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以教育與對話建構社會和諧，論哈薩克的
Hizmet 運動

Building Social Harmony Through Education And
Dialogue: The Hizmet Movement In Kazakhstan

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Abstract

The thesis researches on social conflicts and suggests the possible solutions from the perspective of Muslim transnational movement through educational reform and religio-cultural dialogue. The existence of social conflicts and the lack of social cohesion are the core themes of many public debates in both Western and Eastern societies. In recent years these issues have often been linked to Muslim communities and their religious activities. The Islamic response to these allegations and social problems is in various ways. Nevertheless this study concerns the solutions proposed and practiced by the Hizmet Movement, a global civil society inspired by the teachings of Fethullah Gülen, a great contemporary Turkish Muslim thinker.

In the pluralistic societies there are different communicational structures and ways of resolution to conflicts. The Hizmet Movement proposes that new education system and dialogues between different races and faiths can establish the bridge to attain global peace, and it suggests only through education and dialogue different societies or communities will maintain social cohesion and mend the social cleavages that divide Muslims and non-Muslims.

This thesis examines the Hizmet Movement in Kazakhstan. It reflects how a small group of Hizmet followers successfully bring harmony into the national development in Kazakhstan. It especially investigates the role and impact of Hizmet schools in educational reform and social transmutation of Kazakhstan in the post-colonial period. It also endeavors to show that Hizmet Movement is not only engaged in Kazakhstan national education projects, but also indirectly fosters mutual understanding between the Turkish people and the local Kazakhs in order to work together towards a peaceful coexistence and alliance of civilization.

The thesis will contribute to the study of Islam in Central Asia's Turkic countries, especially the reformation after their independence from the former Soviet-Union. Besides, it brings out a new research dimension of Transnational Islamic movement such as the Hizmet, in the aspect of educational reform and religio-cultural dialogues.

Key Words: Hizmet Movement, peace-building, Muslim education, inter-cultural dialogue, Islam.

摘要

本論文從跨國穆斯林教育改革運動與宗教文化對話之角度，研究社會衝突及其可能的解決之道。無論是西方社會，抑或東方社會，都存在著社會衝突及社會缺乏凝聚力等現象，此等現象現在成為公共辯論的核心議題。近年來，這些議題也被認為與穆斯林及其宗教活動相關。面對這類指控與社會問題，伊斯蘭世界以各種不同的方式做出回應。深受土耳其穆斯林思想家法圖拉·菊稜(M. Fethullah Gülen)之思想及教誨而啟發，發展出的 Hizmet 全球公民社會運動，即提出了解決前述問題的實務做法，此係本論文內容所研究之主題。

在多元化的社會中，有各種不同的溝通架構與方法可解決衝突。Hizmet 運動提倡在不同種族與信仰的環境之間建立新的教育體系與對話管道，並藉此邁向全球和平。Hizmet 運動認為，唯有透過教育與對話，不同的社會群體間才有可能發展及維繫其社會的凝聚力，並能由此修補曾引發穆斯林與非穆斯林分裂的社會分歧。

本論文探討了在哈薩克的 Hizmet 運動，呈現出在哈薩克國家發展的進程中，一小群 Hizmet 運動的追隨者是如何成功地為國家的發展帶來和諧。並特別研究在後殖民時代的哈薩克，Hizmet 運動所設立之學校對教育改革與社會轉型方面所造成的影響。研究顯示，Hizmet 運動不僅參與了哈薩克的國家教育計畫，也間接促進了土耳其人與哈薩克人之間的相互了解。土耳其人與當地的哈薩克人，為建立和平共存與文明交集這些目標而共同努力，而在攜手合作的過程中，他們也能更加認識彼此。

本論文有助於對伊斯蘭在中亞突厥語系國家發展之研究，尤其針對自前蘇聯獨立出來之突厥語系國家的改革議題有所助益。除此之外，本論文探討了與教育改革及宗教文化對話之關係，在研究如 Hizmet 運動般之跨國伊斯蘭運動的同時，也為跨國伊斯蘭運動之研究拓展了新的研究面向。

關鍵詞：Hizmet 運動、世界和平、穆斯林教育、文化對話、伊斯蘭

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Chapter 1: Introduction

I. Research Aims and Background

In the contemporary world, the relations between nations have been widened as boundary between countries is no more emphasized in a globalizing world. On the other hand, people today around the world share some common values such as democracy, human rights, intercultural dialogue, the rule of law and freedom in a more challenging way. However, despite the existence of such wishful developments, world politics also witnesses inhumane actions that cause global reactions but cannot be ended immediately. Frequently heard are the global threat of war, terrorism, the increasing gap between rich and poor, famine, malnutrition, global warming and environmental pollution, economic problems or those related to scarce resources such as poverty and hunger, and cultural problems. All these pose a real challenge to global citizens who need the establishment of global cooperation in order to solve these problems. Tackling these challenges is the prime concern of today's intellectuals and politicians.

Despite the existence of pessimists, there are a number of initiatives working for the common good and expending great effort to eradicate these problems. It can be argued that today non-state unites such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other civil society associations, all play an undisputedly role in dealing with global crises and to maintain the global order and stability. Living in a world which is in constant and rapid change, it is easy to imagine that there should be many approaches to globalization with which to contend. In this respect, the Fethullah Gülen's transnational's religious movement is unique in its approach to globalization. It opts for change but also respects traditional values and identities. Transnational religious movements can play crucial roles in peace-building with their strong faith-based motivation, long term commitment, religious, spiritual and moral authority and ability to facilitate constructive social relations between different groups of population. The Gülen movement is one of the most influential initiatives which could be taken into consideration in this context. Therefore this thesis attempts to explore the question of how the formal and informal educational activities of the movement contributes to the solution of local and global problems.

Gülen is considered one of the most influential Turkish Muslim figure. He plays many roles such as scholar, thinker, opinion leader, educational activist, and supporter of interfaith and intercultural dialogue. In 2008, Gülen was voted the world's top living public intellectual of the year in an internet poll organized by *Prospect* and *Foreign Policy* (Foreign Policy 2008 a,b). Gülen was among TIME's "World's 100 Most Influential People" in 2013, and Gülen Awarded 2015 Gandhi King Ikeda Peace Award.¹ In 2007, the Australian Catholic University established the Gülen Chair of the Study of Islam and Muslim-Catholic Relations. In 2009, the Indonesian Islamic University also established the Gülen Chair. In 2007 the Houston University established the Gülen Institute. In addition to the increasing number of academic journal articles and books by university presses,² *the Economist*,³ *The New York Times*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *Le Monde* and *Forbes* have recently given positive coverage of the impact and activities of his movement in and outside of Turkey.

Gülen is the author of more than 50 books; he has dedicated his life to promoting peaceful relationships between different communities, societies, cultures and religious traditions. His efforts have resulted in the emergence of the Hizmet⁴ movement in the late 1960s that is a global network of volunteers, teachers, intellectuals, business people and students. The movement has established inter-cultural dialogue centres and thousands of modern educational institutions that teach modern sciences alongside with Islamic ethics and spirituality in over one hundred different countries.⁵ In addition, the movement

¹ Atlanta, April 9, 2015 – Martin Luther King Jr. International Chapel at Morehouse College awarded its prestigious 2015 Gandhi King Ikeda Peace Award to Islamic scholar Fethullah Gülen in recognition of his life-long dedication to promoting peace and human rights.

² J. Esposito and I. Yilmaz, 2010, *Islam and Peacebuilding: Gülen Movement Initiatives*, New Jersey: Blue Dome. Helen R. Ebaugh, 2009, *The Gülen Movement: A Sociological Analysis of a Civic Movement Rooted in Moderate Islam*, New York: Springer. Muhammed Cetin, 2010, *The Gülen Movement: Civic Service without Borders*, New Jersey: Blue Dome. Enes Ergene, 2008, *Tradition Witnessing Modern Age: An Analysis of the Gülen Movement*, New Jersey: Tughra. Jill Carroll, 2007, *A Dialogue of Civilizations: Gülen's Islamic Ideals and Humanistic Discourse*, New Jersey: Tughra. Robert Hunt and Yuksel Aslandogan, 2006, *Muslim Citizens of the Globalized World: Contributions of the Gülen Movement*, New Jersey: The Light Inc. Hakan Yavuz and J. Esposito, 2004, *Turkish Islam and the Secular State*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. Mehmet Gündem, 2005, *11 Days with Fethullah Gülen: An Analysis of a Movement with Questions and Answers*, Istanbul. Ali Ünal and Alphonse Williams eds., 2000, *Fethullah Gülen: Advocate of Dialogue*. Fairfax: The Fountain.

³ According to *The Economist*, Fethullah Gülen is the most influential Muslim scholar in the world. He is an advocate of interreligious dialogue and educational opportunities. His admirers can be found in more than a hundred countries where they have established hundreds of educational institutions. While intellectuals have named this “the Gülen or hizmet Movement”.

⁴ *Hizmet* literally means “service” to humanity in Turkish; it is often used by followers of Gülen for his movement.

⁵ The Hizmet Movement has over two thousand elementary and high schools abroad and in Turkey, and 25 universities in 150 different countries worldwide (Ebaugh, Roes Helen, 2010, 61).

leads charitable foundations, hospitals, media, publishing houses and business associations as well. It emphasizes the importance of education and the necessity for dialogue among different communities. The Hizmet movement endeavor with bringing solutions to three main problems within Turkey, such as ignorance, poverty, and disunity; it is extended to solve similar problems in other parts of world through the promotion of universal education, dialogue and human-centred principles.

In light of Gülen's philosophy, the fruits of this educational investment are seen around the world as these schools distinguishing themselves in acquiring academic excellence and moral values at home in host countries. The Gülen-inspired schools, both in Turkey and abroad, have attracted the attention of scholars due to their continual academic accomplishments and emphasis on universal ethical values. The provision of quality educational service is evident not only in less-developed countries, but also in advanced economies which have a comparable advantage internationally in supplying high standards of education. In recent years, the movement has begun to attract academic attentions.⁶ Moreover, in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Indonesia, Taiwan, Canada and the Netherlands, several academic conferences have been convened about the movement and its contributions to global peace. In addition to his contribution to the betterment of educational activities in Turkey and the World at large, he is also renowned for his endeavors towards the establishment of mutual understanding & acceptance and tolerance in society. His dedication to solving social problems and satisfying spiritual needs have gained him a sizeable audience and readership throughout

⁶ 1 - *East and West Encounters: The Gülen Movement*, University of Southern California, December 4-6, 2009. 2- *The Fifth International Conference on Islam in the Contemporary World: The Gülen Movement in Thought and Practice*, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA, March 6-7, 2009. 3- *Islam in the Age of Global Challenges: Alternative Perspectives of the Gülen Movement*, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., November 14-15, 2008. 4- *International Conference on Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement*, School of Oriental and African Studies, and London School of Economics, October 25-27, 2007. 5- *Third International Conference on Islam in the Contemporary World: Contributions of the Gülen Movement*, University of Texas at San Antonio, November 3rd, 2007. 6- *International Conference on Islam in the Contemporary World: The Fethullah Gülen Movement in Thought and Practice*, Rice University, Houston, Texas, November 12-13, 2005. 7- *The Chicago Interfaith Gathering Towards Interreligious Dialogue in the New Millenium: Finding Common Ground, Special Session on the Gülen Movement*, November 10-11, 2005. 8- *Second International Conference on Islam in the Contemporary World: The Fethullah Gülen Movement in Thought and Practice*, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, March 3-5, 2006. 9- *Second Annual Conference on Islam in the Contemporary World: The Fethullah Gülen Movement in Thought and Practice*, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, November 3-5, 2006. 10- *The Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement*, House of Lords, United Kingdom, October 25-27, 2007. 11- *Peaceful Coexistence: Thoughts and Practices of Fethullah Gülen*, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, November 23-24, 2007, co-sponsored by Erasmus University, Rotterdam, and Cosmicus Foundation. 12- *Hizmet Movement and the Thought and Teachings of Fethullah Gülen: Contributions to Multiculturalism and Global Peace* organized by Taiwan Association of Islamic Studies and Formosa Institute hold on December 8-9 2012, Taipei.

the world. Educational institutions have been established world-wide, offering new opportunities for different nations; with no political motives whatsoever being involved. The movement rejects the idea of the clash of civilizations, and aims to live in a peaceful world.

