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**THE EVALUATION OF MUSLIM MINORITIES IN SWITZERLAND WITHIN THE
FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND PUBLIC FREEDOM VIOLATIONS**

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ABSTRACT

An individual perceives as a threat when the environment changes that she/he is accustomed. The perceived threat is reflected in 'the other' because it cannot be caused by 'us'. The global economic crisis in 2008 also affected Switzerland and this led to a decline in perceived prosperity in everyday life. In the Swiss case, it was considered that various minority rights violations, particularly in 2009, were due to the danger of the perceived level of prosperity by Swiss citizens. The process of violating these minority rights has been tried to be interpreted with the help of the concept of Political Psychology. In the study, it was stated that the psychology of the victim created within the Muslim minority would be easily adopted by the Muslim minority group and the gap between "us" and "the other" would increase. In terms of public security policies, the existence of different groups within society affects the domestic security policies of the states. As the gap between "us" and "the other" increases, aggressive feelings will increase and will have a negative impact on the welfare of the country in terms of public security. In addition, as a result of different groups perceiving each other as a threat, the unrest in the society will increase. Political Psychology examines the selected trauma and selected victories based on the psychology of groups and tries to analyze how the group behaves in the face of any event. It expresses how concepts such as identity, politics, ethnicity, gender, religion are interpreted by different groups. The aim of this study is to express the political practices towards the minorities in Switzerland and to put forward the ways of these practices evaluating as a threat to public freedom.

Keywords: Political Psychology, Minorities, Switzerland, Public Freedom, Otherization

**POLİTİK PSİKOLOJİ VE KAMU ÖZGÜRLÜK İHLALLERİ ÇERÇEVESİNDE İSVİÇRE'DEKİ
MÜSLÜMAN AZINLIKLARIN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ**

ÖZ

Birey alıştığı ortam değiştiğinde bunu tehdit olarak algılar. Algılanan tehdit ise 'biz'den kaynaklanmayacağı için 'öteki'ne yansıtılır. 2008 yılında yaşanan küresel ekonomik kriz İsviçre'yi de etkilemiş ve bu durum gündelik yaşamdaki algılanan refah düzeyinin düşmesine sebep olmuştur. İsviçre örneğinde, özellikle 2009 yılında yaşanan muhtelif azınlık hakkı ihlallerinin, İsviçre vatandaşlarında hissedilen refah düzeyi algısının tehlikeye girmesinden kaynaklandığı değerlendirilmiştir. Söz konusu azınlık haklarının ihlal edilmesi süreci, Politik Psikoloji kavramı yardımıyla anlamlandırılmaya çalışılmıştır. Çalışmada, Müslüman azınlık içerisinde yaratılan mağdur psikolojisinin Müslüman azınlık grup tarafından kolaylıkla benimseneceği, böylelikle toplum içerisinde 'biz' ile 'öteki' arasındaki uçurumun artacağı ifade

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edilmiştir. Kamu güvenlik politikaları açısından olaya bakacak olursak, toplum içerisinde oluşan farklı grupların varlığı devletlerin iç güvenlik politikalarını etkilemektedir. Biz ve öteki arasındaki uçurum arttıkça saldırgan duygular artacak ve kamu güvenliği açısından ülke refahına olumsuz etkide bulunacaktır. Bunun yanında, ortaya çıkan farklı grupların birbirini tehdit olarak algılaması sonucunda toplumda huzursuzluk artacaktır. Politik Psikoloji, grupların psikolojisinden hareketle seçilmiş travma ve seçilmiş zaferleri inceleyerek o grubun herhangi bir olay karşısında nasıl davranacağını çözümlemeye çalışır. Kimlik, siyaset, etnisite, cinsiyet, din gibi kavramların farklı gruplar tarafından nasıl anlamlandırıldığını ifade eder. Bu çalışmanın amacı, bahsedilenlerden yola çıkarak, İsviçre'deki azınlıklara yönelik siyasi uygulamaları ifade etmek ve bu uygulamaların kamu özgürlüğü için tehdit olarak değerlendirilme yollarını ortaya koymaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Politik Psikoloji, Azınlıklar, İsviçre, Kamu Özgürlüğü, Ötekileştirme

Introduction

Groups that regard themselves as a minority tend to show negative behaviors in the community. The injustices they experienced will turn into a trauma for the group concerned. These injustices usually arise only on the elements that are specific to that group, such as language, religion, clothing preference or food preference.

It is known that the distinction of 'us' and 'the other' in the primitive psychology of the neighboring groups existed even in the prehistoric period. According to Erikson, a psychoanalyst, primitive people covered their nudity by wearing their skins or feathers. Over time, these outer garments have developed the belief that for every tribe and height, the real human is only themselves and has been the basis for the formation of identity (Kottak, 2002: 108). Each group was hostile to each other because of the different ways they covered and their signs were different. In time, these clothes formed their identities and the groups with the same clothes evolved to 'us' group and the different ones evolved to 'the other'.

