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Lived Religiosity and Citizenship in Contemporary Switzerland: The Case Study of a Young Swiss Bosnian Muslim Woman.

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Abstract

This research intends to explore how a young Swiss Bosnian woman of Muslim faith constructs, sustains and navigates multi-layered identities in the context of 'post-migratory' Switzerland.

Furthermore, it will look at how she thinks, feels and acts in relation to her lived religiosity and citizenship, which are developed in both Swiss and transnational social environments and forged by their culture. In that respect, a narrative analysis is adopted. Eventually, the case study of Sanja will exemplify how a young Swiss Muslim woman takes root in a Western European secular society (contemporary Switzerland), produces and lives new and creative religiosity and citizenship belongings, based mainly on individual and effective dimensions.

Introduction

This research intends to explore how a young Swiss Bosnian woman of Muslim faith constructs, sustains and navigates multi-layered identities in the context of 'post-migratory' Switzerland. [1] Like many Western European countries, the presence of Muslim immigrants in Switzerland was first temporary, before leading to a sustainable settlement of the immigrants and their families.[2] Indeed, these immigrant descendants have often developed different socio-cultural heritages woven from the contexts of their parents' countries of origin and countries of settlement.[3]

In the case of immigration from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Switzerland, which is the focus of this research, there were also several waves of immigration, first

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[1] For Foroutan, individuals and groups should not be considered as 'post-migrants', but rather societies themselves are 'post-migratory' (cf. Naika Foroutan."Hybride Identitäten: Normalisierung, Konfliktfaktor und Ressource in postmigrantischen Gesellschaften", in *Dabeisein und Dazugehören. Integration in Deutschland*, edited by Heinz-Ulrich Brinkmann and Haci-Halil Uslucan, Wiesbaden:Springer VS, 2014).

[2] In reality, the family reunification process that took place from the 1970s onwards meant that these migrants' descendants became permanently established in European societies and in most cases adopted citizenship. (Philippe Wanner, *Une Suisse à 10 millions d'habitants* (Lausanne: Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes, 2014).

[3] Steven Vertovec."The Cultural Politics of Nation and Migration", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 40, 2011:241-256.

based on economic grounds (1960-1980), and then on political reasons, further to the conflict that broke out in the Balkans in the 1990s.[4]

Furthermore, since the 1990s the trend towards increasing globalisation has emphasised references to the global level at the expense of the national level, namely through a transnational perspective. [5]

In the case of this research, the analysis will focus on a young Swiss-born and educated woman of Bosnian origin and Muslim faith and explore how she shapes and navigates various belongings, such as religiosity and citizenship *inter alia.*

Literature Review

The 'Politics of Belonging'

In most contemporary societies, globalisation and international migration processes have meant that the issues of identity and belonging have become pivotal aspects in many people's everyday lives. According to Yuval-Davis, on the one hand, belonging needs to be studied and grasped in relation to "social locations; identifications and emotional attachments; and ethical and political

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[4] Bashkim Iseni, Didier Ruedin, Dina Bader and Denise Efionayi-Mäder. *The Population of Bosnia et Herzegovina in Switzerland*, (Bern: Federal Office for Migration (FOM) and Swiss Agency for Development et Cooperation (SDC), 2014).

[5] In this perspective, transnational migrants are part of two or more societies, thus setting and sustaining multiple social relationships connecting their societies of origin and residence (Nina Glick, Schiller and Peggy Levitt. "Conceptualising Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society", *International Migration Review*, vol. 38, no. 3, September (2004): 1002-1039).

values". On the other, the politics of belonging is linked to "the participatory politics of citizenship" as well as to that of "entitlement and status".[6]

Religious Belonging: Youth Turning to Individual Religiosity.