There is little scholarly work so far on the movement's message regarding the causes and cures of social conflicts and rivalries in central Asia, especially in Kazakhstan. This thesis therefore will make a contribution to the study of peace by providing insights into the management of 'unity of diversity' and the practice of multiculturalism and cohesiveness in pluralist societies. In addition, today it is a fact that diversity and pluralism are not only a phenomenon within societies but also between different ones. This study also presents the thoughts and practices of Gülen and the activities of his movement, and elaborates on the reconciliation of social conflicts. My personal research interest on the subject of social conflicts and harmony is a result of an enduring curiosity about Gülen's ideas of peace, educational and intercultural activism, which emerged in Turkey and then received its articulation on the global scale. Following the fall of the Soviet Union and upon inspiration from Gülen, Turkish businessmen and teachers went to the newly emerging Central Asian republics with the same sense of responsibility. The educational institutions established in those countries have attained unparalleled achievements at both the national and international levels. Those who attended these educational institutions performed extremely well at both local and international scientific contests and Olympiads, and they also won the confidence of high-ranking officials in their countries. Those institutions continued their services as multicultural, multilingual, and secular educational institutions. The media of teaching are English, Turkish, Russian, and the national language of the respective country. Thus the movement has gradually evolved and grown in various regions of the world (in Europe, Africa, the Pacific and others) As well, where these institutions have brought the young generation into the globalized world, where people are expected to live in peace and tolerance toward each other.

My motivation to examine the thesis is, the largest number of schools is at the moment in Kazakhstan where the Hizmet now runs 32 high schools and the Süleyman Demirel University. One factor favoring the growth in the number of schools is that

Kazakhstan is administratively less centralized than the other states in Central Asia. In Kazakhstan the administrator of a region has the prerogative of reaching educational agreements with foreign companies. In 1991 and 1992 representatives of Gülen signed their agreements with regional governors. Meanwhile the Kazakh government has favored this cooperation as it has helped it to speed up the ‘Kazakhisation’ of the country and to reduce the extensive Russian influence. The Hizmet is active in Kazakhstan since 1991, now; it is primarily a Turkish and Kazakh effort, with Turkish-Kazakh teachers and Turkish-Kazakh businessmen and supporters. The bilateral relations between Kazakhstan and Turkey have started, firstly due to deep cultural, historical ties, brotherhood kinship which caused Turkey to be the first country to recognize the independence of Kazakhstan. Other than the above reasons, the close relationship between the Turkish and Kazakh people because of cultural, religious and linguistic affinities.

In brief, this study is original; it has never been studied before in Kazakhstan. The Movement has already diffused all over the world now, which empowers people and raises hope for justice and is the model for a new kind of education with the cooperation of inter-cultural and interfaith dialogue. Does this collective action respond and offer workable realistic solutions to local problems in Kazakhstan such as ignorance, poverty and disunity.

II. Theoretical Framework

The Hizmet is a movement which is difficult to understand in terms of its organizational structure and how it works. However, social movement theory has been taken as a theoretical framework to support my analysis; more specifically resource mobilization theory and framing are adopted. The following brief account will explain why both theories are the most suitable to answer my research question.

The theory of resource mobilization defines the human and financial resources that enable a movement to grow and attain its goals. Resource mobilization theory, which appeared in the 1970s, views social movements as networks of people who are able to attract the types and amounts of finances and human labour to effect change in

society.⁷ It is a sociological theory that stresses the kinds of resources needed for the maintenance and growth of social movements.

Earlier theories focused on the social psychology of movement participants, who are seen as people who are disgruntled with one or more aspects of society.⁸ According to resource mobilization theorists, there is always enough discontent in any society to provide grass-roots support for a movement. To focus and organize the discontent into a social movement, it is necessary for a core group of sophisticated strategists to organize in order to harness those disaffected people, to attract money and supporters, and to capture the media's attention, making alliances with those in power and creating an organizational structure. This theory considers that without such resources, social movements cannot be useful, and that dissent and disaffection alone are not sufficient to create social change via a social movement. If human and financial resources are not available to support the goals of the movement, it will eventually collapse or merge with a movement that is more successful in attaining resources.

This theory emphasizes the fact that movements are more likely to blossom when favorable economic conditions allow a flow of necessary resources or when the balance of political power in a society is sufficiently fluid or receptive to allow movements the opportunity to develop. In this context one can say that during Turgut Özal's leadership, there was economic liberalization combined with Özal's pro-Islamic attitude and the implementation of more democratic reforms which made it easier for Islamic movements which had earlier been hushed down by the republic's guardian Kemalist elites, to blossom in terms of using newspapers, internet and other channels to become more visible than they had been before.⁹

Most resource mobilization theorists¹⁰ agree that money, legitimacy, and labour are necessary resources for a successful social movement. Sufficient and consistent streams of money make possible the salaries and support of movement staff, provide

⁷ Oberschall (1973); Tilly (1978); Snow et al. (1980); McAdam et al. (1996); (Melucci (1999); Edwards and McCarthy (2004).

⁸ Theorists who propose a social psychology perspective include Gurr (1970); Turner and Killian (1972); Smelser (1963); Byrne (1996); Eyerman and Jamison (1991).

⁹ Helen Rose Ebaugh, 2010, *"The Gülen Movement: A Sociological Analysis of a Civic Movement Rooted in Moderate Islam"* New York: Springer. pp.6.

¹⁰ McCarthy and Zald (1977); Jenkins (1983); Edwards and McCarthy (2004); Garner (1996); McCarthy and Wolfson (1996).

office space, computers, copying machines etc., that are essential to increase visibility and advertise the message and goals of the movement, as well as publishing, announcements, billboards, websites and other media venues to mobilize potential participants, and financing projects and events sponsored by the movement. Resource mobilization theory will be used to frame and analyses the mechanisms whereby resources are garnered for the growth and success of the movement. Resource mobilization theory, therefore, deals specifically with the dynamics and tactics of social movement growth, decline, and change.

The second theory, organizational commitment theory, focuses on movement strategies for gathering member motivation to provide necessary resources and the consequences of such commitment on building loyalty to the movement, thus assuring its vitality and growth. Related to the issue of obtaining the resources needed for movement success is the question of motivation for membership involvement. Why are millions of people committed to the movement in terms of giving time, labour, emotional involvement and finances to achieve movement goals? Commitment involves identifying one's personal fate with the success or failure of the collectivity. It is typically examined in terms of the mix of the personal and organizational characteristics which increase willingness to exert high levels of effort, to remain a member in the organization, to accept its major goals and values, and to value the organization as worthwhile. How do groups maintain cohesion and focus on the organizational requirements that influence individuals to feel that their own self-interest is indistinguishable from that of the group – their sense of commitment? A person is committed to a relationship or group to the extent that he/she sees it as expressing or fulfilling some fundamental part of him/herself and identifies group goals as nourishing his/her own sense of self. A committed person is loyal and involved, has a sense of belonging, a feeling that the group is an extension of him- or herself and that he/she is an extension of the group. Sacrifice is one of the important characteristics of a person who teaches others.

Gülen has emphasized the importance of making a Hicret, or migration, to another country, so that followers can model their values abroad, and thus promote peace through dialogue, as well as positive images of Islam and Turkish culture. “Hicret is one of the things that motivate the followers of the movement. Gülen followers consider their acts

of service to humanity while abroad to be part of this Hicret (Curtis 2005). Today many of the teachers and businessman from the Gülen movement are following in the Hicret tradition of their Forebears, striking out to other countries in the name of their God and Prophet and to act as ‘frontiers men’ for their fellow man. Migration and Islamic religious movements have played an obvious and important role in developing a Muslim presence in non-Muslim countries.

Briefly, resource mobilization and commitment theories provide a lens to view the Hizmet Movement and to describe why it is successfully growing. These theoretical tools, along with an analysis of the historical and political contexts in which Gülen preached in Turkey and an understanding of the Turkish/Islamic concepts of giving and hospitality, provide insight into the beliefs, values, and social dynamics that are propelling this movement to national and international prominence. By using the RMT and frame analysis, it will be easier to understand the movement in terms of how they mobilize their resources and what their aims are behind this mobilization. When it comes to analyzing my findings in the conclusion, it will support my fieldwork material by first using the resource mobilization theory (RMT) to find out what sort of resources are mobilized to make the projects and the movement grow.

The ideas of *tajdid* (renewal) and *islah* (reform) are neither new nor unusual to Islamic thought. The advent of Islam, the message and mission of Prophet Muhammed himself can be seen as a divine endeavor to revive Monotheism and reform the then extant society and culture from *jahiliyyah* (ignorance) to Islam. This philosophy of reform and renewal is a recurrent theme in Islamic intellectual and political history. As early as the 12th century, Abu Hamid al-Ghazali referred to the necessity of ‘revival’ in his book *“The Revival of the Religious Sciences”*. His efforts, that have roots in old history, have contributed strongly to the spreading of the concept of revival and reform of thought in Islamic theology. Al-Ghazali’s theory of renewal comes from the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad: *‘God will send to this Muslim community, every hundred years, someone who will renew their religion’*. This Prophetic tradition is highly significant and it has given rise, through the ages, to numerous comments as to its meaning and impact. What the hadith tells us is that the Muslim community will nevertheless be accompanied and guided through the centuries by scholars and/or thinkers who will help it, every hundred

years or so, “regenerate” or “renew” the religion of Islam. This renewal of religion does not, of course, entail a change in the source, principles and fundamentals of Islam, but only in the way the religion is understood, implemented and lived in different times or places.

This is also the meaning of the concept of “*islah*” which appears several times in the Qur’an and which conveys the idea of *improving, purifying, reconciling, repairing* and *reforming*. Thus, divine messages through the centuries came to reform human understanding, and messengers are reformer “*muslihun*” who bring good, reconcile human beings with the divine and reform their societies for the better. The notion of reform implies bringing the object (whether a heart, intelligence or a society) back to its original state, when the said object was considered to be pure and good: it is indeed a matter of improving, of curing, through re-forming, through reform.

Due to the impact of the West on Muslim societies thorough the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Muslim advocates of renewal have argued for a return to the use of *ijtihād* (re-interpretation) to facilitate reinterpretation of the Islamic heritage. *Ijtihad* is an important element of renewal in Islamic history and tradition through which the *ulema* (Islamic scholars) play a crucial role to determine the needs in modern time. In this regard, the movement evolved around the ideas of Fethullah Gülen provides an example of a renewal and reinterpreted Islamic understanding with respect to some traditionally sensitive issues and in terms of putting this discourse into practice. It is suggested in this study that Gülen's case consists of renewed Muslim discourses and practices on religion, pluralism, jurisprudence, secularism, democracy, politics, and international relations. The Gülen movement, appealing to an increasing number of people, Muslims and non-Muslims, all over the world is a successful example of neo-*ijtihād* and *tajdid* with its origins in Turkey where the encounter between modernity and traditional Islam has been experienced most deeply.

Gülen believes that there is a need for *ijtihād* in our age. The issues brought forth by time and changing circumstances are referred to as secondary methods (*furuat*) of jurisprudence. Time and conditions are important means to interpret the Qur'an. Gülen argues that in fact it is diminishing the role of historical and religious values that leads to a weakening of the Turkish nation, because in this way it loses its identity and is

subjugated by materialism. As a solution he sees the hope of a renewal of the nation through a “*golden generation*” of young people who have secured their identity in line with their history or belief but who are at the same time well educated, especially in modern sciences, and so form a lead group willing to engage in sustained service to humanity.

