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“I am something that no longer exists ...”: Yugonostalgia among Diaspora Youth

Young people of migrant background¹ identify not only with multiple geographical locations and homelands but also with various historical frameworks and narratives about the past. When Dragan, a young man of Bosnian descent raised in Switzerland, told me that Yugoslavia was the country he would like to live in, he expressed longing for a temporally and spatially distant past which he had never experienced first-hand. As the child of Bosnian migrants who arrived in Switzerland as seasonal workers and then resettled permanently due to the war in Bosnia (1992–1995), Dragan does not have any personal experiences of socialist Yugoslavia. He learned about the existence of Yugoslavia only later, during his adolescence. In this chapter, I seek to add to a growing body of scholarship on memory and transnational migration by exploring how second-generation youth – people like Dragan – come to identify with particular past(s).

This chapter is based on the data gathered within the framework of a research project on young people of ex-Yugoslav background in Switzerland. The bulk of data consists of narrative-biographical interviews with young people aged between 18 and 35 from various ethno-religious backgrounds.² Within this sample, a group of interviewees with similar sentiments towards Yugoslavia emerged.³ The analysis in this chapter is based on life-stories of two interviewees whose biographic narrations are particularly illuminating for reconstruction of the broader discursive and biographical context in which nostalgic sentiments towards the Yugoslav past emerged. Interviews with representatives of migrant associations, cultural entrepreneurs and activists as well as participant observation in diasporic spaces complement the analysis and help to reconstruct the broader context of ex-Yugoslav diaspora in Switzerland.

1 I use the terms youth of migrant background, diaspora youth and second generation interchangeably to refer to young people and young adults who were born or were raised in the countries of their parents' or grandparents' immigration (Levitt 2009).

2 So far, 30 interviews with young people, whose parents migrated from Bosnia-Herzegovina, then the constituent republic of former Yugoslavia, were collected. The data collection was carried out in 2019–2021 and is a part of a research project on second-generation youth of ex-Yugoslav and Turkish backgrounds in Switzerland and their relationship to their countries of origin and its political past, financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation (Grant Nr. 174164).

3 Six interviewees, some of them were acquainted with each other.

The method and theoretical approach of narrative-biographical interviewing is being increasingly used in migration and transnationalism studies. The approach encourages a close reading of an individual's biography within the context of larger socio-political structures and changes that shape the individual's biographic trajectory (Apitzsch and Siouti 2007; Rosenthal 2004). Biographical narratives reveal how individuals interpret and make sense of their own and of their families' experiences of migration, forced displacement and violence (Eastmond 2007). Biographic narrations thus always comprise a temporally specific reconstruction and interpretation of biographic trajectory, and reveal how individuals can continually reinterpret their life in the contexts in which they experience it (Apitzsch and Siouti 2007). Biographic methods are particularly fruitful for the analysis of the ways in which nostalgic views towards the past emerge and are shaped both – by personal experiences but also by memories, images and discourses on the past that circulate intergenerationally and transnationally.

Michael Rothberg notes that migration brings “disparate histories into contact with each other, reconfigures individual and collective subjects, and produces novel constellations for remembrance and commemorations” (2014, 125). For the children of migrants, these “novel constellations” are produced by the sense of belonging to multiple geographical locations and experiences of being raised in what Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller describe as “transnational social fields” (Levitt and Schiller 2004; Levitt 2009). In transnational families, young people are socialised in ideas, practices and rules of countries in which they live, but also into those their families come from (Levitt 2009, 1226). They grow up with their parents' memories and narratives about the homeland, they regularly visit their parents' countries of origin and through these various experiences and exposures appropriate multiple cultural repertoires (Levitt 2009).

My interlocutors' biographical narratives contained various references to the Yugoslav past. Some remembered old Yugoslav hits that their parents or aunts and uncles were listening to while anxious not to disturb Swiss neighbours. Others remembered how parents nostalgically described the pre-war peaceful and safe life in Yugoslavia juxtaposing it to the destruction and devastation of political, economic and social life in the region during and in the aftermath of the war in Bosnia. At the same time, ambivalent attitudes towards the Yugoslav past were voiced too when young people heard stories about religiously or ethnically-based discrimination in what was considered as officially atheist and multinational socialist state. Young people of diasporic generation who do not have first-hand experiences and memories of these times, engage with such family memories and narratives, developing their own, often diverging, views of the past (Müller-Suleymanova 2020; 2021).

