based elements produces its own narrative, in which the latter contradicts the former, drawing attention to it in a manner not (originally) intended, namely, as a sort of social commentary.

Conclusion

As Anke Kramer and Annegret Pelz note, albums offer a way for “[...] visible things, images, or words, as well as the individual who gathered and arranged them” to be shown.⁶⁷ The *Jedinstvo* album serves as a testament to the agency of a migrant community that used visual storytelling to both document and express itself in a transnational context. Through creating an album that was then presented to President Tito, the club wrote both itself and its presence in Austria into history.

The album’s narrative structure is multifaceted, featuring laudatory accounts of *Jedinstvo*’s achievements, documenting its community-building activities, and reflecting upon the living conditions of Yugoslav migrants in Austria. On the one hand, these different narratives signify the diversity of experiences within the Yugoslav migrant community in Austria while also suggesting that the album was created with multiple purposes in mind.

By documenting the association’s activities along with it and its members’ emotional and ideological attachments to Yugoslavia, the album memorializes a ‘home away from home.’ In this, it corresponds to the identity-forming nature of albums, which are crafted to tell a specific story.⁶⁸ Significantly, *Jedinstvo*, as an association, is depicted not merely as a representative of the Yugoslav workforce in Austria and their interests but also those of the Yugoslav state. The activities it documents affirm strong identification with the socialist state, with ample and abundant indications confirming its close connection and loyalty to the home country. Taking into consideration the fact that the association, as well as its activities, were supported by the Yugoslav state, the album can be seen as a sort of ‘report card’ showcasing *Jedinstvo*’s achievements.

Simultaneously, the album paints a portrait of the realities confronting migrants in Austria: A lack of support structures, deplorable housing conditions, racial discrimination, as well as unaddressed needs and hardships. By exploring these themes, the album’s authors document not only unfulfilled desires but also the structural discrimination of Yugoslav migrants in Austria and their place on the margins of Austrian society.⁶⁹ This message of marginalization is further underlined by the absence of a single motif or description documenting any sort of interaction with Austrian society writ large. In this way, migration to Austria is not depicted as a means for improving one’s living conditions or a facilitator of social mobility and, thus, a “credible alternative to the myth of socialist mobility”⁷⁰ within Yugoslavia. This would have (too blatantly) highlighted the Yugoslav state’s own social problems and its inability to provide enough work and upward social mobility for its citizens.

Contrary to most albums in the Yugoslav Museum’s collection and to what the occasion of the album’s handover might suggest, the *Jedinstvo* album is more than just a tribute to the Yugoslav president and state. The act of ‘showing,’ which the album engages in, walks a fine line between solidarity and critique, with the album’s content-heavy nature imparting some

⁶⁶ Blume, *Wissen*, 54.

⁶⁷ Kramer, Anke and Pelz, Annegret. 2013. Einleitung, in *Album. Organisationsform narrativer Kohärenz*, edited by Kramer, Anke and Annegret Pelz. Göttingen: Wallstein, 7-22, 15.

⁶⁸ Stiegler, Bernd and Kathrin Yacavone. 2022. Fotoalben im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert. *Fotogeschichte* 42(165), 3-6, 5.

⁶⁹ Kapetanović, *Yugoslav labor*, 109.

⁷⁰ Le Normand, *Gastarbajteri*, 39.

sense of urgency. It seems designed not only for memorialization but, potentially, as a performance piece, drawing attention to the situation faced by the *Gastarbajteri* in Austria. As Ana Adamović argues with reference to the historian Olga Manojlović Pintar, giving gifts to the Yugoslav leader was a central component in a political practice that had the end goal of reinforcing social cohesion.⁷¹ By directly addressing Tito on the symbolic level, the album affirmed *Jedinstvo*'s proximity to both Yugoslavia and its leader. At the same time, it can also be seen as a vehicle for an appeal to Tito along moral-political lines, invoking him to address the fears, desires, and problems faced by Yugoslav citizens abroad.

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⁷¹ Adamović, *Representative Portrait*, 41

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