III. Methodology

This thesis is based on fieldwork with a qualitative approach and documentary research. The fieldwork comprises data gathered through participatory observation in Kazakhstan and interviews with key followers of the organizations and their local partners. The documentary research contains data from the movement’s publications and online materials. This thesis is based on several articles which analyses Gülen’s teachings and his movement’s contributions to the resolution of social conflicts and to peaceful coexistence of Muslims and non-Muslims.

This study shall be conducted from an insider’s perspective. This will facilitate me particularly to gain access to sources (including interviews). As an insider, I have participated in the movement’s many educational and dialogue activities both in Turkey and abroad thus the insider position enabled me to develop numerous contacts with other people from the movement and enhance my understanding of the movement. However, the very same insider position harbours a risk concerning the critical distance to the researched object. To avoid this, I will try to bring out analysis with outsider’s attitude as possible as I could. This study addresses the central question: *what is the Hizmet Movement’s message for the reconciliation of social conflicts?* This requires identifying and applying suitable methods with an interpretive nature to gather the necessary empirical information and at the same time to connect the theoretical points of departure. Through internet research, participant observation and qualitative interviews, it will paint a detailed picture of experiences and perceptions related to the research question. The following elucidates the sources consulted in this thesis.

Consulted sources

This study begins with a systematic review of relevant documents and Gülen's works. The purpose of the literature review is to ensure that the current study was well informed about existing researches and Gülen's works to conceptualize the research theme. The literature review is complemented by circulating an email to a wide range of contacts asking for assistance in collecting relevant literatures on and the Hizmet movement.

Gülen's works can be classified into two main genres of literature: *recordings* and *books*. The former refers to his recorded speeches, especially in the formative period of the movement from 1970 to 1983, Gülen travelled across Turkey as a state preacher (*vaiz*). Most of his series of sermons, talks, conversations and public speeches were recorded and transliterated into text format and, with minor revisions, and published as books. The books were firstly published in Turkish and some of them later translated into English. It will be discussed briefly the chronological overview of his intellectual achievements, exclusively the published collections of audiotapes and visual materials out of his sermons.

In the 1977, Gülen gave a series of conferences entitled: *The Prophet Muhammad, the Theory of Evolution and Truth, Social Justice, the Golden Generation, and the Qur'an and Science*. In the early 1980s, Gülen introduced another novelty to the pulpit with his series of 'question-and-answer' sermons. Gülen prompted the congregation to think, ponder and engage by encouraging them to write down any questions about social and religious issues, which he would then answer during the sermons. Audio recordings of over one hundred such 'question-and-answer sermons' exist, entitled *Miscellaneous* for the vast and various topics they cover. Gülen's conference speeches and his talks at the coffee-houses also laid the foundation of the publication of *Sızıntı* (Rivulet) in 1979. This is a monthly popular religious-scientific magazine and the first such periodical of the Hizmet movement. Since 2000, Gülen has started his mid-afternoon conversations in the United States. He gives answers to the questions of his followers and visitors. The answers are recorded and published in a series entitled *Kırık Testi* (Broken Pitcher), which already includes six volumes (see www.herkul.org).

One important point to note is that the new editions of Gülen's books are provided with bibliographical references to the original sources. His hermeneutics are derived from

the Qur'an, al-Hadith and several scholars like al-Rumi, al-Ghazali, al-Baghdadi, and Nursi. Much of his works essentially take the form of a synthesis, a re-articulation of the earlier works of his predecessors. Parallel to this literature review, I have also studied the relevant works on the Hizmet Movement.¹¹

Qualitative interviews

In addition to a systematic review of the works on and by Gülen, a number of qualitative interviews will be conducted with experts on Gülen and the movement's participants. They are critics, academics, journalists, and the movement's representatives in Turkey, Europe, Central Asia, Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. Qualitative interviewing is an excellent tool for the current study in which rich details about the perspectives of participants are desired. For my individual studies in each chapter, I prepared an interview protocol, and pre-tested the interview by interviewing religious study scholars and leading participants of the Hizmet Movement. The interview guide is modified according to the suggestions made by these people.

In this research, many semi-structured interviews are conducted face to face, in either Turkish or English, lasting an average of one to two hours each. Some of the interviews will be held via electronic mail. I will record several face to face interviews. However, most of my interviews will be carried out in informal settings where I write down notes because the interviewees may not feel comfortable recording. Interviewees are selected using two separate methods. Some interviewees are selected by a method of quotation. These people often seem to be recognized as experts on or representatives of the Hizmet Movement. Some other interviewees are selected randomly from a group of Gülen specialists and some movement participants who know Gülen personally and are

¹¹ Agai, Bekim, 2003, The education-network of Fethullah Gülen: the flexible implementation of modern Islamic thought. A comparison of three countries, Hamburg: Ruhr-Universität Bochum. Ergene, Enes, 2008, Tradition Witnessing the Modern Age. An Analysis of the Gülen Movement. Istanbul: The Light. Hunt, R.A., and Aslandoğan, Y.Aa, 2006, Muslim Citizens of the Globalized World. Contributions of the Gülen Movement. NJ: The Light & IID Press. Sevindi, Nevval, 2008, Contemporary Islamic Conversations. M. Fethullah Gülen on Turkey, Islam, and the West. Albany NY: State University of New York. Turam, Berna, 2007, Between Islam and the State: The Politics of Engagement. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press. Yavuz, M.Hakan, 2003, Islamic Political Identity in Turkey. London: Oxford University Press. Yavuz, M.Hakan, and Esposito, J.L., 2003, Turkish Islam and The Secular State. The Gülen Movement. New York: Syracuse University Press. Yilmaz, I. et al. 2007, Muslim World in transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement. Leeds: Leeds Metropolitan University Press. Yilmaz, Ihsan, 2007, Peaceful Coexistence: Fethullah Gülen's initiatives in the contemporary world. Leeds: Leeds Metropolitan University Press. Yukleyen, Ahmet, 2004, Sources of Tolerance and Radicalism among Turkish- Islamic Organizations in Europe. Dissertation. Boston MA: Boston University.

well acquainted with his ideas and initiatives as well. In order to gain a distinct perspective, it is of particular interest to investigate what these respondents think about Gülen's teachings, the movement's structure, and the role of Gülen in the movement. It is also interesting to analyze how they interpret his discourses and actions, how Gülen inspires and influences individuals in the movement, and how the movement translates his ideas into practice. Interview questions are both open and close-ended and based on the issues discussed in different chapters.

For gathering the data, I will use two different sampling techniques, '*snowball sampling*' and '*purposeful sampling*'. Since it is difficult for me to locate my research population by other means, '*snowball sampling*' shall be the first choice for this study. I will contact individuals through various ways, including my personal contacts, the movement's intercultural organizations, educational institutions, schools, and conversation and consultation meetings. I will ask my first respondents to recruit their successors. In this way, I hope to reach some key informants who will give me valuable information to complete this study. This technique is adequate for reaching people who have distinct perspectives on the themes of my thesis. '*Purposeful sampling*' is also crucial to my data collection, because I am interested in selecting respondents who would reflect the wide range of the movement's activities and projects that I intend to study. To select participants from different strata of the Movement, I use my connections in Taiwan and Turkey to contact different people inside the movement. After gathering information about movement organizations and participants by talking to people, and looking at their websites or brochures, I shall purposefully select people with distinct positions within the movement as well as from different generations in order to gain multiple perspectives.

Internet search and participant observation

In addition to the interviews, I will spend time to view internet websites of the movement. I will conduct internet searches on both Turkish and English sites related to the movement.¹² Moreover, I will listen to several selected cassettes of Gülen's sermons

¹² Among the main sites in English are: www.fethullahgulen.org; www.fgulen.com; www.fgulen.net; www.thelightpublishing.com; www.fountainmagazine.com; www.fethullahgulenconference.org; www.fethullahgulen.org; www.dialoguesociety.org; www.interfaithdialogues.org; www.rumiform.org www.gulenconference.us;

and monthly conversations, sometimes even weekly. His conversations are accessible on www.herkul.org. These are also published in the series, *Kırık Testi* (Broken Pitcher, vol. 1–6). The recordings of the sermons are available via the movement’s publishing houses. Nevertheless, I may gain my most interesting data and insights at unexpected times, such as an informal chat or email with an informant.

IV. Literature Review

This study is the first contribution on the Hizmet Movement in Kazakhstan, while many studies have been done about the movement in Turkey and in other countries alike. I will begin with a preliminary review of the literature on Gülen’s approach to education and on Gülen-inspired educational initiatives, because education is such a fundamental pillar of Gülen’s ideas and work that a great number of the works about him deal with this subject directly or indirectly. The best sources for understanding of Gülen’s ideas are his own writings. Therefore, a fair critique of Gülen and Gülen-inspired initiatives is not possible without an understanding of key elements of his ideas on education such as the final goal of education, the process of learning and teaching, and the roles of the family, school and the environment. Gülen writes in Turkish, but some of his works are available in English translation, and various collections of his articles contain sections directly relevant to education.

Among example of such collections are *Essays–Perspectives–Opinions*, *Advocate of Dialogue*, and *Towards a Global Civilization of Love*. Although these three books contain some similar-sounding sections (for example, *Education from Cradle to Grave*) their contents are not all the same. *Religious Education of the Child* is addressed to Muslim readers, and is about how to bring up a child and education within the family. *Criteria or Lights of the Way* might also be helpful for an overview of some relevant concepts such as knowledge, thought, family, etc. *Towards a Global Civilization of Love & Tolerance* gives an insight into how Gülen reflects around different aspects related to education, global perspectives and how to reach perfection by becoming an ideal human. The ideal human is the so-called “*Golden Generation*” which Gülen is seeking to raise

and in this book he explains what it takes to become an ideal human and that their responsibility is, among other things, to raise consciousness in the world by carrying out good deeds and promoting tolerance and dialogue.

There are some books related to Gülen and Hizmet movement, but none, specifically focused on Gülen's approach to education or Hizmet schools; however several have chapters on those issues. For example, Jill Carroll, in *A Dialogue of Civilizations* compares and contrasts Gülen's view of education with those of Plato and Confucius. Aslandoğan and Çetin describe the boundaries of Gülen's educational philosophy in terms of thought and practice in *Muslim Citizens of the Globalized World*. Additionally, the book by Yavuz & Esposito (2003a) *Turkish Islam and the Secular State* shows the Gülen Movement is a quite good and thorough study made on the movement in Turkey, it also includes a couple of chapters on the movement outside Turkey. It focuses on Gülen's different "periods" and how he and his supporters develop over time. It also explains thoroughly the educational activities of the movement, the ideas behind education, what it symbolizes to the movement and how Gülen's supporters have propagated these educational activities and ideas both in Turkey and globally. In *Turkish Islam and the Secular State*, Thomas Michel illustrates the work of Gülen as an educator. The third set of articles takes on the most prominent aspect of the Movement: the educational activities. Thomas Michel looks at Gülen's outlook on education and identifies his concerns about some of the modern challenges to true "human freedom". Impoverishment of spirituality and ethical bases of value degeneration through false dichotomies and artefacts make up the departing point of the movement's educational enterprise. In such diverse contexts as Turkey, Bosnia, Kazakhstan, Brazil, Nigeria, and the Philippines, the teachers seek to cultivate good morals and conduct in their pupils as well as encouraging them to excel in sciences. Education plays a bridging role not only between Turkey and the host countries, but also among subnational groups and localities. Michel's chapter mentions an example from The Philippines, where a school named "Philippine-Turkish School of Tolerance" played a constructive role to ease the tension between Muslims and Christians. Other contributors to the issue of education in the volume stress the movement's adept synthesis of local, national, and global values.