In this process, media plays a significant role when young people appropriate mediated tropes in a search for authentic representations of the past (Bennett and Rogers 2016; Mihelj 2017). Old footage of concerts or music movies, films, TV series and other media often consumed on digital platforms like YouTube, become for young people their own ways of remembering the past (van Dijck 2007), or as one of my interlocutors put it, “experiencing what my parents have lived”. Digitally circulated images function as windows for the younger generation into the past they have never experienced, fuelling nostalgic sentiments that prompt new and creative forms of engaging with cultural legacies.

Thus, as the following life-story excerpts demonstrate, for my interlocutors the family has not been the primary site for acquiring nostalgic views towards Yugoslavia. Instead, mediated encounters with the Yugoslav cultural legacy, such as rock music, have been the main catalyst for nostalgia. Their interest in Yugoslav rock, or Yu-rock, has set in motion a process of engaging with the Yugoslav past and its historical legacies (Stankovič 2001). Their passion for Yu-rock was cultivated within a diasporic circle of young people who positioned themselves outside the ethno-nationally segregated migrant communities from the post-Yugoslav nation-states in Switzerland. The Yu-rock scene has also seen itself in opposition to *Turbofolk*, a mainstream popular genre from the post-Yugoslav region, popular among diaspora youth (Stankovič 2001; Spasovska 2011).⁴ While established migrant associations from the post-Yugoslav region are divided along ethno-religious lines and translate narrow ethno-national narratives, the Yu-rock scene celebrates a common cultural legacy and memories of living together in multi-ethnic Yugoslavia (Rossig 2008; Milivojević and Müller-Suleymanova, this volume).

By focusing on two biographical case studies, Dragan and Selma, I trace what individual experiences, biographic trajectories and personal encounters contributed to the development of longing for a country and a past that my subjects never experienced. I argue that Yugonostalgia helps my interlocutors to deal with two key experiences: first, the exclusionary and stigmatising discourses towards migrants from former Yugoslavia in Switzerland; the second, is the violent history of Yugoslavia’s break-up and its consequences for communities and social life both within the region as well as in the diaspora. My biographical case studies come from different ethno-national backgrounds: Dragan is of Serbian

⁴ Turbofolk combines elements of traditional folk music with contemporary musical genres. It has a controversial reputation and was accused of stirring up nationalist sentiments during the disintegration of Yugoslavia (Archer 2012). Currently, it dominates the post-Yugoslav pop industry, in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia, and is also oriented towards Western European diaspora. Turbofolk pop stars from the region regularly give concerts in Switzerland.

Orthodox and Selma of Bosnian Muslim background. However, they both reject ethno-national categorisations and articulate a sense of belonging to a category that goes beyond national divisions and embodies common cultural and historical experiences. Their cases demonstrate how engaging with particular narratives of the past, in this case the Yugoslav one, opens ways for alternative articulations of belonging and trans-ethnic solidarities and friendships. Yugonostalgia among diaspora youth should be understood in the context of young people's confrontation with exclusionary discourses both in their actual and ancestral homes and their multiple positionalities which span diverse geographical, political and cultural reference points.

1 Dragan: From Serb nationalist to “Yugoslavist”

Dragan is a young man in his late 20s. His father came to Switzerland as a migrant worker (*Gastarbeiter*) from a small town in Bosnia in the 1970s. His mother stayed in Bosnia and when the war broke out in 1992, she left the country and joined her husband in Switzerland. Dragan was two when he arrived in Switzerland. He was socialised and schooled in Switzerland and knew Bosnia only from summer holidays. His parents' social life unfolded in extended family networks and a larger, predominantly Serb Orthodox, migrant community.

In his biographical narration, Dragan consistently refers to a period when he identified himself as neither Bosnian nor Swiss but exclusively as a “Serb”. The sudden death of his father seemed to become a trigger for this, in his eyes, problematic period in his life. During this period, which lasted much of his adolescence, Dragan was – as he put it – “on a Serbian track”. Dragan's nationalist orientations were cultivated not so much in the family as in the circle of second-generation diasporic youth that lived in Switzerland but had strong patriotic sentiments towards their parents' homeland. He made friends with this circle during his regular summer holidays in Bosnia. Dragan recounts that during this period, he was “allergic towards critique of Serbs” and was opposed towards persecution of Serbian political and paramilitary figures involved in war-crimes during the Yugoslav disintegration wars. Dragan's peer circle, consisting mainly of young second-generation men of Serb background, celebrated Serb national identity, wearing clothes and adorning themselves with tattoos depicting ethno-religious symbols.