In a global and transnational world where geographical, political, cultural and religious borders have been blurred by immediate communication through technological innovations, young people outline the trends and evolutions of most contemporary societies. More than in the past, (Muslim) youth in Western countries enjoy a certain level of independence, particularly when it comes to decision-making, personal choices and orientations, leisure and free time. All these various factors have challenged their lifestyles, religious beliefs and ultimately their identity.[7]

This trend is also visible among young observant Muslims in Switzerland. As a matter of fact, they forge their religious identity both as individuals of faith and Swiss citizens. Furthermore, most young Swiss Muslims regard faith as a private matter, Islam being a characteristic of their identity coupled with other belongings defining them. [8]

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[6] Nora Yuval-Davis, Kalpana Kannabiran and Ulrike M. Vieten. "Introduction. Situating Contemporary Politics of Belonging", in *The Situated Politics of Belonging,* edited by Nora Yuval-Davis, Kalpana Kannabiran and Ulrike M. Vieten, London: Sage (2006):199.

[7] See Olivier Roy, *Globalised Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*, New York: Colombia University Press (2004); Peter G Mandaville, *Transnational Muslim Politics: Reimagining the Umma*, London: Routledge (2004).

[8] See Martin Baumann, Jürgen Endres, Silvia Martens and Andreas Tunger-Zanetti. "*Hallo, es geht um meine Religion*"*: Muslimische Jugendliche in der Schweiz auf der Suche nach ihrer Identität*, Forschungsbericht, Zentrum Religionsforschung, Universität Luzern: Luzern (2017); Jürgen Endres, Andreas Tunger-Zanetti, Samuel-Martin Behloul

Belonging in terms of Citizenship: Youth turning to Affective Citizenship

Discourses on citizenship are closely linked to the 'politics of belonging', in the process of delineating 'good' citizens from 'bad' ones. Contrary to notions that legal statutory citizenship makes citizens, I adopt the perspective that people's hierarchical location within nation states conditions how citizens are made. [9]

The 'turn' to the notion of 'affective citizenship' means that viewing 'citizenship' only through 'culture' is not analytically sufficient Indeed, two other elements are important when considering the 'politics of belonging': emotions and identity.

Research Methodology

As this paper focuses on the personal experience of a young Swiss woman of Bosnian origin in 'post-migration' Switzerland, a narrative method will be employed. Indeed, narrative analysis is a subjective narrative that gives the researcher an understanding of how the narrator at a specific time and space perceives her reality and herself within it. [10]

Furthermore, it rests on a hermeneutical foundation, which situates the structure of social and individual identities at the center of the objective and resorts to a descriptive-interpretative and critical sense.

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and Martin Baumann. *Jung, Muslimisch, Schweizerisch. Muslimische Jugendgruppen, islamische Lebensführung und Schweizer Gesellschaft,* Forschungsbericht, Zentrum Religionsforschung, Universität Luzern: Luzern (2013).

[9] Aihwa Ong. "Cultural citizenship as subject making", *Current Anthropology,* 37(5) (1996), pp.737-762.

[10] Floya Anthias. "Where do I belong? Narrating collective identity and translocational positionality", *Ethnicities*, Vol. 3 (2) (2002):501; Molly Patterson and Kristen Monroe Renwick. "Narrative in Political Science", *Annual Reviews*, Vol. 1 (1998): 315.

Indeed, this method allows the researcher to grasp how individuals perceive and understand their place in the world and their belongings. It is what Anthias calls a "locational narrative". Indeed, in her perspective, life can be understood through narratives of the self and thus identity can be seen as constructed within and through narrative. [11]

The Case Study of Sanja Through her Narrative

Post-War Memories

Sanja is a 19-year-old woman of Bosnian origin. She was born in Western Switzerland and is an only child. Her mother came to Switzerland in 2001 thanks to a brother already settled as a guest worker in the country and a sister who took refuge to Switzerland right after the end of the war in Bosnia (1995). [12]

When I asked Sanja's on the memories of war that her mother passed on, she answered:

My mother told me about it and I did my own research. I did my high school diploma research on the integration of Bosnians in Switzerland. We watched some films on this subject with my mother. She told me about it, because she experienced this tragedy personally. I know what happened. I know that it affects me more than other children, who come from another region and whose families have not necessarily experienced this.