There are also numerous published field studies focusing on Gülen-inspired schools. In *“The role of Turkish schools in the educational system and social transformation of Central Asian countries: the case of Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan”*, Balci, Cennet and Akkok rely on interviews with parents and teachers in Gülen schools for their evaluation of the role of Turkish schools in the educational system and social transformation of Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan. Elizabeth Özdalga interviews three woman teachers in Gülen schools and publishes her impressions in *“Following in the Footsteps of Fethullah Gülen”*. Alice Moscaritolo (2009) presents her article *“The Role of Education in Transitional Societies: The Case Study of Educators in Kazakhstan”* at a conference,¹³ based on interviews with advisors in the dormitories of Gülen schools in Kazakhstan. İbrahim Keleş’s quantitative research on values in Gülen schools in Kyrgyzstan using data from The World Values Survey and his own survey published as *Contributions of the Gülen Schools in Kyrgyzstan*. Sagbansua & Keles’ article (2006) *“Turkish Higher Education Experience in Central Asia: Managerial and Educational Features of IAAU”* illustrates the educational and managerial aspects of the Sebati’s university, IAAU.

The book *Muslim world in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement* (2007) includes a collection of studies made on the movement. Emre Demir’s study *“The Emergence of a Neo-Communitarian Movement in the Turkish Diaspora in Europe: The Strategies of Settlement and Competition of Hizmet Movement in France and Germany”* looks at the organizational strategies of the movement in France and in Germany. Compared to other Islamic communities in Europe building mosques and emphasizing Islamic education, the movement has chosen to emphasize the importance of a secular education and by that they have been able to establish their schools and activities without attracting too much attention from local authorities. Demir concludes that the socio-political problems and economic vulnerability of the Turkish Diaspora in Europe has transformed the strategies of the Gülen Movement.

The financial dimension of the Hizmet Movement is discussed in the book *The Gülen Movement: A Sociological Analysis of a Civic Movement Rooted in Moderate*

¹³ Presented in conference on *“Muslims between Tradition and Modernity: The Gülen Movement as a Bridge between Cultures”* Berlin; the University of Potsdam, May, 26-27, 2009.

Islam by Helen Rose Ebaugh, The book describes the movement from a sociological perspective. She argues that the emergence and growth of a grassroots movement depends on a level of discontent sufficient to result in drawing money and supporters to the movement. And, she sheds light on the motivation of a core membership who identify themselves with the fate of the movement itself. Ebaugh holds that the Turkish/Islamic tradition of giving and the political-historical culture of Turkey need to be thoroughly comprehended in order to get a full picture of the economic bases of the Gülen Movement. The relevance for the movement of the Islamic tradition of philanthropy is easily be grasped by Ebaugh.

Muhammed Cetin (2009) studies this faith-inspired movement and publishes his findings in the book *The Gülen Movement: Civic Service without Borders*, which focuses on motivation for participation that include spiritual resources and moral values like altruism, and constitute the social capital for the peaceful civil society movement and on how it developed volunteerism, dialogue and relationships to achieve shared goals, competitiveness and non-materialistic and non-contentious services in 9 countries. Cetin concludes that the Hizmet Movement is not established on reactionary, political or antagonistic interests, nor is it a sect or cult. It is a collective action as the frame theory for the collective consciousness because in its SMOs lies the ability to pursue general goals over the long term; additionally, they have insusceptibility to escapism, extremism or violence, in the simplicity of decision-making and mediation, in their efficiency and effectiveness, and in their work ethics in which a variety of interests collaborate. Altruism is elevated to a virtue of high standing so as to be built in togetherness with others, towards common goals, with personal sacrifice in the interest of collective actions, and by working hard in the present for a happy future.

In the article “*A Civilian Response To Ethno-Religious Conflict: The Gülen Movement In Southeast Turkey*” Mehmet Kalyoncu argues that it is possible to develop such strategies. His argument is based on field research in Mardin on the activities of the faith-inspired Hizmet Movement. The Hizmet Movement has succeeded in forging policies and programmes that bring different ethno-religious communities together as a necessary first step towards civil society: common problems facing the different ethno-religious communities are identified, then solid services to address those problems are

provided, requiring collaborative effort by the different ethno-religious communities. In this way the social potential of those communities is mobilized and channeled to achieve shared goals which enrich the society as a whole.

Islam and Peace-building: Gülen Movement's Initiatives is edited by Ihsan Yilmaz and John Esposito. This book examines the contributions of the Movement in the field of interfaith dialogue. Contributing scholars take on the examples of interfaith or intercultural dialogue projects of the Hizmet Movement throughout the world and analyse their potential impacts as well as the reasoning and philosophy behind them. Overall, the book alters perceptions on the issue of common understanding and dialogue between Islam and the rest of the world.

The Vision and Impact of Fethullah Gülen: A New Paradigm for Social Activism is edited by Maimul Ahsan Khan. This work illustrates the ways in which Gülen and the supporters of the movement inspired by him have presented a new kind of social activism coupled with a deeper sense of spirituality and altruism that has been missing from many contemporary civic movements. It thoroughly puts forth the efforts of Gülen and his ardent supporters in trying to balance spiritual life and social activism in order to inspire people from every segment of society to make self-sacrifices for the welfare of the complete cross-section of societies all over the world. Gülen and his supporters' pursuit of social and educational activities knows no borders or national, social, or ethnic identities, but indeed addresses the problem of hollowness in religious beliefs that lack action plans in life as well as the problems of modernity accompanied by extreme selfishness and vulgar consumerism.

Muslim Citizens of the Globalized World: Contributions of the Gülen Movement is edited by Robert A. Hunt, and Yüksel A. Aslandoğan. This book explores the response and contributions of Turkish Muslims to globalization, including areas such as democratization, scientific revolution, changing gender roles, and religious diversity. This study identifies the common values and visions of peace Muslims share. It places specific analysis on the Hizmet Movement - a growing approach to the reunification of faith and reason with hopes for a peaceful coexistence between liberal democracies and the religiously diverse.

The Gülen Hizmet Movement and Its Transnational Activities: Case Studies of Altruistic Activism in Contemporary Islam is edited by Sophia Pandya and Nancy Gallagher. This book is a collection of essays on the Hizmet Movement and humanitarian civil society groups, it looks at the recent activities of its followers to practice their form of Islam and carry out collective interfaith projects at the international level. Included are essays which discuss how the movement is organized, structured, and institutionalized in many parts of the world, exploring Turkey's global influence, evaluating criticisms of the movement, and suggesting directions for further research.

At the level of Ph.D. or Masters Dissertations, Gülen schools and Gülen's approach to education have not been studied much so far. Özlem Kocabaş, write his MA dissertation (2006) *Ideological Profiles of Science Olympiad Students from Gülen Schools* in Turkey.

Gürkan Çelik's Ph.D. thesis, *The Gülen Movement: Building Social Cohesion through Dialogue and Education*, takes Gülen schools as a case study of the role of education in building social cohesion. This thesis examines the issue of social cohesion from the perspective of a transnational civil society faith-inspired movement's activism. This study addresses the question of what the Hizmet Movement's message is for the reconciliation of social conflicts. Regarding this, Gülen proposes dialogue and education of peace among people of different ethnic, linguistic, racial and cultural backgrounds. It is precisely these two methods - *dialogue* and *education* - for maintaining social cohesion and mending social cleavages dividing Muslims and non-Muslims.

Berna Turam (2001) studies the Gülen Movement for her Ph.D that is based on an extended empirical research project undertaken in Turkey and Kazakhstan between 1997 and 1999 and explores the relationship between Islam and the State: *The Engagements between the Gülen Community and the Secular Turkish State*. Her study contributes to the debates of civil society, nationalism and individual autonomy. Turam examines the Hizmet Movement's activities in Kazakhstan to provide empirical support for her larger question of the possibility of a civil society in a non-Western social context. She argues that the movement displays a 'striking homogeneity in its inner core' with its fixed, rigid, and rule-based boundaries while it tolerates differences and celebrates the pluralistic quality of public life in the whole society. Her thesis examines engagements in

three distinct spheres, i.e. national education, international undertakings and the gender order. She concludes that although the Hizmet Movement is a nationalist and statist Movement, it is still an actor of civil society.

Richard Tapper's book *Islam in Modern Turkey: Religion, Politics and Literature in a Secular State* examine the resurgence of Islam in the avowedly secular state of Turkey. It discusses how the political and social culture of Turkey has shaped, and been shaped by, such features of Islamic life as schools, Sufi orders, mosques and pious literatures. It also explores the differences between Turkey and most other countries of the region. These issues cover three main topics: Islam and nationalism as political ideologies; Turkish Muslim intellectuals and the production of Islamic knowledge; and Islamic literature and literacy in contemporary Turkey.

Ahmet T. Kuru and Alfred Stepan's book *Democracy, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey* explores the toleration of diversity during the Ottoman Empire's classical period; the erosion of ethno-religious heterogeneity in modern, pre-democratic times; Kemalism and its role in modernization and nation building; the changing political strategies of the military; and the effect of possible EU membership on domestic reforms. Contributors tackle critical research questions, such as the legacy of the Ottoman Empire's ethno-religious plurality and the way in which Turkey's assertive secularism can be softened to allow greater space for religious actors. This volume provides comparative insights into this critical period in Turkish and European history. The book looks at two of the most important historical legacies of modern Turkey: the Ottoman Empire and Kemalism. Turkey is the successor of the Ottoman Empire, which ruled much of the Muslim world for centuries and in the process developed forms of interreligious toleration that accorded most minorities more liberties than were then available in western Europe.

Gage's book *Gülen's Dialogue on Education: A Caravanserai of Ideas* is a freewheeling exploration that connects the educational innovator James Moffett to the Turkish educator and inspirational figure Fethullah Gülen to John Dewey, Montessori and more. Professor Tom Gage portrays eight modern educators and the development of their theories viewed from personal, cultural, and historical perspectives. He links their ideas to those of Gülen, a highly influential educator of today who draws on an entirely different tradition.

Walter Wagner's book *Beginnings and Endings: Fethullah Gülen's Vision for Today's World* attempts to present a framework of understanding that outlines the philosophy and theology of Gülen. This book shows how Gülen's vision for the present and future makes the present and future forms of Hizmet an essential part of his wider and urgent call for the formation of a community of religiously committed and non-religiously committed persons to work toward a just, equitable and prosperous world now. Wagner's book explores the way that Gülen, in his extensive writings, lays out a vision for humanity to make the most of its time on Earth as the end times near. Wagner shows how Gülen uses his deep understanding of both Islamic faith and our modern times to lay out a path for humans to co-exist and live peacefully during their brief lifetimes. In this way, not only can humanity create a better world "here and now," fulfilling their destiny as "vice-regents on Earth," but they can also best prepare for life in the hereafter. Instead of taking an apocalyptic view of the world, where religions and ideologies clash, Gülen believes that people of faith and good intentions can work together to make a more peaceful, prosperous world.

Heon Kim & John Raines' book *Making Peace in and with the World: the Gülen Movement and Eco-Justice* is a representative study and working analysis of contemporary Islamic thought on eco-justice. It cuts through problems facing humanity today, ranging from inequality and violence in the smaller globalized world to 'the end/death of nature' as signaled by various environmental and ecological crises. This volume sheds light on two dimensions of peace in the earth community—making peace between differing human communities and humanity making peace with nature. The phrase Eco-Justice in this volume signifies this dual reality, thereby offering a unique and insightful view that justice in the world must go hand in hand with ecological justice if peace is to be made. It adds to a burgeoning field of religious ecology, by exploring the dynamics at play in the interaction between religion, human communities and nature, and by providing natural scientific works with considerable theoretical, philosophical and ethical implications. This volume provides a key reference to studies on Gülen and his movement for new dimension of peace among differing human communities and between humanity and nature.