At some point however, Dragan's nationalist worldview began to change. This transformation was triggered by a number of biographic turning points. He started his university studies and moved to another city, distancing himself

from his previous social circles. Simultaneously he entered Swiss military service during which he started to explore his identification with Switzerland more deeply. These experiences paved a way for the major break with his views. In his life-story narration however, Dragan accords music, namely the Yugoslav rock, a central role in this transformation:

I started to distance myself from this whole Serbian thing actually . . . it is very interesting, through music. I was listening to different styles of music and back then also a lot of Turbo-folk. But then, at some point at university, I discovered rock music and that was truly the Yugoslav rock, from the good Yugoslav years, like the 1970s–80s. And this truly began to change my worldview a little bit, right? I began to discover Yugoslavism for myself, that togetherness . . . not . . . not you are Serbian, I am Croatian and so on, I began to leave that behind . . . It was a long process . . . It started with music and then I learned more about the history. In secondary school I was more interested in the history of Serbs, at the university it was the history of Yugoslavia. So, I started to move into this direction. And at the same time in the direction of ‘I’m here in Switzerland’, more oriented towards Switzerland.

In the course of this transformation, Dragan opened himself up to a different worldview and different interpretations of the past. He started to engage more deeply with the history of multi-ethnic Yugoslavia, with its cultural, political and intellectual legacies. While Dragan’s family was not nostalgic towards Yugoslavia and rarely shared memories of that time with him, listening to Yugoslav rock and watching old footages of Yu-rock concerts have conveyed to Dragan an image of how “Yugoslavia might have been”:

Yes, for example, rock concerts. If one imagines it like that, the Yugoslavia of the 1970s, one sees concerts with 200,000 people, with Western rock, that was a feeling like the West for me! So free, so truly hippy and liberal and all that, and that was an image that seemed very modern for me . . . and also the intellectuals of that time, I read a lot of books in that time. If this is good, I do not know, but it conveyed an image of how Yugoslavia might have been. I feel . . . I am convinced that it was never as good in this region as in the golden times of Yugoslavia, in spite of all the negative aspects. One can see all that quite critically and say that it was only a powder keg [. . .]. But my wish would be that it could function like that. And if someone says to me ‘but you are a Serb’ then I would say, ‘no, I do not feel like that, I am something that no longer exists’.

Watching videos of the 1970s–1980s rock concerts on YouTube, gave Dragan an affective sense of Yugoslavia. It suggested an alternative perspective on his parents’ homeland in which despite socialist ideology, remarkable rock music was produced and intellectual life thrived. The discovery of Yu-rock enabled him to de-stigmatise and de-colonise the image of Yugoslavia. This reading of the Yugoslav past stood in stark contrast to the images of the region – as an exotic, backward Balkan “Other” – prevalent in popular imagination of Swiss majority society (Todorova 2009). Contrary to this conception, Dragan imagined

Yugoslavia as the site of vibrant cultural and intellectual life, embedded in global cultural trends, home to the new wave and rock music (Ramet 2019).

Such experiences were important for Dragan, who like other diasporic youth had to cope with stigmatising, exclusionary discourses and practices that targeted him as a migrant “Other”, as a “Yugo”⁵ (Fibbi et al. 2006; Allenbach et al. 2011). Exclusionary projections – both from within the diaspora communities and from Swiss majority society – precluded Dragan from developing and realising his own sense of multi-layered, multiple belonging. In contrast, the Yu-rock subculture opened for Dragan a different ideological universe in which exclusivist national identifications were renounced in favour of belonging to a common, shared identity and heritage. This growing identification with Yugoslavia went along with questioning “Swissness” as a one-dimensional, unproblematic category. As he put it:

I do feel myself to be Swiss, although it is a fuzzy category, but I do identify with it but at the same time this whole . . . [long pause] . . . I’m a little bit nostalgic towards Yugoslavia . . . If there was a different country than Switzerland where I can imagine myself living, then it would be Yugoslavia. But it does not exist, that’s clear to me . . .