The concept of 'us' and 'the other', one of the basic concepts in political psychology, is useful in examining the underlying psychological reasons for not applying the basic rights and duties for minorities. Mankind lives in interaction with other individuals in society. The isolated individual idea is misleading (Özdalga, 2009: 18) and there is an interaction between the individual and family, tribal, social class relations. The individual in the interaction in question evolves into the group.

Hate is the most powerful of all unifying emotions when shared with others. All social movements and actions could not be realized without a common enemy in which the hate and disgust would be reflected (Özsoy, 1999: 107). Since the psychological structure of the society is a whole of the psychological structure of the people, it can be said that the conflict between "us" and "the other" leads to important gaps in the life of societies.

One of the most crucial ways to make a group feel that there is a minority is to prevent the need for nutrition, which is one of the first steps in Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Inequality in business life threatens the life of the first ladder. In this study, it examines the inequalities in working conditions and employment conditions for Muslims in Switzerland. We will consider how this situation affects the communication between Muslims and others, in other words, "us" and "the other" and the possible effects of this situation on public freedom policies.

It is known that Muslim groups have their own clothing choices in any part of the world. Muslims also need places of worship in order to live their beliefs in accordance with their own rules wherever they are in the world. In this study, focusing on the basis of Muslim minorities in Switzerland examines the injustices of the group in question about the preferences of clothes and freedom of belief.

Method

The study, which will be explained in the light of the mentioned, consists of three parts. In the first part of this study, firstly, the concept of the minority was emphasized and it was seen that a universal definition was not reached in international law regarding the concept of minority. In the following, we tried to solve the problem of defining the minority with the concepts of 'us' and 'the other' from the frame of Political Psychology. Examples of how the victim psychology depicts 'the other'.

The aim of this study was to examine the national characteristics of Switzerland in the second part of the study and to explore the country in the context of various demographic and economic quantities.

In the third part of the study, the practices directed to minorities in Switzerland were examined, and especially the examples of issues such a prohibition of construction of new minarets, prohibition of wearing clothes and equality in finding a job were given and the violated rights of Muslims living in that country were emphasized.

1. Definition of Minority

The concept of minorities by the Turkish Language Institution is defined as: "those who are different in terms of any qualifications and less than others in a community, anti-majority, which is separate from the same faith in a country or community and who outnumbered" (Turkish Language Institute, 2018). In other words, socio-politically minority is the group that has different characteristics than compared to the majority, which and is generally small in terms of numbers and feels that it is different from the majority as well as being crushed by the majority (Oran, 1994). In this definition, it is not an element of the number. It is the perception of oppression by the dominant group in the society in question. According to Kuçuradi, the minority is a sub-group that has a different characteristic to a group of people who live in a particular place (Kuçuradi, 2007: 143).

In the context of law, the concept of the minority must be the element of citizenship. In other words, in order to be able to talk about the minorities within a country, that group must be related to the citizenship bond to the country in question. However, there is no legal definition of the concept of minority, which all states share as common. The main reason for this is that each country does not want to bind itself by observing its political interests and making a legal definition of the concept of minority. Thus, various compensation rights will arise and the obligation to compensate for damages in the legal framework will be eliminated.

Because of the complexity of the concept of minority, opinions about this concept are changing (Nal, 2010: 12). In fact, in the period when the ideologies were not nation-states, while the minorities were defined by religion, in the agreements made during the period of the League of Nations, the qualifications of people connected with

race, language and religion were made and thus the concept of minority was associated with cultural identity (Kurubaş, 2006: 27).

1.1. *Minority Concepts in International Law*

The concept of the pre-nation-state minority was more in the context of religion. The main reason for this is that the ideology of holding is not yet in the relationship between the individual and the state but in religion (Oran, 1994). At the end of the Religious Wars, the parties saw that the abolition of religious minorities was impossible. For this reason, the emergence of the concept of the nation-state was necessary for the emergence of minority rights in the international arena. As a result of the rise of nationalism in the 19th century, all the major groups tried to establish superiority over others (Karpat, 2011: 87). Indeed Reform concept was born of religious minorities by the movement of the location of the Crimean War then made the Treaty of Paris (1856) and implicitly, albeit protection of Christian minorities in the Empire of the European Harmonization of the (Concert de l'Europe) in terms of quitting is one of the first steps of accessing the international law position.

The first definition of minorities in international law was made by the International Continuous Court of Justice (ICCJ) in the framework of the treaties governing the protection of social groups that remained in certain states after World War I. According to the ICCJ, the concept of minority refers to social groups that are settled in a state and whose population consists of a separate race, language or religion (Pazarıcı, 1998: 184).

In the years following World War II, the development of human rights in the UN framework and in Europe has been thought to make the separate protection of minorities based on criteria such as religion, race and language for a long time (Pazarıcı, 1998: 188). In the end, minority rights have been considered within the framework of the protection of human rights (Ataöv, 1996: 5).