Ori Soltes & Margaret Johnson's book *Preventing Violence and Achieving World Peace: The Contributions of the Gülen Movement* presents the essays of scholars who consider the diverse ways in which the Hizmet Movement. These essays indicate multiple instances of positive interfaith and/or multicultural dialogue. In addition, they consider how the writings of Gülen and the works of the Gülen movement, through an extensive programme of education and communication have contributed universal peace.

Claude Salhani's book on Islam *without a Veil: Kazakhstan's Path of moderation* describes how Kazakhstan has been able to maintain its Muslim heritage yet remain on track toward modernization while other Muslim countries have imposed strict Shari'a law upon their citizens, clamped down on individual freedoms, and persecuted all who do not adhere to the diktat of the ruling theocracy. Salhani examines the successful phenomenon of Kazakhstan today. He looks at the progress it has attained in just two decades since independence. While there is no doubt as to the Muslim identity of the country, Kazakhstan is living proof that there can be a "kinder, gentler" mode of Islam, in which one can live at peace with oneself and with one's neighbours, despite their differences. Kazakhstan's domestic and international policies prove that a Muslim country can interpret Islam in a moderate and peaceful way, without losing its religious identity. Salhani's work is a real contribution to understanding of how Islam can be a strong supporter, rather than an enemy, of peace at home and between nations.

Abdumalik Nysanbayev's book *Kazakhstan: Cultural Inheritance and Social Transformation* tell of the need for critical comprehension of the spiritual heritage of the Kazakh nation in order to form a civil society in Kazakhstan. The work of Nysanbayev shows how in Kazakhstan the importance of cultural heritage of the nation now stands out in special relief. There can be found some of the greatest scientists, philosophers and jurists of the golden medieval period of Islamic civilization. Their contributions subsequently were overlaid by the special virtues of a nomadic society. This combination is now being challenged to provide cultural identity and human resources for the new nation of Kazakhstan as it works its way to develop the structures of a new nation at the beginning of the new millennium.

This study is the first academic contribution on the Hizmet Movement in Kazakhstan and it aims to inspire further researches on the Hizmet movement in Central

Asia, and at the same time to provide Kazakhstani society new knowledge and understanding related to the field of religiously-inspired movements.

V. Structure of the Thesis

The *First Introduction Chapter* briefly discusses the specific overview of the Hizmet Movement. The Movement examined here is a dynamic civil society Movement that is global, human-oriented, faith-inspired, non-state, non-profit, non-violent, and voluntary. Although known as the Gülen Movement, this movement has remained faith-inspired at an individual level, it is considered to be an apolitical movement since it is not related to any political group. In general the movement implies a Muslim worldview; however it is characterized as a secular movement due to its secular-oriented educational projects. This chapter also discusses the ways and means research starting with the theoretical framework. It explores the research questions in more depth, and discusses what methods are the most appropriate, given the aims and nature of the research. The methods, questions, literature review and structure of the thesis will be deliberated in this chapter.

The *second chapter* attempts to give a social, political and historical overview of the movement's development and cultural and social dynamics that underlie the growth of the movement. To be able to understand Gülen's teachings and the way the movement has flourished, it is necessary to place him within the context of Turkish history, where the relation between religion and politics has been strained for a long time. The Hizmet Movement, first and foremost, is a Turkish Movement, and both its worldview and practice are heavily influenced by Turkey's exceptional experience of modernity as a predominantly Muslim nation. No discussion of the present controversy surrounding the Hizmet Movement can be attempted without general knowledge of the Turkish socio-historical context in which the movement came to be.

This chapter outlines the changes Turkey underwent in its transition from empire to nation-state in terms of its experiment with secularism and democracy. It especially looks at the tension between secularism and Islam, showing how this tension was originally contained by authoritarian measures during the early years of the republic but was later transformed into a major issue of democratic politics. The manner in which the

strained relationship between secularist and Islamist politics was played out in the democratic arena and the outcome of this power struggle have no parallel in the Muslim world. This experience shows that the road to Turkish modernity was a long but continuous process and that the outcome is a result of the complex interplay of indigenous social and political actors, on the one hand, and international influence, on the other.

Over the four or decades since then, it has grown into a transnational educational, intercultural and interfaith movement, with participants numbering in the millions, comprising hundreds of foundations, companies, professional associations, formal and informal, but legal, associations of various kinds. Analyzing the social and political context within which the movement emerged and evolved is necessary in order to understand Gülen's ideas and the movement's activism. Which social and political issues shaped Gülen's generation? What were the social, religious and political problems? Why did the movement emerge and what did it stand for? Were there any particularities leading to the conception of the Gülen Movement in his native Turkey and abroad? The answers to these questions will provide the necessary background from which to understand the Movement's ideology, Gülen's teachings and various perceptions thereof. After studying the historical and socio-political context of the Gülen Movement, I will then deal with the expansion of the movement and its Hizmet discourse. Here, the chapter analyses the worldwide proliferation and institutionalization of the movement. Thereafter, the major conceptions and ideological elements of the movement will be clarified.

Chapter Three focuses on a brief survey of classical Islamic education and its institutions, formal and informal, as well as identifies its underlying principles and rationale. And then, it examines the development of Ottoman education policies from the early Tanzimat era (1839-1876) to the end of the Empire. This chapter places that problem in historical context by showing the dynamics of the formation of the modern Turkish education system. The chapter examines the problem of educational dichotomy within the Turkish context since 1924, and how Fethullah Gülen attempted to reconcile science and religion, at least theoretically. Then, the chapter will discuss Gülen's own writings and statements about education and show how Gülen's educational philosophy is reflected in practice in the Movement's activities. It will argue that measuring the

achievements of the movement indicates that the application of Gülen's philosophy is the key to the success of the movement. The strong correspondences between the classical views and Gülen's perspectives will be indicated, establishing thereby continuity and innovative engagement on the latter's part with the classical heritage. Then, it will examine Gülen's idea of education as a practical means to achieve peace and peace building, and his dialogue approach as an alternative for dispute resolution and as a tool of building a culture of peace between and within societies.

Chapter four discusses the Islam in Kazakhstan, education, and educational campaigns of the Hizmet Movement in Kazakhstan. Then, it shall discuss the Hizmet movement's expansion beyond the borders of the Turkish state, demonstrating how the movement has continued to develop both philosophically and compositionally as it has traveled into other nation-states and emerged on the global scene. The breakup of Soviet Union and the independence of Central Asia, Turkey have been cited as an important actor because of its strong historical, cultural, ethnic and linguistic ties with the newly independent states of Central Asia. Since the beginning of the 1990s, Central Asia has been the area where the Hizmet Movement has mainly focused its strategy of development as a transnational network with its constructive policies such as Turkish entrepreneurs' attempts to establish schools, business and cultural centres, to give scholarships to students, to supply educational materials or to appoint teachers. The aim of this campaign was to help create the next generation of elites familiar with Turkish culture and language. In other words, the goal was a thorough cultural reorientation.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Central Asian countries have pursued nation-building; that is, the work of establishing political economic and social institutions, developing new national identities, and elaborating alternatives to communism as the ideological underpinnings of their new societies and policies. Turkey is considered to be an important stabilizing actor in this emerging new world order because of its strong historical, cultural, ethnic and linguistic bonds with the newly independent Central Asian countries. All throughout history the educational process has been perceived as a very influential agent of the socialization process with the power to shape, reshape, refresh or build the social and psychological environment. It has been perceived to have the same functions in the social transformation of the Central Asian

countries in the transition period. In this context, the role of Turkish schools in the educational system and in the social transformation of Central Asian countries in the transition period is open to exploration.

Chapter five focuses on the role of Turkish schools in the educational system and social transformation of Kazakhstan in the transition period. The second part of the chapter examines the contribution of Turkish schools and Private Turkish businessman association (Katiad) in Kazakhstan to the good relationship between the countries. Besides formation of national and cultural identity, contributions of KATEV to enhance democratization in Kazakhstan will also be discussed.

All throughout history the educational process has been perceived as a very influential agent of the socialization process with the power to shape, reshape, refresh or build the social and psychological environment. Because the Hizmet Movement offers a good modern education, Hizmet schools have become a model in Central Asia. They therefore play a real part in social change in the area. Moving from this theory, I explore the role of Turkish schools in transforming society in Kazakhstan. Considering the good reputation of these schools throughout the region, Turkish schools have made a positive contribution to the future of Turkey and Kazakhstan. The chapter also discusses the roles of Hizmet's educational activities in Kazakhstan's cultural reorientation also how the Movement contributes to peaceful coexistence between different ethnic groups. This chapter gives an idea of education's importance which is a tool of soft power in helping people identify themselves beyond giving descriptive and statistical information.

Chapter six is the conclusion. It sums up the discourse of the study by providing an overview of the movement, especially in the fields of dialogue and education. Final analysis will address the research a question mentioned in the introduction chapter and concludes with implications, conclusion and recommendations for future research. There is little scholarly work on the Hizmet movement's message regarding social conflict and reconciliation. This thesis therefore makes a contribution to the study of peace – the main theme addressed here – by providing insights into the management of diversity and the practice of multiculturalism and cohesiveness. In Kazakhstan as a result of the movement's projects, a new generation has been raised with a good education, ethical values, is empathetic acceptance of others, and is well-versed in several languages and

with prospects for good jobs and high socio-economic status. It helps the people move forward into the developed country.



Chapter 2: The Emergence of the Hizmet Movement

I. Introduction

This chapter aims to examine the identity of the Hizmet movement through a deep exploration of the historical, political, and philosophical roots that brought it into existence and shaped it throughout time, while it also tries to show the results of directly communicating with individuals who comprise the movement contemporarily, so as to examine the movement's identity from multiple perspectives and selfhoods. It was found that Hizmet was a much more complex, historically and politically shaped phenomenon, whose discourses, actions, and popularity could not be limited to solely Islamic motivations, but also reflected political, social, and historical circumstances and conditions.

In this chapter, the social and political context within which the movement emerged and evolved to understand Gülen's ideas and the movement's activism will be discussed. Thus it is necessary to analyze what social and political context shaped Gülen's generation, what were the social, religious and political problems in Gülen's time, and why did the movement emerge and what did it stand for?

Following the study of historical and socio-political context of the Gülen movement, the expansion of the movement and its Hizmet discourse will be dealt with. Here, the worldwide proliferation and institutionalization of the movement shall be analyzed how it changed from a national movement into a transnational one by opening institutions internationally and gaining followers and sympathizers from several nationalities. Thereafter, the major conceptions and ideological elements of the movement could be clarified. In addition, it will discuss the fundamental intellectual principles of the Gülen movement.

II. The Ottoman Legacy

The Hizmet movement that was influenced by Turkey's exceptional experiences is regarded as a Turkish social movement. In order to gain a broader understanding of the *Hizmet* movement in Turkey and the Turkish people's attitudes towards it, it is needed to look back in Turkish socio-historical context that shaped the movement. Turkey is the

most Westernized and secular democratic Muslim country. It is a member of NATO, and a US ally. The political system of Turkey is noted and appreciated by its people. It can be deemed a unique state in the Middle East.

The history of Turks in Asia goes back to 10th century. Comparing with the Arabs, the Turks were latecomer Muslims. They established one of the world's most powerful empires, first the Seljuk sultanate which was ended in the 13th century and was followed by the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire ruled over three continents between the thirteenth and the twentieth centuries.¹⁴ There were more than twenty ethnic communities living in the Ottoman lands, speaking dozens of languages. Christianity and Judaism, with their various sects and denominations, were the most prevalent religions after Islam in the Ottoman State.