Dragan sees “Swissness” as a fuzzy category lacking the boundedness and cultural congruity ascribed to it by some political actors, above all on the political right. Both here and later in the interview, Dragan challenges the ways the category “Swiss” is constructed in public and political discourses as a homogenous category excluding all those perceived as “culturally different” – refugees, migrants and religious minorities (Lüthi and Skenderovic 2019).

At university, Dragan’s interest in Yu-rock brought him into contact with other diasporic youth of ex-Yugoslav background who were critical of the prevalence of nationalist outlooks within their diaspora communities. They celebrated Yugoslav rock music on various occasions building a whole Yu-rock scene in Switzerland (see Milivojevic and Müller-Suleymanova, this volume). Though not all in this circle were explicitly nostalgic towards socialist Yugoslavia, they shared a sense of cultural bondedness and an appreciation of this common historical heritage. Thus, both in the post-Yugoslav region itself as well as in the diaspora, Yu-rock became a point of attraction for people who have seen themselves outside of the prevalent ethno-nationalist framework of identification (Stankovič 2001; Spaskovska 2011; Velikonja 2014; Milivojevic and Müller-Suleymanova, this volume).

5 A derogatory term to refer to people of ex-Yugoslav background.

2 Selma: Yugoslavia as a utopia

Selma is a young woman in her early 30s. She was born in Bosnia to a Bosnian Muslim family. Her family’s migration story is remarkably similar to Dragan’s: Selma’s father came to Switzerland as a migrant worker in the 1960s; she and her mother fled Bosnia to join him when the war broke out in 1992. Though Selma spent her early years in socialist-era Bosnia, she has little memories of that time. Selma grew up in a small industrial town in central Switzerland. Like Dragan, she was surrounded by other families from the former Yugoslavia and socialised primarily with the youth of migrant backgrounds. Selma completed a vocational education and entered the workforce at a relatively young age.

One of the precursors to what would become the major turning point in Selma’s biography was the beginning of a relationship with a young man of Serbian origin. Her parents were opposed to this relationship, so Selma moved out of the family home. Traumatized by events of the war, Selma’s parents became, in their daughter’s words “defensive nationalists” and cautious towards those whom they perceived as the main perpetrator group. This turning point in her biography illustrates the repercussions that the legacies of a political conflict can have on the lives of young people. The war cemented ethno-national boundaries and divided people in the diaspora, not only through segregated associational life but also on the interpersonal level. As a result of the war her family became more religious, a visible tendency among Bosnian Muslims – both at home as well as in the diaspora – in the aftermath of the war (Bougarel 2017; Eastmond 1998). In Switzerland they joined the local Bosnian cultural-religious association (*džemat*), where Selma attended language lessons and religious courses.

While Selma was forced to confront and tackle ethno-religious divides that have been reproduced in diasporic communities, her social life within peer circles was a different reality. She grew up with young people of migrant background for whom ethnic categories have been less relevant than socio-culturally framed categories of distinction such as the “migrant”⁶ versus the “Swiss” (Allenbach et al. 2011). Youth of migrant background found themselves in similar socio-economic and educational tracks and had to overcome similar obstacles on the ways to social mobility (Juhász and Mey 2003). Thus, it was quite common that Selma met her Serbian boyfriend at a vocational school, where she pursued a professional path similar to that of many other second-generation youths in her surroundings.

Music was an important part of Selma’s life, especially during adolescence, when she was preoccupied with challenges of belonging and sought positive

6 “Ausländer” in German, can be translated as a “foreigner” or a “migrant”.

recognition of her migrant roots. She became interested in Balkan music, but did not share her peers' fascination with mainstream genres like Turbofolk. She preferred rock and alternative genres, music which she was exposed to within her extended family. Her uncle was a fan of Yu-rock and already as a child she sang some of the hits. Later on, in her adolescence she rediscovered the Yugoslav rock, which had a profound impact on her. As Selma explains:

I had always loved music. I began discovering Yugoslav music in my youth. And I realised that we have great music, great rock, and for me engaging with this music was part of finding an identity. Of course, we were labelled "Yugo" and I did feel that. But to discover that we have such great music was a little bit healing. To know that already back in the 1970s–80s we had this great rock music, means we were not so bad, right? We are also worth something!