As a matter of fact, Article 1, Paragraph 3 of the UN Treaty, aims to provide international cooperation for the solution of international, economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems, and in the development and strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms of all persons, regardless of race, gender, language or religion (Ombudsman Institution, 2018). The objective was represented by a sub-organ, the Subcommittee on the Protection of Minorities and Fight against Discrimination Supervisory Measures established in 1947 (The United Nations Today, 2018). In addition, the first article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights; (Brown, 2006: 199) the second article states that everyone can benefit from all rights and all freedoms declared by this Declaration, regardless of race, color, gender, language, religion, political or other opinions, national or social origin, property, birth or any other distinction (Akıllıoğlu, 1995: 14). Article 18 states that everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion (Öymen, 2003: 441).

In the legal definition of the concept of minority, the United Nations Human Rights Commission's definition of minorities, which was proposed in 1977 by the rapporteur Francesco Capotorti, the Sub-Commission on the Elimination of

Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities created the frame. According to Capotorti, “the minority is a non-dominant state, which is numerically less than the remaining population of a state, whose members are nationals of this state differ from the rest of the population in terms of their ethnic, religious and linguistic qualities, is a group that has a sense of solidarity to protect its traditions and language.” (Oran, 2000: 67). Although the definition of minority proposed by Francesco Capotorti is largely shared in teaching, it has not been able to ensure the acceptance of states within the framework of efforts to protect minorities both in the UN and the Council of Europe (Pazarıcı, 1998: 185). For this reason, in the Declaration on the Rights of the National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities that the UN General Assembly adopted in its decision dated 18 December 1992 and is not defined. The Council of Europe, however, does not fully define the conditions for minority rights to countries that wish to join the European Union and its extension (Halliday, 2002: 123).

Article 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights introduced a criterion of belonging to a national minority in the framework of the non-discrimination principle, but no specific rights were granted for minorities. In addition, the European Convention on Regional or Minority Languages, which came into force on 5 November 1992, (Oran, 2000: 113) was an important step towards the protection of language minorities. It defines immigration languages and dialects of official languages as non-existent languages differentiating regional or minority languages from the rest of the population, which is less than the rest of the population and is traditionally used by a group in a region of the state (Kurubaş, 2006: 75).

1990 Copenhagen Meeting was the most important milestone in the transition to the recognition and preservation of ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identities of minorities for the purpose of ensuring equality before the law for minority members within the framework of the European Confidence in Security and Cooperation (ECSC). The ECSC Copenhagen Human Dimension Document states that belonging to a national minority is a choice of the individual and that there is no negativity from the existence of such a choice (Çoban, 2005: 106).

At the 1992 summit meeting, a High Commissioner for National Minorities (Oran, 2000: 114) was established and conflict prevention was created to give early warning of national minorities. It also seeks to prevent human rights violations in member countries, especially through observer status in elections in depressed countries (Davutoğlu, 2001: 244). The High Commissioner for National Minorities is not a supervisory mechanism; The basis of the analysis and the basis of the recommendations are the international standards accepted by each state (İnanç, 2004: 120).

1.2. Political Psychology and Minorities

Erich Fromm, in his book ‘Politik und Psychoanalyse’ (Politics and Psychoanalysis), establishes a close connection between the subconscious and the non-rational behavior. From the example of Germany, he raised a large number of scientists and assessed how rationally an organization like NSDAP (National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei: National Socialist German Workers' Party) in a country where the working class was organized could not be explained rationally.

Moreover, Germany is a country in which socialism is historically strong. Fromm subconsciously finds the cause. According to Fromm, every society has a psychological basis, not just economic and political, and the reasons why the mass does not show the expected behavior through psychoanalysis can be understood. Fromm is of the opinion that this analysis can lead to policy. Psychoanalysis cannot replace politics, but it can provide a more dimensional understanding of what is happening in society. Political Psychology is an important scientific field that analyzes in depth the psychological factors that play a role in the relations of large groups, masses, nations and each other. Political Psychology, which is a scientific field where human and group behavior is applied to political policies, is related to social and political processes (Erkiner, 2018).

Political Psychology, is an intersection point that combines psychology and society; as well as leaders and followers, leading and large-group relations, terrorism and terror psychology and the psychodynamics of social movements (Public Diplomacy, 2018).

The approach of political psychology to the problems is based on the principles of depth (analytical) psychology with an eclectic and integrated approach. Therefore, the superficial assessment of attitudes and behaviors in national and international relations and the underlying, in-depth motivations, rather than visible psychological problems, involve the work of Political Psychology (POLPAUM, 2018).

Political Psychology is a discipline that follows the origins of human and group political behavior, and the mental processes underlying these behaviors. This discipline is nourished from different fields such as psychology, psychiatry, sociology, history, communication, anthropology, theology and law. the result has emerged (Köseler, 2013). Thus, it tries to make sense of and understand the main reasons underlying the conflict areas within the society by using the tools of psychology.