This passage describes how war-related memories can be explained as a practice and an act. Although they deal with the past (as they are related to Sanja's mother

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[11] Floya Anthias. "Where do I belong? Narrating collective identity and translocational positionality", *Ethnicities*, Vol. 3 (2) (2002): 498

[12] The Bosnia war broke out in 1992 and ended in 1995. Indeed, many Bosnian Muslims fled the war and found refuge in various countries worldwide.

personal experience with war), they exist in the present (for Sanja) and look to the future. Indeed, Sanja inherited this unintended legacy of the consequence of traumatic processes her mother experienced. Marianne Hirsch calls this accumulation of experiences 'post-memories'. Through this concept, she points out the close links of the second generation to their families' often highly emotional and traumatic experiences, that were passed on to them, forming memories *per se*.[13]

Sanja's Religious Belonging: From Collective Religious Belonging to Individual Religiosity

During our various conversations, Sanja identified herself as 'Bosniak'. Indeed, for Bosnian Muslims, this self-identification as 'Bosniak' distinguish them from Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs, or any individual having a relation with the current Bosnian territory. This self-identification is ambiguous, because it highlights the interwoven articulations between ethnic identity ('Bosniak') and religious identity ('Muslim') in Bosnian culture. Indeed, this close association between ethnicity and religion in Bosnian Muslim subjectivities needs to be considered in analysing Sanja's narrative.

Bosnian Islam in a (post) migration context such as Switzerland

Bosnia has been a multi-religious and multi-ethnic crossroads over the centuries. This specific setting has forged a particular Muslim belonging, viewed ambiguously as both religious belonging and ethnic marker. [14]

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[13] Marianne Hirsch. "The Generation of Post-Memory", *Poetics Today*, 29:1 (Spring 2008): 103.

[14] John B Allcock. "In Praise of Chauvinism: Rhetorics of Nationalism in Yugoslav Politics", *Third World Quarterly*, 11:4 (1989): 208-222.

Therefore, for most Bosnian Muslims who left war-torn Bosnia, fleeing to another European and secular country of refuge such as Switzerland and being hosted by already Swiss-settled Bosnian economic migrants facilitated their social inclusion. Bosnian Muslims' religious belonging in the context of Switzerland can also be regarded in pragmatic terms. [15] Regarding Sanja, she considers her parents as 'devout' Muslims. Indeed, her mother was exposed to religion since her childhood and taught the basics of Islam to her daughter. Sanja's religious knowledge was broadened, as she attended the local 'dzemat' [16] and received knowledge in 'traditional Islam',[17] whereas her mother taught her the basics of Islam. In truth, Bosnian Islam is shaped in a collective cultural identity resting on 'traditional' pillars such as families and 'dzemats'. Religious practices are not

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[15] Bashkim Iseni. "L'islam européen des musulmans de Suisse". In *Le Temps*, November, 24th (2009); https://www.letemps.ch/opinions/lislam-europeen-musulmans-suisse

[16] 'Dzemats' are religious-cultural infrastructures where Bosnian Muslims meet on both religious and cultural grounds. Beside the mosque, the place of prayer is open to all people who self-identify as Muslims and there is also a school that offers courses related to Islam and Bosnian culture (language and culture). They may also offer meeting places such as a cafeteria and coordinate leisure/sport activities.

[17] For Mathiesen, resting on Talal Asad, 'traditional Islam' is understood "as an entity of separate discourses that endeavour to establish the orthodoxy of specific practices and institutions as opposed to other versions of practices and institutions. Traditional Islamic discourse is didactic and instructional, to the very meta-structure or infrastructure of Islam, its practices and its branches of knowledge". (Kay Mathiesen, "Anglo-American 'Traditional Islam' and Its Discourse of Orthodoxy", *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, *13,* (2017), *p.*192).

narrowed down only to Islamic liturgical practices in 'dzemats', but are closely linked to family's ones.