Selma describes that (re-)discovering the Yugoslav rock was a "healing" experience that enabled her to claim belonging to a culture that produced internationally acclaimed music. A source of pride, the Yugoslav musical legacy has fostered identification with her migrant background in more positive and rewarding ways.

Selma deepened this engagement with music from the region during her studies at university. After parting ways with her boyfriend, she decided to fulfil her long-standing wish to study history and completed an additional qualification that enabled her to enrol at university. Here she found a circle of young people of ex-Yugoslav background who shared her passion for the Yugoslav music. While she distanced herself from the Bosnian Islamic association, Selma maintained her connection to the Bosnian diaspora through cultural initiatives.

While for Selma, like for Dragan, (re-)discovering Yu-rock was an entry point for the engagement with the Yugoslav legacy, in Selma's case, Yugonostalgic attitudes also draw on family histories and memories. Selma recounted stories about her grandfather, who was a partisan during World War II – an important symbolic figure of the socialist Yugoslavia (Zimmerman 2010).⁷ Selma remembered her mother's fascination with Tito and the album her mother compiled of Tito's photos after his death. In many ways, Selma's family experiences stand for the positive experiences that many other Bosnian Muslims made under the Yugoslav regime, which gave Bosnian Muslims national self-determination and actively co-opted their elites (Bougarel 2017). These family histories and memories enabled her to make intimate connections with the Yugoslav past. Selma's Yugonostalgia was also more political than Dragan's. In particular, she identifies more with political ideals and symbols of socialist Yugoslavia as she explicates in the following excerpt:

⁷ For the similarly important role of the partisans in Belarus, see Krawatzek and Weller in this volume.

For me actually, the day of statehood of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia is more important than that of Bosnia, or Croatia, or Serbia for that matter . . . because I’m a little Yugo-nostalgic. And it seems to me, I’m Yugo-nostalgic because I simply cannot . . . cannot overcome it. I always say, states are founded and states decay. That is a normal process in history. But it just hurts me so much that it came to an end so violently. I cannot cope with it; that is why I grieve. And also because everything that came later is much worse than Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia wasn’t great, it wasn’t perfect, there were many problems, but it was still much better than what we have now.

For Selma, the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia remains an open, unhealed wound. Though she did not experience it first-hand, she constantly remembers – by consuming media, reading books or watching documentaries – the brutality of the Bosnian war. Moreover, she realises the ongoing violence in the form of pervasive corruption, political misrule and aggressive ethno-nationalism of current political regimes in the region. Since she still has family members in Bosnia, Selma is familiar with the daily challenges of life in post-conflict, transitional settings where people are economically deprived and where the wounds of war have not yet healed. For Selma, the Yugoslav past is the only way to look positively at the past of a region which, since the fall of Yugoslavia, finds itself in a state of political, economic and social devastation. Her imaginings of Yugoslavia are informed both by family memories of a peaceful and stable pre-war life as well as by her own mediated memories of Yugoslavia’s liberal cultural atmosphere that has given birth to Yu-rock. Selma “needs to hold on somehow” to this nexus of memories and imaginings in order to avoid falling into ever deeper pessimism about the future. Ultimately, Yugonostalgia is a form of utopia, a way to have ideals and guidance in life, and to imagine a better future:

I do believe that one needs a romantic ideal, a utopia, which has nothing to do with reality. And I think that the very idea of Yugoslavia is a beautiful one. It didn’t function at all, for various reasons. But it could have been such a beautiful country. It was big. It followed its own political course . . . [. . .] All these elements, they have created nostalgia because I somehow need some kind of ideal to orient myself in life. And this collective, this anti-nationalist, this . . . yes, communist, but actually the social thought behind the communism. It is just a utopia that never became real, and yet it is a beautiful dream. And this dream I’d still like to hold on to somehow.

The ideals that the Yugoslav past embodies – social justice and equality, including gender equality, rejection of exclusivist nationalisms – inform Selma’s life and political attitudes as a young woman of migrant background in Switzerland. From this perspective, she criticises Swiss anti-migrant political rhetoric and policies. Yet simultaneously, she uses the same perspective to criticise the traditionalism and narrow ethnic orientation of Switzerland’s ex-Yugoslav diaspora communities, including the Bosnian Muslim one. Thus, Selma’s Yugonostalgia expresses her

current positionality between multiple geographical, historical and political contexts and brings her various biographic experiences together. Yugonostalgia acts as a point of orientation in complex (post-)migrant realities.