According to the Freudian approach, in early childhood, the child reflects his disparaging aspects to himself because of the inconvenience. What happens in the childhood stage plays an important role in the later life, emotions and personality of the individual (Houde, 2006: 10). In this way, all negative effects away from itself to prevent the affected people from being affected. As the child reflects his / her own negativity to others, he enters a more peaceful development process. During the development period, the more trauma the individual enters into, the more intense the violence and in time, this violence is manifested. The expression of violence takes place with reflections and over time, the child forms them by embracing the features that are reflected the outside.

While individuals develop a strong self, they first perceive their ego as a whole with the mother and are in a world of perception and fantasy that they can control everything around them. Good care of the mother, the prevention of harm to the baby, while creating the minimum conditions for her survival, is also very important for her psychological integrity. At the same time, the fact that the baby experiences a few natural frustrations and deprivations that occur naturally serve to make this perception come into reality and ensures a healthy separation from the mother (Göka, 2007: 41).

According to Çevik, 'us' and 'the other' concept are therefore needed. The reason for the bad values within 'us' is shown by 'the other' means of vengeance within 'us' to destroy the bad values. The displacement mechanism is the same. For example, the child says to himself: I don't like my mother and I want to hurt her. But it's not a good thing because I'm addicted to it. For this, I will be angry with others and will be biased against them. These 'others' take on the sides that the child finds threatening in their parents and become safe objects for the child's anger (Çevik, 2007: 14).

Adults also use outward-oriented mechanisms. In all people, there are tendencies to search for scapegoats, prejudice or foreign fear. However, the excess of these attitudes are clues to the decline or stalking of adult primitive extraversion mechanisms. The more an adult has an integrated sense of identity, the less likely it is to reflect and shift (Çevik, 2007: 14-15). In general, the behavior of people can be explained by their beliefs and motivations (Elster, 2002: 8).

The internalization of negative emotions that develop within themselves in childhood does not seem possible during the personal development phase. Therefore, in order to create his/her own, he/she needs another one, in which the negative values can be loaded. When the negative values are loaded, the concept of hatred also arises.

Political psychology examines the social values of a nation and the perception of 'the other' in the process of reaching 'us'. The concept of the peoples, which 'us concept', can also be named as a kind of childhood. Especially after the important traumas experienced, society can return to this childhood. In the case of an important war, economic crisis, political collapse, or even the possibility of such crises in question would make 'us' psychologically weak so, we may want to go back to childhood, and here we can install the cause of our own mistakes to other people. It may even be seen as an alternative solution to go further and try to destroy 'the other'.

There will thus be no other means for 'the other' to influence 'us'. The main reason why we need to keep it clean is that the person is too weak to accept to include his/her negative/badly evaluated elements. This weakness is also the emotional trauma experienced during the development of personality in childhood. 'Me' turns into a society with 'us'.

In the assimilation of which 'the other' is brought into 'us' and in the assimilation, two or more groups are united in a group; they penetrate into a common unity in different attitudes, ideas and social relations. It can be said that the cultural assimilation of the complete assimilation of the two ethnic groups, including the social status based on ethnic or physiognomic origin, was completed when the assets ended (Türkdoğan, 2006: 33). The main aim in assimilation is to take 'the other' into 'us' and thus to dissolve it in 'us'.

2. The Political Structure of Switzerland

The foundation of the Swiss Confederation was laid in 1291 by an agreement between the German-speaking three regional societies, which envisaged solidarity against the Habsburg Dynasty (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018). The Constitution, which was adopted in 1848, underwent fundamental changes in 1874 and 1978. The current Constitution was adopted on 18 April 1999 and entered into force on 1 January

2000. In Switzerland, the legislative power is in the two-wing Federal Parliament. The Bundestag consists of 46 members of the canton (two of the cantons, one of the half-cantons) and the National Assembly with 200 members. The country is still governed by a multi-party democratic system. The Swiss Confederation, founded on August 1, 1291, (Steinberg, 1980: 13) consists of 26 cantons (Ari, 2006: 1). The Swiss Confederation is composed of four different ethnic groups. (65% of German descent, 18% of French descent, 10% of Italian descent, 1% of Romansh descent and 6% of various other groups) (Nations Encyclopedia, 2019).

The Swiss Government is composed of seven members of the Federal Council elected by the Bundestag for 4 years. The President of the Confederation has been carrying out this task among the members of the Federal Council only for one year through the method of rotation and is the Federal first among equals during this period. The President is obliged to manage the meetings of the Federal Council and to perform some representation duties (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018).

In 2002, Switzerland became a full member of the United Nations (United Nations, 2002). The country which is a founding member of the EFTA (European Free Trade Area) is not part of the EEA (European Economic Area). Although an application was made in May 1992 to join the European Union, as a result of the referendum for the EEA in December 1992 (Switzerland is the only country to hold a referendum on the EEA), no other attempt was made on this issue, as the public did not accept the entry into the EEA. Although there have been various referendums on the EU after this date, they were initiated by marginal groups within the country and did not receive the support of the government. Nevertheless, Swiss legislation is slowly being edited to comply with EU law, and the government has signed a number of mutual agreements with the European Union (EU). With Austria entering the EU in 1995, Switzerland and Liechtenstein were neighbors with the EU (Europarl, 2019). On 5 June 2005, the Swiss agreed to participate in the Schengen Treaty, mostly with 55%. EU commentators considered this result as a show of goodwill from Switzerland, which is considered a traditionally isolationist country (Academickids, 2019).