Fostering Individual Religiosity

Sanja started to foster her individual religiosity during her adolescence. Indeed, she stopped the Wednesday afternoon religious sessions when she turned 16, because it clashed with her high school timetable. She shaped a religiosity on her own terms, grounded in contemporary youth culture and leaning on the Internet, her local Bosnian Muslim 'community' and Muslim peers.

Online Religion

Regarding her religious awakening on the Web, Sanja uses a social network very popular among youth: Tiktok. [18] Indeed, she follows a young French-speaking Canadian Muslim, Reda, who has almost a million of followers on the digital sphere. [19] Sanja's use of Titkok showcases the growing importance of the Internet as a resource for youth's individual religiosity. Regarding contemporary Islam,

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[18] Tiktok is a social network of short videos and live broadcasts. It is currently one of the most popular social networks among young people, because it creates a very intense network of interplays in various digital communities. As Ash-Brown points it out, "TikTok, especially, has shown itself to be a communal hub for people of all backgrounds, faiths and ethnicities to share their ideas, beliefs and culture (Genna Ash-Brown."Social media helps Muslim youth celebrate their religion", in: *Education Technology, September 3 (2021);* https://edtechnology.co.uk/people-policy-politics/social-media-helps-muslim-youth-celebrate-their-religion/)

[19] Reda is a young TikToker who is popular among young observant francophone Muslims with more than 1 million of viewers following his TikTok account. He usually gives advice and answers on issues related to lived Islam; https://www.tiktok.com/@redazere?lang=fr

since the 9/11 events, the digital sphere has provided various individuals and groups with opportunities to voice online (and offline) their expressions and be heard in a transnational and almost global public sphere. Indeed, the digital sphere provides these communities with a 'third space' [20],where they can shape and negotiate multi-layered identities and discourse formations.

The local Bosnian Muslim 'community'

Family

Even far from Bosnia, Bosnian Muslims keep on maintaining on these 'ethno-religious' links forming the Bosnian cultural identity, built on an ambivalence of references to religion, ethnicity and tolerance. Sanja regularly shares Bosnian Muslim religious rituals and practices with her family, such as Ramadan for instance. Indeed, she celebrates 'Bayram' with her family and friends, eating 'bakhlavas'. [21] In her neighbourhood, there are five Bosnian families in four

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[20] Bhabha refers to a 'third space' as being an in-between of two original cultures combined with a new introduced culture, to create hybridised cultures (See Homi K Bhabha. "The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha", *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference,* editey by Jonatha Rutherford, London: Lawrence & Wishart (1990): 207–221). Echchaibi and Hoover have refined Bhaba's notion of 'third space' and applied to the digital sphere, where "third spaces of digital religion" are defined as "important performative sites of enunciation where formal and unitary structures of religious knowledge and practice become the object of both revision and transformation" (Nabil Echchaibi and Stewart Hoover, *Finding Religion in the Media: Third Spaces of Digital Religion*, Center for Media, Religion, and Culture, University of Colorado (2014).

[21] Bosnian Islam's religious and cultural practices have been influenced by the Ottoman historical legacy. Indeed, Bosnian Muslims call Ramadan 'Bayram', the Turkish name of this religious celebration. Baklava is a puff pastry cake with honey, almonds or pistachios

buildings, all from the same region in Bosnia who took refuge to the same Swiss location as Sanja's mother.

Muslim Peers

Among her Muslim peers, Sanja regularly spent time with female friends she met during high school. Indeed, her best friends were young Swiss Muslim women originating from Montenegro and Albania. Furthermore, Sanja recreated with them a contextual and localised expression of regional identity (Balkan Muslim) in a 'post-migrant' context (Western Switzerland). This common emotional bond among Sanja and her friends creates a specific emotional space of 'regional identity' among them. Furthermore, this emotional space is not detached from their everyday life context , but grounded in it, as they speak French among themselves as students of a Western Swiss high school.