Responding to the European modernization, the Ottomans launched her *Tanzimat* in the 18th century, which failed to modernize the country and was resulted in the founding of the secular Turkish Republic by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The primary goal of the modernizers had been the preservation of the state against the collapse of the empire. The roots of the secular movement went back to the mid-nineteenth century at the time of *Tanzimat*. The most important of all the Ottoman reforms would be the “*meşrutiyet*”, constitutional monarchy. The next decade in the Ottoman history is called “*The Era of Second Meşrutiyet*,” and was a period when a proto-democracy with a diverse parliament and multi-party system emerged. Western concepts such as constitutionalism, democracy, and equality by law were thus introduced to the traditional Islamic society through the process of modernization as early as the 19th century. It is why the Islamic movements that would unfold in Republican Turkey would be much more democratic in nature as compared with some of their Middle Eastern counterparts.

The 18th century discovery of Europe by Ottoman bureaucrats resulted in the famous “Imperial Gülhane Decree of 1839”, also known as the Tanzimat Edict, which introduced the idea of supremacy of law and modern citizenship to the empire. In a second substantive reform edict, in 1856, the dhimmi (protected people) status was abolished, and Jews and Christians gained equal civil rights. The Tanzimat Reform

¹⁴ Leon Carl Brown, 1996, *Imperial Legacy: the Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*. New York: Columbia University Press.

involved a major reorganization at the levels of provincial administration, education and the judiciary. As the term indicated, Tanzimat involved the restructuring and re-ordering of the fundamental institutions of the Ottoman system.¹⁵

It is deemed that modernization of Turkish society began in earnest with Sultan Mahmut II's reforms in 1826 that led to the abolition of the Janissary corps, the opening of medical and military schools, and the setting up of modern postal service. Beginning in 1839 at the end of Mahmut II's reign, the Tanzimat period saw a series of sweeping reforms in the area of law and taxation. Then in 1856 with the Paris Treaty the Ottoman State was accepted as a European state, and in 1876 the Young Turks drew up the First Constitution and a Turkish parliament was briefly established only to be dissolved by Sultan Abdulhamit II in the following year. In 1908 the sultan was forced to accept constitutional rule, parliament was restored and then a year later Abdulhamit II was deposed by the Young Turks who then seized power to set up a modern constitutional state. The final form of the modern Turkey was only realized after World War I. However, the modernization began much earlier, The Ottoman State is easy to criticize from a contemporary vantage point but judged alongside other political entities of its time, it was, in many respects, more modern than its contemporaries. Compared with most of its contemporaries, it was open to new ideas and new ways of doing things and was comfortable with social and cultural pluralism.

The Ottoman reforms were articulated and carried out by the intellectual elites of the State. Generally speaking most of them were well versed in European thought. Among them were different trends. One of these was the so-called "*modernization within the tradition*" trend. Its proponents realized the need for reforms, but hoped to realize these without abandoning traditional values, and especially the Islamic ones. The second trend was "*modernization despite the tradition*", which found its most radical expressions. According to the historian Şükrü Hanioğlu, "the Young Turk ideology, as it developed between 1889 and 1902 was severely antireligious, viewing religion as the greatest obstacle to human progress".¹⁶ In later years, the Young Turks played down their secular views for political purposes.

¹⁵ Mehmet Ali Kilicbay, 1989, *Tanzimat Neyi Tanzim Etti. Ago 4'*, November, 15, pp. 57-63.

¹⁶ Şükrü Hanioğlu, 2001, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, Oxford University Press, p. 305.

The Ottoman state defined its subjects according to their religious affiliations. This system, called the *millet* (community), defined each religious community as a separate community. The *millet* system had a socio-cultural and communal framework based firstly on religion, and secondly on ethnicity.¹⁷ Each millet established and maintained its own institutions, such as education, religion, legal principles pertaining to civil and family laws and social welfare.¹⁸ The *millet* system allowed Greek Orthodox Christians, Jews and Armenians to form their own ethnic-religious communities and to establish independent religious institutions in Istanbul. “Istanbul became the centre of Muslim-Christian co-existence which lasted for over five hundred years.”¹⁹ All of these policies and practices indicate that the dominant perception of religion and culture in the Ottoman Empire developed in such a way that a formula enabling different religious communities to live together with the “other”. Minority’s access to autonomy and freedom in the Ottoman state attracted large numbers of displaced Jewish communities who were the victims of persecution in Spain, Poland, Austria, Russia, Romania and most of the Balkan states. They had suffered from persecution due to anti-Jewish laws, and they enjoyed an atmosphere of tolerance and justice in the territory.²⁰ Later, Turkey continued this tradition by sheltering many Jews who fled Nazi oppression.

Religion during the Ottoman State was adopted as a governmental tool of cultural conciliation, which was used to intermediate between the state and the community. For centuries the Ottomans were a strong imperial polity that claimed Islam as their main source of political legitimacy. The sultans saw themselves as the rulers of the empire, but also the caliph, the leader of all the Sunni community. Islam in political history of the Turks, during the reigns of both the Seljuks and the Ottomans, remained under the state’s guidance to be practiced in the private sphere. The dominant belief was that a truly Islamic sultan would govern the state according to the principles of justice, equality, and piety. This approach of keeping religion apart from worldly affairs led to a collective

¹⁷ Kemal Karpat, 1982, *Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post Ottoman Era. Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, Volume I, The Central Lands. London, p.141.

¹⁸ Stanford Shaw, 1977, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. Cambridge University Press, p. 151.

¹⁹ Alexis, Alexandres, 1983, *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974*. Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, p. 21.

²⁰ Paul Dumont, 1982, “Jewish Communities in Turkey During the Last Decades of the Nineteenth Century in the Light of the Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle.” In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* Edited by B. Braude and B. Lewis. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, pp.221-22.

memory that regarded Islam as a flexible system of faith tolerance. The relationship between the state and religion was relatively harmonious during the Ottoman rules, although certainly, local problems cropped up at various times.

Despite the advances it had made, the Ottoman Empire collapsed immediately after the First World War. The Republic was established on the legacy of multiethnic and multi-religious empire. This brings out the question of how far modern Turkey inherited the culture co-existence and what new instruments it developed to consolidate this culture. Political power of the Turks, and their continual interaction with the West, gave them important insight. The Ottoman elites had to rule an empire by making practical decisions, adopting new technologies, and reforming existing structures, all of which allowed them to understand and cope with secular realities. Sociologist Şerif Mardin calls this experience “*Turkish-Islamic Exceptionalism*,” which is overlooked by most contemporary Western scholars on Islam because of their “concentration on Arab or Salafi Islam.”²¹

The fall of the Ottoman state is often blamed, among other factors, on the abuse of Islam. At least one expert posits this caused Turkey to “wash its hands off religion.”²² Regardless of whether he was influenced by the history of the empire, Ataturk believed in secularism. Therefore, in the new nation of Turkey he governed and imposed strict separation between the mosque and state. This principle is called laiklik (secularism) in Turkish, which is generally regarded as the separation of religion and state. However, secularism actually denotes the subordination of religion to the state. Secularism has become a hallmark of Turkish governance, and there are large segments of the population referred to secularists, who feel strongly about strict adherence to this principle. There are two groups of avowed secularists who believe it is their duty and right to protect what they see as the critical legacy of Ataturk, a secular Turkey. First, there is group of secularists in Turkey commonly referred to the “deep state” which is a behind-the-scenes, elite group of bureaucrats, military brass and other members of high society. Some analysts contend that this group has “controlled the country and manipulated the political

²¹Şerif Mardin, 2005, “*Turkish Islamic Exceptionalism Yesterday and Today: Continuity, Rupture and Reconstruction in Operational Codes*.” *Turkish Studies*, summer, 6 (2), p.145.

²² Scott Peterson, 1998, “*Struck Down in Turkey, Islam Coils*.” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 90, no.37, p. 6.

system” for the past fifty years.²³ Second and much more overtly, the Turkish military sees itself as the ultimate guarantor of the secular Turkish state, and has taken action consistent with this duty. Explicitly confirming their view as the party, the Turkish military is principally responsible for upholding secularism.

The foundation of the Turkish republic in the beginning of the 1920s displaced the caliphate which embodied all Muslim political existence, and declined the Ottoman body politic. The state elites tried to secure the system they were structuring through a series of secularist legal regulations. The disembodiment of the caliphate and the reform of the new republican regime meant the decline of Islam’s role in the public sphere. The Ministry of Shariah and Evkaf were abolished in 1924, and under the Unification of Education Law in 1924 all madrasah (Islamic schools) were closed. Sufi orders and all religious practices affiliated with them were banned by law in 1925, and religious manifestations became illegal. Changing the Osmani Arabic script was Latinized with Roman alphabets, the new generation of Turks was thus cut off from the literate heritage of their forebears, and by ordering men of religion to perform the call of prayer in Turkish rather than Arabic, nationalism was hence chosen as the unifying source among people; others’ proposals were also rejected to codify the ideology of the state. In 1928, the designation of Islam as the Religion of the state was removed from the national constitution, and Kemalist secularism was officially designated as the religion of the state.

As it stands, despite some isolated events, Turkey succeeds in managing religious diversity because the perception of Islam has developed in connection with a variety of current and historical events. The perception that emerged in the course of Turkish social, cultural and political history provides strong grounds for peaceful co-existence within the shared social order. Turkey’s achievement in establishing a political culture and a perception of Islam that facilitates religious pluralism can be attributed to numerous factors. These factors range from democracy and secularism, to the perception of Islam and Turkey’s efforts to join the European Union. However it should be noted that, although Turkey has achieved considerable success, improvement in these areas is still needed.

The Turkey leader Ataturk, sought to remove religion from the public and social

²³ Carol Migdalovitz, 2010, “*Turkey: Politics of Identity and Power*.” Congressional Research Service, p. 9.

realm, “to confine it to the conscience of people,” and to make it a set of beliefs that would not go beyond their personal lives. Thus his aim was to reduce religion to a matter of individual faith and prayer. Hence forward, the principle of freedom of religion and conscience was to protect only individualized religion and prayers. Religion remained to be a personal issue and state intervention was necessary only if it concerned and objectified the social order.²⁴ Atatürk stated this clearly: “We get our inspirations not from the heavens or invisible things but directly from life.”²⁵

The republic was ruled by a single party between 1923 and 1946. The first competitive elections were held in 1946. In 1950, for the first time in the country’s history, democratic elections were held. In 1950, the Republican People’s Party (CHP in Turkish) that had been in power since 1923 lost; and a newly established *Democrat Party* under the leadership of Adnan Menderes won the election. After the Democrat Party had ruled the country for about ten years, the military incited by the Kemalist elites and the media, staged a coup d’état in 1960, arresting Prime Minister Menderes and his ministers, hanging them on the grounds that they had “taken the country backward” and on corruption charges which later turned out to be baseless. Roots of this event extend back to the Kemalist elite’s self-claimed ownership of the country and all national authority. The statement by the CHP’s governor of Ankara explains that “any change Turkish society will undergo, has to be decided by the ruling elite.” Menderes’ democratic stance on the issue of religious freedom was enough to classify him as an enemy of the secular state. In fact, until very recently, the military controlled the system through the National Security Council, a half-military half-civilian organism in charge of defending the spirit of the secular republic; this council had the power to force ministers to implement certain policies and the legitimacy to instigate a coup whenever it was believed necessary, which occurred three times in the history of the Turkish republic, in 1960, 1971, 1980. For this reason, one of the most controversial issues in recent Turkish politics has been the relations of religion, secularism and the state.

²⁴ Jose Casanova, 1994, *Public Religions in the Modern World*. University Of Chicago Press, pp.17-39, and “privatization of religion” see Thomas Luckmann, 1967, *The Invisible Religion*. MacMillan Publishing Company by adopting the right to individual belief, “a product of the only legitimate space (that was) allowed to Christianity by post-Enlightenment society” (Talal Asad, 1993, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 45).