Since the introduction of the 1848 federal constitution, Switzerland has hosted a system of unprecedented government on the world: direct democracy. Parliament and councils, which are indispensable elements of parliamentary democracy, are sometimes called semi-direct systems. The federal instruments of Swiss direct democracy are the constitutional initiative and the referendum on the rights of the people. At the cantonal and municipal level, these instruments are implemented broadly and differently (Kobach, 1993).

A group of citizens who wish to question the validity of a law approved by the Assembly may request a federal referendum if they can collect 50,000 signatures against the law within 100 days of the law's appearance. In this case, a national and simple vote for the acceptance or denial of the law is decided. Against a federal law, the eight cantons may come together and request a referendum (Aceproject, 2019).

Similarly, if citizens can reach 100,000 signatures that support a constitutional change over an 18-month period, they can go to a national vote with a federal constitutional initiative. The Assembly may adopt a counter-proposal as a complement

to the constitutional amendment request, and voters sign their options on ballot papers if both proposals are accepted. The majority of the results of the national vote and the majority of the cantons are to be sought for the adoption of constitutional amendments, whether submitted by the parliament or by a constitutional initiative (Venice Commission, 2005)

2.1. Demographic Quantity in Switzerland

The population of the country is estimated to be 7,9 million for the year 2010 and 7,8 million for 2010. The population growth rate in the country has gained momentum in recent years, and the increase in the quota limit for the residence permit of the EU (15) citizens has played an important role in this increase. The share of foreigners living in Switzerland (excluding asylum seekers and seasonal workers) in the total population was 20,7% according to 2006 data. The aging population is one of the most important disadvantages of the country. The average life expectancy in the country is above the EU (25%) average. The estimates show that in 2030 the share of the population over the age of 65 will increase to 42,6%. In 2008, this rate was 16%. In June 2002, the Swiss labor market was opened to EU citizens. In 2007, with the abolition of quotas on this issue for EU 15s, a rapid migration from EU to Switzerland began (Civaner, 2011).

Looking at the minorities in Switzerland, French speakers were 1,5 million (20,4%), Italian speakers 489.422 (6,5%), former Yugoslavians 363.855 (4,8%), Turks 80.462 (1,1%), Portuguese 35.032, Spaniards 76.080, Romani speakers 50.000 (2003), the Gypsies 30.0000035.000 (according to 1990 estimates), Jews 17,900 (2003) is seen as. Muslims living in Switzerland account for 5% of the total population and 120,000 of them are estimated to be of Turkish origin (Can, 2007: 77).

2.2. Economic Structure in Switzerland

The Swiss economy has been in a general recession since 2001. It is the general opinion that there is a need for comprehensive administrative and social reforms in order to solve the problems that have emerged over time in the economic structure with the effect of the monopolistic approach leading to ancestry. The Federal Government has initiated some studies for structural reforms, which are likely to involve a long process in terms of the administrative structure of Switzerland (Haberpodium, 2019).

This package; intensification of competition in the domestic market, tax and health reforms, removal of protectionism in the agricultural sector, economic harmonization with the EU, and improvement of the high school education system. With these measures, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was targeted to grow by 8%. But according to the data of the World Bank, the gross national income in 2006 was 477.706 billion dollars, whereas it decreased to 472.582 in 2007 and to 481.340 billion dollars in 2008. Last, the gross national income was 682.059 billion dollars in 2017 (The World Bank, 2018).

In the period of 2008-2009, the economy stagnated with the world economy. In 2008, due to the global financial crisis, the growth declined to 1,8% and the decline continued in 2009 and became 1,5%. As a matter of fact, the Swiss watch industry's

exports fell to \$ 13.2 billion in 2009 due to the shrinking of the main export markets in 2009 after the global economic crisis in 2009, when it was \$ 17 billion. The return of the Swiss economy was only possible in the July-September 2009 period (Sondakika, 2018). In the July-September period, Switzerland grew by 0,3 percent compared to the previous quarter after four consecutive quarters fell. Nevertheless, in the third quarter of 2009, the GDP was 1,3 percent below the same period of the previous year.

The Swiss National Bank (SNB) launched aggressive measures to combat deflation on March 2009. The SNB, waiting for a deep recession, cut interest rates and intervened in the markets to reduce the value of the Swiss franc. In the Central Bank's statement, the economy has been declining significantly since December 2008 and the negative inflation risk has been expressed for the next three years. Therefore, it is stated that it is necessary to act decisively to relieve the monetary situation by intervention. This measure taken by the SNB was the first intervention by the large central bank to the foreign exchange market during the financial crisis (Swiss National Bank, 2009).