Sanja's Sense of Citizenship: Juggling With Translocal and Affective Citizenship

Having a sense of belonging means someone's attachment to a place or an environment. Place attachment, regarded as a "bonding of people to places'',[22] enables individuals and groups define themselves socially, culturally and politically and being connected by culture, religion, same history, values, etc. Furthermore, to be fully grasped, belonging needs to be grounded in an 'affective' perspective, taking account emotions and feelings *inter alia.*

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soaked in syrup. It is a pastry of Turkish origin that is also found in Greece, Cyprus and some countries of the Middle East.

[22] Setha M. Low and Irwin Altman. "Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry", *Human Behaviour and Environment,* Vol. 12, (1992): 1–12.

As a belonging, citizenship formally connects individuals (citizens) as participatory members of a political community (national state, local government, etc.), whereby citizens are granted rights and privileges and need to perform duties. However, nation-states as institutional political forms have been disrupted by globalisation trends such as the advent of transnational communities of modern technologies. [23]

When considering the issue of 'post-migrants' in relation to citizenship, it is necessary to link belonging, sense of place and emotions/feelings among 'post-migrant' youth. As already indicated in the case of the Bosnian war narrated to Sanja by her mother, places shape experiences that simultaneously generate memories wrapped in dynamics of emotions and perform a key role in forging identity. So, when talking about 'affective citizenship', Fortier highlights that "the 'affective subject' becomes ''affective citizen'' when its membership to the 'community' is contingent on personal feelings and acts that extend beyond the individual self (…), but which are also directed towards the community".[24]

As already indicated, Sanja regards herself as both Swiss and Bosnian. In addition, she is grounded in the Swiss society, speaks better French than Bosnian, intends to live in Switzerland and spend her holidays in Bosnia.

Sanja's example raises two important aspects regarding citizenship:

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[23] Nira Yuval-Davis, Eleonore Kofman. "Secure Borders and Safe Haven: the Gendered Politics of Belonging Beyond Social Cohesion", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(3) (January 2005):313-35

[24] Anne-Marie Fortier. "Proximity by design? Affective citizenship and the management of unease", *Citizenship Studies,* 14(1): (2010):22.

- The first perspective concerns current global migration and globalisation processes that have definitively disrupted a narrow statist perspective of citizenship

- The second one, where citizenship is not perceived anymore only a legal status seen from the perspective of the state, but from the citizen's viewpoint through a 'citizenship from below' grounded in the individual's emotions and feelings.

Citizenship Connected to Migration and Dislocation

In this perspective, political membership does not only revolve around the idea of the state and its constitution anymore, but needs to be reconsidered in relation to migrancy. Therefore, citizenship is connected to the experience of migration and dislocation.

For Bosnian Muslims such as Sanja's mother who had to flee the war, flight means mandatory and involuntarily leaving behind the home one once trusted and exchanging it for a new one. This does not happen without a struggle. Migration changes the human being and his relationship to a few or more localities between which he moves. Thus, we can talk about the concept of 'translocal citizenship'. Appadurai created the concept of 'translocality' to outline the ways in which situated communities become extended through the geographical mobility of these communities' members. [25]

In this sense, I will employ the notion of 'translocal citizenship', 'translocality' being an interesting analytical perspective to discuss the concept of 'citizenship' in light of various historical processes of local and global transformations,

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[25] Arjun Appadurai. "The Production of Locality", *Counterworks: Managing the Diversity of Knowledge*, edited by Richard Fardon, London: Routledge (1995)":204-225.

connecting concrete localities designed by complex historical, political and socio-cultural configurations and by a broad range of social-spatial relationships that non-elite actors such as individuals get involved in.[26]