3 Nostalgia, popular culture and diaspora youth

Nostalgia is not a unitary language. It is a mode of expression for a range of various sentiments and voices. Dominic Boyer suggests that “beneath the surface of speech, we should work to recognize and represent the dialogical gossamer of idiosyncratic references, interests, and affects that are channelled through nostalgic discourse” (2010, 20). The two portraits that I presented above reveal how Yugonostalgia can express a range of sentiments: a need to regain a sense of adequacy and value against the backdrop of discourses targeting youth as the migrant, uncivilised “Other”; a need to look beyond the violent past; and a need for a utopian vision of social justice, equality and inclusiveness.

Both Selma’s and Dragan’s families’ social lives revolved around family networks and diasporic communities dominated by representatives of their own ethno-religious group. The migrant associations in which their families were involved to various degrees have cultivated religious values and a sense of attachment to ethnic homelands – Serbia or Bosnia – rather than to a vanished state of Yugoslavia. In these spaces, memories of the multi-ethnic Yugoslavia have been silenced and supplanted by post-war ethno-national discourses. Selma’s and Dragan’s Yugonostalgia marks a departure from these positions and reveals the existence of alternative diaspora spaces where Yugoslav memories and narratives are lived by young adults that grew up and were socialised in Switzerland. For Dragan, nostalgia is a departure from an exclusivist focus on Serb identity; for Selma, it is a departure from the narratives of trauma, victimhood and religious traditionalism. Growing up and moving in hybrid, (post-)migrant social realities, both of my protagonists sought out alternative ways of dealing with ethno-national and religious differences. Yugoslav ideas of unity and solidarity, encoded in Yu-rock, offered a source of inspiration.

The (re)-discovery of Yu-rock at particular biographical junctures, was an important moment that shaped the development of Selma’s and Dragan’s views. Yu-rock was not only about partying and consuming music. For my interlocutors, it was about discovering and becoming part of an open, cosmopolitan and vibrant cultural universe. It was about opening one’s own horizons and developing alternative visions. As Bennett and Rogers highlight, popular music should be seen in terms of its cultural legacy – it’s shaping of particular attitudes, understandings and socio-

aesthetic sensibilities over time (2016, 37). Yu-rock, as a transnationally and intergenerationally circulating memory of the Yugoslav period, was received and appropriated by Selma, Dragan and other diasporic youth who grew up both at geographical and temporal distance from it. Yugoslav cultural legacy received new meanings in the context of their post-migrant lives, serving the needs, longings and visions of a new diaspora generation. These examples thus illustrate how travelling memories can be “localised”: translated and integrated into local repertoires (Erlil 2011, 15). Yugoslav pop culture enables them to acquire a sense of positive belonging, to “de-other” themselves.

At the same time, their nostalgic attitudes towards the Yugoslav period are also a response to political events in their parents’ homeland – a way of dealing and processing the traumas and memories of the violence. Deeply unsettled by current events in the region, young people turn to the Yugoslav period as a period of – to use Dragan’s words – “golden times” when, even if things went wrong sometimes, they were better than today. Such acts of comparison are inherent to nostalgia, which is always a partial reaction to the present (Davis 1977). Nostalgia here functions “as a means of talking about the present and the future” (Mihelj 2017, 239; Palmberger 2008). In Selma’s case, it is also a means to orient oneself in life. For many young people like her, the Yugoslav legacy embodies not only a positive vision of their parents’ homeland to which they feel connected but also ideals which help them orient themselves in their complex (post-)migrant realities.

The case studies furthermore suggest that the possibility of sharing and exchanging these views and memories with other peers proved crucial for the evolvment of nostalgic sentiments towards the Yugoslav past. Both Selma and Dragan – though with differing degrees of intensity – socialised in a circle of young people of ex-Yugoslav background who shared similar ideological premises. The Yu-rock scene is not only a space of alternative memories and narratives about the Yugoslav past, it is also a space of sharing and celebrating these visions in the circle of friends. This attests to the importance of contexts of intimate social interaction – peer groups, milieus, or music scenes – to the ways in which young people form and transform their relationships with the past, present and future (Bennett and Rogers 2016).

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