After the Swiss Federal Reserve's decision in January 2015, the Swiss Franc quickly gained value against the Euro and the country's economy was in a difficult position. Export companies that produce half of the country's gross national product and their subcontractors are affected by this situation. Swiss research institutes have reduced their 2015 growth plans four-fold. Many firms are considering stopping research projects. Many Swiss firms have made some changes in the costs of salaries and premiums, and the expenses of workers from outside the border. The country's largest commercial non-governmental organization, UNIA, says this list is increasing day by day. The appreciation of the Swiss franc against the euro and the US dollar caused a panic in the banking sector and asset management firms serving foreign customers, and the largest company in this field laid off 200 employees (Euronews, 2015).

3. Applications for Minorities in Switzerland

3.1. Minaret Prohibition

The minaret debate in Switzerland is based on the initiative of Muslims in the city of Langenthal in 2007 to build a minaret (Bulaç, 2009). With the referendum held on 29 November 2009, the construction of a minaret is prohibited in the constitution. As a result of the referendum, 57,5 percent of voters supported the ban. According to the Coordination of Islamic Organizations in Switzerland, there are 300 Muslim associations and 200 Islamic Centers in the country. Most of them are small places rented to Muslim organizations. There are only two built-in mosques (in Geneva and Zurich) and four minarets (Geneva, Zurich, Winterthur and Wangen Olten) all over the country. Nevertheless, supporters of the initiative have argued that it is necessary to ban the Islamization of the country (Amnesty International, 2012a: 9).

A woman wearing a burqa in front of missile-like minarets was used in posters related to the referendum, and comments were made in many newspapers regarding the advertising campaign. The campaign was also condemned by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (United Nations OHCHR, 2009).

A Muslim, Ouairi, a member of the Geneva-based Inter-Knowing Foundation, a spokesperson for the Geneva Mosque between 1978 and 2007, has appealed to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) with the claim that the constitutional amendment prohibiting the construction of a minaret in Switzerland was a violation of religious freedom and discrimination on the basis of religion. The Court stated that the constitutional amendment stated that the applicants had been hurting their religious beliefs, but that there was no claim to the effect of the constitutional amendment on the applicants in practice (Humanrights Information Platform, 2018). The Court held that the applicants were not directly or indirectly victims of an alleged breach of the Convention as alleged (ABTTF, 2018).

With the complaint that the constitutional amendment imposing a ban on minaret construction is not compatible with the European Convention on Human Rights, Ouairi v. Switzerland (application no. 65840/09) and Ligue des Musulmans de Suisse and Others v. The cases of Switzerland (application no. 66274/09) have been rejected by the Court (HUDOC, 2018).

According to Amnesty International, an organization that aims to help people who are discriminated against because of their thoughts, beliefs and beliefs, regardless of their religion, language, ethnic origin, color and faith (Kapani, 1991: 86), they have been prohibited from building the construction of new minarets. In particular, it targets Muslims and seeks to install anti-Islamic stereotypes, thus failing to comply with their international obligations to adhere to (Amnesty International, 2012b).

The “Declaration on the Rights of Persons with National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities” was declared by the decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations on 18 December 1992, numbered 47/135 (Pazarci, 1998: 185). The first article of the said article is concerned with the protection of minorities and the first paragraph (Ombudsman Institution, 2018):

“States maintain the existence of national minorities, their national or ethnic, religious or linguistic identity and encourage the creation of necessary conditions for their development.”

provision is expressed. However, the prohibition of the construction of new minarets in Switzerland is in contradiction with the protection and development of religious identities in the article in question.

In the second article of the said declaration, it regulates the rights of persons belonging to minorities and the first paragraph of the article;

“Persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities have the right to live in their own culture, to practice and practice in their religion and to practice their own language, without any interference or discrimination in private or public life.”

the second clause;

“People belonging to minorities have the right to participate effectively in cultural, religious, social, economic and public life.” (Ombudsman Institution, 2018).

is expressed. As can be seen from the two paragraphs described above, the prohibition of the construction of new minarets is in contradiction with the provisions of the said declaration. Because, with the prohibition of the construction of new minarets, the Muslim minority living in Switzerland will not find the freedom to practice and practice in their own religions.

The fourth article of the Declaration on the Rights of Persons with National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities regulated the measures to be taken by States and the second paragraph;

“States take measures to create the necessary conditions for individuals belonging to minorities to express their own characteristics and develop their own cultures, languages, religions, traditions and customs, except for certain specific practices that violate national law and violate national law.”

is expressed. With the prohibition of the construction of new minarets, Muslim minorities in Switzerland will not have the necessary conditions to develop their religion.

There are only four minarets in Switzerland. The construction of new minarets, not even the old minarets, poses a threat to the suspension of the Islamization. The 2008 economic crisis led to such behavior that could be considered irrational behavior in Switzerland. As the “us” is under threat in economic crisis conditions, the pressures on “the other” are increased and even the smallest features of the other are increased and the perceived threat is increased.