Sanja is a good example of 'translocal citizen'. Indeed, she juggles with multiple belongings. She is born in Switzerland but has Bosnian origins. Indeed, her citizenship is 'translocal', because it arises from concrete 'movements' she does through her various travels between Switzerland and Bosnia, overcoming spatial distances and borders regularly

A 'Citizenship from Below'

In the following perspective, 'citizenship' is not only 'translocal', but also grounded in emotions and feelings. As discussed, culture and emotions inter alia also get 'translocalised'. I previously discussed Marianne Hirsch's notion of 'post-memories' applied to Sanja's rebuilding memories further to her mother's experience of war in Bosnia. Indeed, memory traces are shaped by various social settings and political cirumstances. Through 'translocality', we can notice than not only physical territories, but also personal subjectivities become fragmented, blurred and contested.

Sanja does not only ground her subjectivity in Switzerland, but also in Bosnia, by keeping strong emotional bonds through her 'post-memories' and the frequent travels to Bosnia she does with her mother. Indeed, her family (her mother, her relatives in Bosnia) and her local Bosnian 'community' in Switzerland

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[26] Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen. "Introduction: 'Translocality': An Approach to Connection and Transfer in Area Studies", in *Translocality:The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*, edited by Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, Leiden/Boston:Brill (2010):1-24.

(neighbours and other relatives) constitute for Sanja an emotional space that strengthens her various belongings (religious, ethnic and affective) in a 'translocal' perspective.

Sanja's Ambivalent Belongings as Swiss and Muslim.

Even though anti-Muslim discourses are still present in the Swiss public sphere, young Swiss Muslims accommodate themselves with this ongoing reality. In fact, they ground their everyday lives in contemporary Switzerland as Swiss Muslims through ambivalent belongings. In the case of Sanja, a young Swiss Muslim woman of Bosnian origin, her social inclusion in the Swiss societal context is facilitated on the following grounds. As previously indicated, Bosnian Islam has thrived in a European context, featured by secularism and religious diversity (with Bosnian Catholic Croatians and Bosnian Orthodox Serbians) and in communist Yugoslavia. Furthermore, religion did not have much importance in former Yugoslavia's public sphere and was confined to the private sphere.

Taking into account these features, Sanja never experienced any individual discrimination linked to her Muslim belonging. Even though she was surprised by the two popular votes 'otherising' Muslims (ban on constructing minarets (2009) and ban on full face coverings in public spaces, known as 'burqa ban' (2021), she agrees that is up to Muslims to accept the Swiss context. As a young woman born and raised in Switzerland, Sanja feels emotionally connected to Switzerland, but also to Bosnia.

When it comes to her religious belonging, as Bosnian Islam is mainly performed in the private sphere, she feels no differences to perform her religiosity in the private sphere. Indeed, her private room has become her main 'religious space' where she performs ritual practices as prayer:

> In my room, I always have a small praying rug, with a 'tasbih'. I also have a veil. Both are always at the same place in my room. So, I do my ablutions and then I pray. For me, it is a duty. I have to do it. But sometimes, it is true that there are moments when I am more tired, especially among youth who has the laziness to do it. I tell myself that I have to pray, but sometimes I am tired. However, when I have time, I do the prayers, because I have no excuse. However, I feel less guilt to do my prayers, when I am really busy working in the supermarket and that I don't have time. I know it is an individual choice to pray or not, but it is supposed to be a duty to do so.

In a 'traditional Islam' perspective, prayer constituting the second Islamic pillar, the 'believer' having the 'right' and 'obligation' to turn to God. It is also a spiritual and emotional experience of connection with God. [27] By praying, individuals and communities not only perform a religious act by turning themselves to God, but they express various feelings and emotions: a brutal request, an order, an act of faith, anger, fears, etc. [28]

Indeed, in this excerpt, Sanja structures her act of praying in different ways. First, before performing the prayer, she complies to the ritual ablution of the human body and then performs her prayer, wearing a veil only during praying time, further to Islamic standards of modesty.