²⁵ Kemal Atatürk, 1925, *Soylev ve Demeçler*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayını. p.389.

A new middle class became visible from the 1980s.²⁶ While accepting traditional ethical standards and cultural values of Islam, the “rational” business rules and the profit motive of the capitalist market system was also adopted.²⁷ Although coming not exactly from the same spiritual and philosophical sources, many of the cadres of the ruling AKP Justice and Development Party,²⁸ as well as many followers of Gülen, would fall into this category.²⁹ Most Islamic entrepreneurs are the first generation of college graduates, children of petty bourgeoisies who benefited from Turgut Özal’s³⁰ neo-liberal economic policies in the 1980s and early 1990s. These policies had the effect of increasing such people’s social mobility, allowing them to establish their own medium-sized and small-sized firms.³¹ When the Özal government privatized the economy, education, and telecommunication networks, well-organized Muslim groups were empowered to carve new economic and social spaces for themselves.

In 2002, the Turkish Parliament adopted a series of legislative and constitutional amendments that took effect in 2003. Moreover, since the 1980s, in the government of Özal, social activities have increased and diversified. Among the actors of the blooming civil society, the pro-Islamic organizations have also had important influence by their support in the cultural re-Islamization of the society within the constraints of its secular political system. When Özal served as the prime minister in the 1980s, the policies of socio-economic liberalization were carried out to trigger the rise of Islamic-oriented activities and lifestyles that the Kemalist ideology had tried to eradicate since the beginning of the Republic in the 1920s. The Islamic movement relied on people either in the rural areas of Anatolia or the underprivileged suburbs of Istanbul and Ankara, where they had recently migrated in search of a better life. These people organized themselves

²⁶ Ahmet Insel, 2003, “The AKP and Normalizing Democracy in Turkey”. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Volume 102, p.297. Birgit Schaebler & Leif Stenberg (Eds.), *Globalization and the Muslim World: Culture, Religion, and Modernity*. Syracuse University Press. P. 168.

²⁷ Kemal Karpat, 2001, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*. Oxford University Press, p. 21.

²⁸ Serif Mardin, 2005, *Turkish Islamic Exceptionalism Yesterday and Today: Continuity, Rupture and Reconstruction in Operational Codes*. Turkish Studies. Istanbul: Sabanci University, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, pp.15-18.

²⁹ Selcuk Uygur, 2007, “Islamic Puritanism as a Source of Economic Development: Contributions of the Gülen Movement”, Paper presented at the conference *Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement*, the House of Lords in London. the London School of Economics and the Leeds Metropolitan University.

³⁰ Turgut Ozal (1927- 1993) is a Turkish political leader, the prime minister and the eighth president of Turkey. He transformed the economy of Turkey by paving the way for the privatization of many state sectors.

³¹ Yavuz M. Hakan, 2006, “The Role of the New Bourgeoisie in the Transformation of the Turkish Islamic Movement.” In M. Hakan Yavuz (Ed.), *The Emergence of a New Turkey Democracy and the AK Parti.*, p.5.

in networks of solidarity that reproduced the mutual support. Concurrently, new media, holdings related to old Sufi Tarikatlar (brotherhoods), even Islamic banks³² and business associations like Müsiad³³ or İşhad, have represented a bridge between modernity and the traditional Anatolian society.

In Turkey, religion in the public sphere has been a controversial issue, and there always been tension between the secular state and religious sectors of the society since the establishment of the Republic. The containment policy of the state toward religious groups has led them to alienation and paradoxical strategies of penetration into the state apparatus and political system. Islam in the Turkish model is different from that in the Arab countries, especially in the sphere of politics. Gülen, place Turkish Sunni Islam as opposed to Iranian Shia Islam, which he describes as intolerant and reactionary. Gülen states he wants the Turkish people to remember its past so the nation can be restored, and the past of Islam and the Ottoman values can be rediscovered. He seeks to reconstruct the nation as Muslim, Ottoman, and Turkish. The movement is therefore constructing its own modernity based on their own national identity as Muslim, Ottoman, and Turkish.

The transition from a multi-ethnic and multi-religious state to a nation state has not been an easy process. A number of social, political and economic reforms had to be introduced to ensure public participation in the making of a new nation. Modern Turkey was established as a nation state on secular foundations; Muslims and non-Muslims alike are incorporated into the fabric of one society. A new generation of Turks would be educated by using new texts that promoted a nationalistic, secular and modern identity. No doubt, pockets of resistance to these reforms existed and persisted, but overall the change in Turkish national consciousness was pervasive and dominant. In the light of this historical background, the nature of contemporary Turkish collective memory is supposed to be complex and contested. Among the elements that may be drawn on to construct this memory are the Ottoman heritage and Turkish ethnic traditions.

³² Turgut Özal deleted the article 163 of the new constitution repressing all those who, “are exploiting religion and endangers the State’s safety,” and carried out on December 16, 1983 a Decree-Law 83/ 7506 relative to the “special financing institutions” (ÖFK/ Özel Finans Kurumları), in other words, the “Islamic banks.” This decree legitimates the right to have recourse to an interest-free financial system taking into account the prohibition of interest on money.

³³ The “Independent Association of Industrialists and Businessmen” (MÜSIAD-*Müstakil Sanayiciler ve İşadamları Derneği*) was created by pro-Islamic businessmen in 1990 in Istanbul. The principal objective of MÜSIAD is to help the small and medium-sized entrepreneurs of Anatolia to increase their business potential and to export. The association especially will make it possible to create networks between the provincial towns and the national level.

III. Emergence of the Hizmet Movement

The Hizmet project as a faith-based civil society was created on the context of Turkey's political circumstances and state ideology. Apart from that, intellectual influences of its founding figure, Fethullah Gülen was also injected into the process of formation. The following discussion will illuminate the development of Hizmet first as a concept and then, gradually, as an identity for the transnational educational movement inspired by Gülen's thoughts on Islamic.

1- Fethullah Gülen and the Gülen Movement

Gülen was born in 1941 in Erzurum, eastern Turkey, just twenty-odd years after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. The war for Independence, transition from one regime to another, the Second World War, and global phenomena of modernity versus religion had all taken its toll on Turkey and its newly emerging citizens. It is within this context that Gülen grew up and experienced the difficulty, degradation and poverty of his country. Education was sporadic, materialism was rife, and civic-consideration replaced by egocentrism. Seeing all this, Gülen embarked on his humble, sincere and life-long journey to make a difference through promoting education, economic activism, and a re-reading and understanding of religious texts to evoke voluntarism, worldly ascetics and a type of universalism that kept Islamic values and Turkish customs alive.³⁴ Gülen, who has been an important figure in Turkey since the late 1960s, can be considered as a charismatic leader who has laid a foundation for his followers to practice his ideas, especially in the field of education and intercultural dialogue in different environments.

Although some claim that Gülen was a student of Bediuzzaman Said Nursi, in fact, Gülen had never met Said-i Nursi. Nursi was a member of the Naqshbandi Sufi order, and studied Islam in traditional Madrasah in Bitlis, Southeast of Turkey. However, it was believed that Gülen was introduced to the writings of Said Nursi.³⁵ Said Nursi was a preacher who taught that Muslims should not reject modernity, but find inspiration in the

³⁴ Ali Ünal, 2002, *Bir Portre Denemesi*. Istanbul: Nil Yayinlari, Retrieved from www.fgulen.org.

³⁵ Muhammed Lütfi Efendi (1868-1956) as he served as imam in Alvar village in Erzurum for 24 years, he was one of the most famous scholars, poets and spiritual persons of Turkey (Gülen, 2006, p.134).

sacred texts to engage in it. Nursi attempted to bring science and Islam together, and to demonstrate in his writing that Science was not against Islam and that the two are compatible. Nursi created an Islamic Cemaati (community) called the “Nurcu” whose members usually met in secret houses or apartments called dershane (study centers). Between 1923 and 1960, students of Nurcu held meetings and studies Nursi’s works, the *Risale*. This marked the emergence of the Nur Cemaati. As a teenager, Gülen was introduced to Nursi reading circles.³⁶ Gülen was inspired by these reading circles to the extent that this inspired the establishment of his own circles. When Gülen was eighteen years old he became an Imam, and after completing his military service, he went to serve in a mosque in Edirne. In 1966, as a preacher, Fethullah Gülen was appointed to the post of the Director of a Qur’an School that was run by the government; the school was situated in Kestanepazari, Izmir. During this working period, he reached his intellectual maturity. This period marked the beginning of a new intellectual stage in his religious and social life. Consequently, Gülen decided to open his own dershane, supported by local businessmen. This was the first school in the Gülen movement, and signified the emergence of Gülen’s Hizmet activities.

In the 1970s, Gülen established his own cemaat (community) giving many large public sermons and lectures in front of thousands of listeners. In his imminent environment, Gülen attracted people who supported his ideas with money and labor resource. Specific community houses called “houses of light”, were set up at that time. In these houses, Islam was taught on the basis of both Nursi’s and Gülen’s teachings. These units make up Gülen’s own cemaat which formed the nucleus of his educational network.

By the end of the 1970s, the teaching of non-Islamic subjects, especially sciences, in normal schools became a major concern for the Movement. In a time of political turmoil, Gülen and his followers hoped to educate young generation with modern knowledge and Islamic morals. In 1978, his movement established its first dershane to help pupils with the access to the central entrance examination for university. In 1979, the movement began to publish the journal *Sızıntı*, promoting a synthesis of scientific knowledge and Islam as science does not conflict with but rather support the religious

³⁶ It is a Turkish form of Islamic self-organization that evolved after the formation of the secular republic in 1923 and the outlawing of the Sufi orders and the abolishment of the classical Islamic educational institutions also known as the madrasah (Ebaugh, Helen Rose, 2010, p.25).

values. His message was then spread through public sermons, private and public lectures, and summer camps, as well as audio-visual and printed materials.

Gülen started to build a community slowly between the years of 1966 and 1976. Gülen and his followers opened their first dormitory in Bozyaka in 1976, Izmir. Students all lived in the dormitory reading the *Qur'an* and *Risales*, and learning about the Islamic sciences and ethics, in addition to physics, chemistry, natural sciences, and philosophy. This marked the beginning stages of the “Altın Nesil” (gold generation). It was prepared to attend the best universities in order to get good jobs in the government bureaucracy. At the end of the 1980s and in the beginning of the 1990s in particular, Hizmet moved further towards activities of economic orientation. They began to open hospitals, newspapers, financial corporations, insurance companies, and other types of companies.

Gülen's ideal and objective of Muslim education was to cultivate the perfect individual who would combine spirituality with intellect, reason with revelation, and mind with heart. He hoped to create a new generation who are of sound faith, motivational-love, balanced perception of science in order to re-evaluate human condition. This goal was to promote free thinking and respect for freedom of thought where collective consciousness was combined with a multi-dimensional and mathematical logic and appreciation of art. Thus according to Nevval Sevindi, as an Islamic leader, Gülen puts spiritual and personal development together in the worldly affairs; it is the core of everything.³⁷ Gülen's particular purpose has been to urge the young generation to harmonize intellectuality with purified spirituality and to care for humanity. He developed a certain vision for an individual who is able to solve the problems of human beings.³⁸

Gülen's followers now constitute one of the largest faith-and-dialogue based movements in the world, and have evolved into a dense web of trans-national charitable networks.³⁹ In Turkey, this movement has successfully set up hundreds of schools and colleges, organized businessmen and entrepreneurs on a common platform. It founded Turkey's largest daily newspaper-*Zaman*, a TV channel-Samanyolu, Yumurcak TV, and

³⁷ Nevval Sevindi, 2004, *Gurbette Fethullah Gülen*, Istanbul: Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı Yayınları. p.9.

³⁸ Fethullah Gülen, 2004, *Key Concepts in the Practice of Sufism. Emerald Hills of the Heart*, vol. 1. New Jersey: The Fountain. Rutherford.