3.2. Prohibition of Clothes

In the past ten years in Switzerland, students are prohibited from using the headscarf when going to school. Marco Perrolini, an expert on Amnesty International's discrimination, argues that any kind of dressing ban should be analyzed separately for each event and that the general prohibitions would have a negative effect, especially on Muslim girls. Marco Perrolini added that Muslim women were not hired because they wore traditional clothing such as headscarves and girls were prevented from participating in regular classes; instead of opposing these prejudices, political parties and public officials have generally encouraged these prejudices to collect votes (Amnesty International, 2012b).

Declaration on the Rights of Persons with National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities is about the protection of the first article of minorities in the first paragraph; “States, the existence of minorities on their country and national or ethnic, protects religious or linguistic identity and the necessary conditions to develop this identity it encourages the formation of” (Ombudsman Institution, 2018) pursuant to the provision banning the headscarf allowing them to express their religious identity of the Muslim minority Switzerland has acted contrary to the provisions of the said article.

In the second article of the said declaration; “persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities have the right to live and practice their own culture, to practice in their own religions and to use their own language without any interference or discrimination in private or public life.” (Ombudsman Institution, 2018). They were clarified. Thus, with the headscarf ban, the rights of Muslim minorities to

participate effectively in cultural, religious, social, economic and public life are prevented in Switzerland.

The second paragraph of the fourth paragraph of the Communiqué states that “states should be able to express their own characteristics of minorities and take measures to create the necessary conditions to develop their own cultures, languages, religions, traditions and customs, except for certain specific practices that violate national law and are contrary to international standards. It guarantees minority rights.” However, the ban on headscarves in Switzerland is a sign of violations of these minority rights. The pressure on minorities in addition to the aforementioned ban also coincides with the perceived pressure in the definition of the sociological minority. As a matter of fact, Amnesty International prepared a report on discrimination against Muslims living in Europe (Amnesty International, 2012a):

“Recently, [one] guy started shouting at me to take off the sheet I wore. I grew up in Switzerland and I think this is my country. I don't understand how other citizens think they have the right to treat me like this.”

expressions history and the effects of the perceived oppression on the minority have been seen.

Wearing cultural symbols and clothes creates our identity. This is a part of freedom of religion and these rights must be used by all beliefs. While everyone has the freedom to express their cultural, traditional and religious background by wearing a particular outfit, no one can be put under any pressure or forced to do so. The prohibitions on certain clothing patterns that violate the right of those who freely choose to wear dresses cannot be the way. Identities are necessary to regulate a complex world, to determine what kind of relationships we may have in society (Türküne, 2006: 86). Today, the headscarf has gone beyond belief for some Muslims and has become a kind of identifier. The second paragraph of the fourth article of the Communication is violated in this respect in Switzerland.

According to Political Psychology, when a group believes it is a victim, trauma is described as traumatic and trauma turns into an exaggerated ideology of righteousness (Vamık, 2007: 240). When the identity of the group is threatened, the leaders are able to use the ideology of truthfulness for their own benefit by attempting new actions. The exaggerated right argues that the group has the right to have what it wants and that this is the reason for entering into conflict with others. In Islam, the headscarf is not only used for religious beliefs but also as an identity for many people. For this reason, if the victims are created in Switzerland, the perception of threat may change and they will be able to seek action to search the Muslim minority right under the concept of exaggerated righteousness.

3.3. Inequality in Business

According to Amnesty International's report on discrimination against Muslims living in Europe, Muslims and especially Muslim women in countries such as Belgium, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland are discriminated against in the field of employment because they wear a particular symbol or clothing that expresses their religion or belief (Amnesty International, 2012a: 2). Although women in Switzerland had

earlier got the right to vote than many other European countries (Fahrni, 2003: 120), traditional rules did not take into account sociological and other factors that gave women specific social functions, regardless of whether they were liberal or not (Barry, 2012: 72). Women are able to hide their religious identity in Islam more difficult than men.

The lack of legislation against discrimination in Switzerland, the lack of a proper definition of direct or indirect discrimination and the absence of effective preventive mechanisms mean that individuals who are subject to discrimination are less likely to receive compensation.

As a matter of fact, a Swiss citizen of North Africa origin was examined as a case study and he had been working for 15 years in an interview with him. He was a Muslim who secretly believed in his faith, he never asked for permission to celebrate Muslim holidays, he never worshiped at work, when his colleagues refused to invite him to social activities at a bar serving alcohol, when his colleagues suspected and stayed away from him, with a bit of a beard, his colleagues were unfriendly with statements like, "You're terrible!" and led "You looked like Bin Laden!" statements that he was exposed to and that he was finally dismissed in 2010 without giving any reason. The person in question states that he has been dismissed because of his ethnic identity and religion.

The fourth article of the *Declaration on the Rights of Persons with National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities* regulates the measures to be taken by states, and that states have agreed to take measures to ensure that persons belonging to minorities participate fully in the economic development and development of the country (Ombudsman Institution, 2018). However, as can be seen from the above statements, examples of those who are understood to be Muslims are removed from economic life can be seen in Switzerland.