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[27] As Sharp conceptualises prayer, it is "an imaginary social support interaction with a deity that provides individuals with resources they use to carry out individual emotion management strategies" (Shane Sharp, "How Does Prayer Help Manage Emotions?", *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 73, No. 4 (2010): 418).

[28] Gerrit Immink. "The sense of God's presence in prayer", *Theological Studies,* Vol 72, No 4 (2016)

Secondly, beyond scriptural and spiritual grounds, the act of praying also needs to be grounded in everyday sensory and affective experiences. Therefore, she materialises her praying space with aesthetic and ornamental religious and cultural artefacts such as a 'tespih'[29] and a rug.

Sanja's praying rug in her room spatialises and structures her performance of Muslim prayers. They are not only ornamental artefacts, but they are "the most significant portable objects displaying Muslim architectural design regulating time and space''. [30]

However, even if she complies to ritual practices on the one hand, she does not do it fully, as she decides to accommodate her praying times with her daily life activities (after work or exams), feeling less guilty. Through this example, she intertwines religious ideals with everyday practices, placing the priority on her personal feelings and expressing her individual autonomy.[31]

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[29] 'Tespih' is the Turkish term for the Arabic 'tasbih', a small string of prayer beads; it is used as a sign of faith as well as an accessory, these small beads embody centuries-old craftmanship. It is interesting to note that Sanja uses the Turkish name of this artifact called in Arabic 'tasbih', which reflects the Ottoman influence on religion and culture in Bosnia

[30] Minoo Moallem. "Praying through the senses: The Prayer Rug/Carpet and the Converging Territories of the Material and the Spiritual", *Conversations: An Online Journal of the Center for the Study of Material and Visual Cultures of Religion* (2014).

[31] In his various writings, Samuli Schilke has outlined the individuals' ambivalences, tensions and difficulties of moral pursuit in everyday life (Samuli Schielke and Lisa Debevec. *Ordinary Lives and Grand Schemes: An Anthropology of Everyday Religion.* Oxford: Berghahn Books (2012); Samuli Schielke, "Ambivalent Commitments:

Conclusion

The case study of Sanja has exemplified how a young European Muslim takes root in a secular Western European society (such as Switzerland in this case) in a (post)migration perspective and articulate her citizenship and religious belongings on her own terms, based on an individual and affective perspective. By leaning on Yuval-Davis concept of 'politics of belonging', I explored how globalisation and international migrations in contemporary 'post-migrant' societies in Western Europe have placed the issues of identity and belonging as key elements at the core of people's everyday life contexts. I identified the concepts of 'individual religiosity' and 'affective citizenship' as two important analytical categories *inter alia* to understand how young Swiss Muslims understand or make sense of life events, relationships and the self in a globalised and transnational world through a narrative analysis.

Eventually, I discussed how, despite anti-Muslim public discourses, a young Swiss Muslim woman grounds her everyday life context in contemporary Switzerland. In Sanja's case, this social inclusion is even made easier because her family background takes root in Bosnian Islam, which thrived in a European context, very close to Switzerland, featured by secularism and religious diversity.

Recommendations.

This research has focused on a young Swiss Bosnian Muslim woman and her everyday life context in a Western European secular context.

In that respect I will do the following recommendations:

Troubles of Morality, Religiosity and Aspiration among Young Egyptians", In *Journal of Religion in Africa,* 39, no.2 (2009): 158.

- More academic research needs to be conducted within this perspective, in order to correct the often unknown and blurred perceptions of Muslim youth in a Western European context such as Switzerland and provide an interface for constructive and inclusive dialogue.

- National and regional political authorities, policy-makers and media should be informed about such research, in order to debunk anti-Muslim rhetoric in political and media debates.

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