The global economic crisis in 2008 is of course not caused by Swiss citizens, in other words by "us". However, what is felt by Swiss citizens is different. The economic crisis has threatened "us" by decreasing the perceived welfare level. Swiss citizens perceived threats because they changed their habitat and perceived threats were reflected to "the other" because they could not originate from "us". The lower the economic values of "the other", the more power "the other" will lose. The main factor underlying the attempt to remove Muslim minorities from economic life can be explained in this context in terms of Political Psychology.

Conclusion

In the case of crisis, the individual has difficulty in determining where the danger comes from. Uncertainty leads to deep wounds in the human soul. In this case, the individual needs more elements. This necessitates the individual to emphasize this fact and to consider the individuals who are not within the boundaries of the case as a threat. The goal here is to provide protection by producing more. In addition to this, when the individual perceives the threat, he starts the preparations and the aggression coefficient increases. If the individual's perceived threat coefficient increases with time, the individual is expected to be aggressive.

The rise in aggressive behavior towards Muslim minorities in Switzerland is also a sign of increasing the perception of Muslim minorities as a threat by the group that has seen itself as dominant in Switzerland. What is interesting, however, is that nationalism and the emergence of the nation-state and the establishment of 'us and other conflicts' on the basis of religion are based on the blood, but the return to the religion, which is the former institution of otherness. The main reason for this situation is the fact that the bilingual structure in Switzerland will not bring to the forefront a nationalism based on blood.

The global economic crisis in 2008 also affected Switzerland, which led to a decline in perceived prosperity in everyday life. The individual perceives the threat when the environment changes. The perceived threat is reflected in "the other" because it cannot be caused by "us". In the Swiss case, it is considered that various minority rights violations experienced in 2009 are due to the danger of the perceived level of prosperity in Swiss citizens.

When politicians fail to solve real problems, they try to maintain power by creating fear and panic among the people. The floods of refugees, the invasion of Switzerland by Muslims, and similar discourses are aimed at foreigners. Thus, the idea of fear and what is going to happen to 'us' In the Swiss people are settled, so it is growing in the other eyes.

In terms of public security policies, the existence of different groups within society affects the domestic security policies of the states. As the gap between "us" and "the other" increases, aggressive feelings will increase and will have a negative impact on the welfare of the country in terms of public security. In addition, as a result of different groups perceiving each other as a threat, the unrest in the society will increase.

The individual dissolves and internalizes his / her negative behaviors and losses in the mourning process over time. However, it may not be possible to complete the mourning process if the losses are permanent or too large to tolerate. In order to create a sense of victimhood, a trauma should be experienced. Considering the difference in the effects of trauma on the inner world of the human being, the occurrence of the sense of victimization is evaluated by two main reasons. The first is the traumas that occur due to human hand or neglect and the resulting victimization. The other is the traumas as a result of natural disasters. In time, the individual gets used to this victimization and introduces himself/herself as a victim. In this case, the better the psychology of victimization in a group, the better values will be merged within that group, the bad values will be thrown out. Thus, there will be a tighter connection between the group members and the other will have been created because the other is relatively bad.

How much victim psychology is created in the Muslim minority in the Swiss case, the more the victim identity will be adopted and the gap between "us" and "the other" will be increased. The increase in the abyss will lead to an increase in conflicting areas and will result in irreparable wounds between "us" and "the other". A person who believes that he is a victim justifies himself by taking power from his belief. It can rationalize its activities even though it is irrational.

Political Psychology examines the selected trauma and selected victories based on the psychology of groups and tries to analyze how the group behaves in the face of any event. It expresses how concepts such as identity, politics, ethnicity, gender, religion are interpreted by different groups.

Political psychology also examines the psychology of societies. They try to explain how what is happening in their past affects the present, what the societies do. The weak points of these societies emerge during these researches. Reducing the events of minorities to statistics is another way of dehumanizing victims. For this reason, visual materials should be used as much as possible in the studies for minorities. The appearance of the faces of the people expressed in numbers will lead to the feeling of pity on human psychology, and the feelings that new growers will internalize with the breast milk can be changed. In this way, it is possible to prevent the events from becoming legalized in the visual dimension.

Finally, it is possible to express that hatred hates hatred. In this context, it is evaluated that Muslim minorities living in Switzerland may have a tendency to establish psychology and gang in the search for identity towards the violations of the minority rights experienced and the environment of terror could arise. Muslim minorities living in Switzerland are considered as “the other” by means of construction of new minarets, lack of equality in finding a job, implicit freedom of choice in clothing choices and similar situations. This will increase the threat perceptions of minorities who identify themselves as victims and may cause “us” and “the other” in Switzerland to have a more aggressive attitude over time. This may be a barrier to public freedom in Switzerland. Therefore, individuals who are aware of the public freedoms in a state where minority rights are not violated will be in an effort to faithfully serve the state which they live.

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