³⁹ Bekim Agai, 2004, *Between Network and Discourse: The educational network surrounding Fethullah Gülen: The flexible application of modern Islamic thought*. Vol.2. S. Conermann (Series Ed.). Hamburg: EB-Verlag.,pp.36

a number of magazines (*Sızıntı, The Fountain, Yeni Umit, Yagmur, and Aksiyon*). In Turkey the movement has also brought out many publishing houses and a national radio station called Burc FM. Most recently, it is also expanding its work into charitable activities. Moreover, in the U.S.A, the movement expanded after Gülen's migration there, its members run the Turkish Cultural center in New York, the Institute of Interfaith Dialogue in Houston, the Atlas Foundation in Los Angeles, the Ebru TV channel, the Rumi Forum in Washington D.C., Pacifica Institute in Los Angeles, and *Today's Zaman* newspaper. Internationally, the movement has extended its network of educational and media efforts worldwide. While crossing boundaries, the movement has been engaged in promoting inter-communal, intercultural and interfaith dialogues between all segments of society. The movement, which evolved around the ideas of the Gülen, provides an example of a renewal with the potentiality to lay impact on the relationship between modernity and spirituality in the Muslim world.⁴⁰

The movement has been criticized on the grounds of religious reactionism (*irtica*), aiming to penetrate the system to create an Islamic state.⁴¹ This critic claims that the movement is a secret power to challenge any political authority. A single word from Gülen, so they say, would be enough to activate a sufficient number of political and religious groups to attempt to topple the government. Gülen has been in the United States since 1999 because of the repressive political atmosphere in Turkey and due to personal health problems. Under the existing penal laws, in August 2000 a warrant was issued for his arrest, on account of building an Islamic groundswell in Turkey. He was also suspected of forming an illegal network and organizing infiltration into the state in order to change the secular nature of the Turkish Republic. In June 2008 the charges were dismissed definitively by Turkey's highest court, but Gülen has yet to return to Turkey. Some still consider him a threat to the country's secular order (Foreign Policy 2008b). He has, de facto, become a political asylum seeker in the United States.

2- Legacy of Said Nursi in the Movement

To understand the Movement, it is necessary to know about the background and

⁴⁰ Ihsan Yilmaz, 2001, "Ijtihad and Tajdid by Conduct: Gülen and his movement," *Oxford Centre of Islamic Studies* (04), pp. 26-27.

⁴¹ David Shankland, 1999, *Islam and Society in Turkey*, Huntingdon: The Eothen Press, p. 43

spiritual journey of the founder. Although the ideology of the movement used to be a continuation of Said-i Nursi's thoughts on Islam and Muslim societies, the success of the Gülen community is in fact the consequence of the impact of neoliberalism and privatization in Turkey. The movement later transformed from a small and strict Nursi thinking oriented community into a global brotherhood and network based on common social, political and economic interests among the socially conservative and newly urbanized masses. Gülen's movement and its ideology originated from the Nurcu movement. While regarding its history, the Gülen movement is also referred as the Neo-Nur Movement, which is associated with the Nurcu Movement. Said Nursi (1878-1960) was a well-known religious leader and public figure. In 1958, at the age of 20, Gülen started to learn the writings of Said Nursi, and was influenced by them in his formative thinking.⁴² Like many other Turkish Muslims, Gülen undertook a study of the *Risale-i Nur*, Said Nursi's voluminous (6600 page) commentary on the Qur'an. Hakan Yavuz has noted that the encounter with Nursi's thought enabled Gülen to transcend the Anatolian issues which had previously dominated his thinking.⁴³ Nursi understood the power of the newly emerging technological advances, and had the foresight to understand the way in which these advances would eventually alter the social and political structure of Muslim societies. Therefore, he was able to bring together elements of science and religion, and in so doing, was able to use science to advance the objectives of Islam.

The Gülen community redirected its approach gradually from the original thrust of the *Risale-i Nur* movement to a more socially-oriented thrust to religious commitment. Nursi had focused on Muslim personal renewal through the study of the *Qur'an*, and intended to help modern believers move beyond the dichotomies omnipresent in Turkish society of his day through the spiritual transformation by the study of the *Risale-i Nur*. Gülen took a step further than that; he operated the movement with a solely religious-based structure to facilitate its transformation into a multi-dimensional social organization with a strong collective identity. The Gülen Movement therefore has a

⁴² Bülent Aras & Omer Caha, 2000, "Fethullah Gülen and his Liberal 'Turkish Islam' Movement", *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, December, Vol.4, No.4.

⁴³ "Gülen became aware of Nursi's writings in 1958, which facilitated his shift from a particular localized Islamic identity and community to a more cosmopolitan and discursive understanding of Islam. Nursi's writings empowered him to engage with diverse epistemological systems." Yavuz M. Hakan, 2003, *the Gülen Movement: the Turkish Puritans. Turkish Islam and the Secular State*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, p. 22.

unique place among other Turkish religious and political movements; it should be perceived with a comprehensive understanding of the relation between the economy and secularism in Turkey.

By contrast, for Gülen, personal transformation is secondary to that of society. In both cases personal transformation is oriented toward reforming and reshaping society; but for Nursi the emphasis is rather on the individual Muslim who must be changed through an enlightened encounter with the Qur'an; while in Gülen's vision it should be the social effect of the conscientious, committed Muslims who as the social agents of renewal of the Islamic Umma. The difference between Nursi and Gülen is the activity of individual's "study" for transformation and personal "service" to the society.

Therefore, the Gülen Movement put more emphasis on social activism, with the aim of changing society from the grassroots or bottom-up situation. The key dimension regulating the movement follower's life is that of Hizmet. This term refers to service for the sake of Allah, service that can be accomplished by continuously striving through *action* (aksiyon insanı) in society, it is with the objective to promote the movement's ideas and spread the true ethical message of Islam. The movement has created a new community life with its own social, economic, political and cultural elements, and does not always behave according to purely rational economic principles. They have developed a new form of hegemony that does not clash with the neo-liberal system. Islam is, however, the core belief system that legitimizes neoliberalism within the movement.

The followers of Nursi and Gülen fit into a framework for nonviolence activity. Nursi particularly emphasized the universality and dignity of all people, pluralism and diversity and patience. Gülen carries the framework further by emphasizing beneficence, kindness and doing good, solidarity, and collaborative action for peacemaking. In addition, Gülen emphasizes the importance of a community of the faithful, the Ummah, who addresses problems through cooperation and has a responsibility for the well-being of whole human beings. Gülen was influenced not only by some of Nursi's ideas but also those who had new approaches of his own.

IV. Development of the Hizmet Movement

The Gülen-inspired movement has undergone change and transition. It can be categorized into three main successive development stages since its inception in the 1960s. The first and initial period would be from the 1960s until 1980 and that could be characterized as a time for “*Community Building*” by Gülen and his close followers. In this period, Gülen gave numerous talks, sermons ⁴⁴ and a series of conference speeches organized by his followers and sympathizers. This enabled him to reach broader community of the different population, and to attract the attention of the academic community, especially the students. He also put great efforts to the foundation of student-dormitories and establishing “Işık Evler” (Light Houses) in various provinces in Anatolia. The objective behind Light Houses is to provide students with a home, a network of friends and daily routine, which makes it easier for them to abstain from indulging in religiously immoral acts, and to keep up spiritual lifestyle.

The second stage of the movement began from 1983 to 1997 when Gülen retired as a state preacher. Throughout the 1980s, Gülen and members of the new Anatolian bourgeoisie inspired by his teachings, began to focus on and to invest in “*educational projects*” attainment in Turkey by establishing primary and secondary schools, providing dormitories for college students and learning institutions with a focus on achievements in math and science while creating strong relationship between dedicated teachers and their pupils across Anatolia.

The movement’s focus in the past four decades was to address local needs with universal human values. At the end of the 1960s, in Turkey there was a great need for better educational opportunities all over the country. Not only was there great room for improvement in terms of educational quality, but education was also not available to every child. Although the state worked hard to deal with both matters, more could have been done. Gülen and those inspired followers, showed an excellent example of civic engagement by providing solution to these two crucial issues of Turkey’s secondary school education system.

⁴⁴ Most of Gülen’s series sermons, talks, and public speeches were recorded and transliterated into text format and with minor review published as books. This form of delivery was unheard of in the Muslim scholarly world where custom had it that matters should be studied and presented in a rather loose-haphazard-style with no clear boundary.

To address this shortcoming, they put together the first project of what would be later called Hizmet movement, which at that time comprised few university students and a handful of small-business owners. The project's aim was to find ways to accommodate out-of-town students in whose hometowns there school was not available, or set up a good one. At the beginning, the project started by the aforementioned students and businessmen set aside funds from their own pockets for educational and living expenses of these out-of-town students, and built dormitories in which these students could live while away from their families.

These dormitories also served as shelters against bad behaviors like drug abuse and involvement in political violent extremism. That is why many families, during those years and later, considered the Gülen movement the best tool to protect their children. Eventually, the project proved to be successful as the number of such out-of-town students grew and the number of followers increased. As these students were closely watched for their schoolwork, graduates became very successful in college entrance exams, and went on to the best universities in Turkey. In just over a decade, families who never planned to send their children to a middle school now had their children attending the best universities. This immense success opened up the doors for further projects. In addition to schools, the 1970s also marked the beginnings of college entrance examination preparation institutions.

Students of Hizmet proved to be successful in their social lives. They were educated to with the idea of living for others, being self-sacrificial and hard working. They were free of bad habits like smoking and drinking, and protected from religious radicalism and violent political movements. Although schools are run by Hizmet inspired people, they observe state regulations of education. In the meantime, Gülen and the participants of Hizmet started to work on a new project, which turned out to be highly influential in today's Turkey. As they saw a need for publications to promote values, the first monthly magazine of science and culture- *Sızıntı* came in 1979, and then *Zaman* in 1987, which is now most widely circulated and read newspaper.

According to J. Hendrick, "the expansion of the Gülen movement in the early 1980s was the result of two structural opportunities opened under the Özal regime (1983-1993). First Turkey's economic liberalization schemes gave rise to a conservative central

Anatolian bourgeoisie. Second, the 1982 constitution opened up new spaces for social and religious organizing. Such social reforms opened doors for previously restricted religious expression, and led to religious revival throughout the country.”⁴⁵ In a complex set of ramifications, space for an expansion of moderate Islamic expression was cleared in the early 1980s. This was, by coincidence, the very period when Gülen and his early circle were poised to take their activities to a new level.

According to Atasoy, Özal’s Mother Land Party contained strong pro-Islamic faction. This provided the linkage of Muslim cultural values with economic development. “The political decision to develop a religious educational system played a significant role in the creation of a new genre of Muslim professionals employed mainly as engineers in the state bureaucracy and private sector. These professionals were the children of religiously minded rural small producers and urban lower classes.”⁴⁶

On the whole, this was the period of negotiating a new national culture that reincorporated religion. Religion as a subject could now be taught in the state schools. An explosion of private religious education was also taking place. However, the strategy of the Hizmet schools was not to promote religious education. Rather, the focus was on proficiency in science and mathematics in particular, the skills needed for a prosperous and successful modernity. At the same time a concern with the moral formation of students was to be addressed by dedicated teachers who would befriend and advise their students as true older siblings.

Islam was the central focus and framework of the Gülen movement; however, the movement’s actions of engaging with the neoliberal economy after the mid-1980s (by opening financial institutions, schools, TV stations, newspapers, magazines, and expelling the Cemaat movement towards the market demands. However, through this engagement with the market, the movement’s slogans, symbols, characteristics, and structure began to change, they had to adapt to and use concepts related with the neoliberal economy, such as democracy, freedom of speech, human rights, and pluralism. According to Hakan Yavuz, the movement also became more intolerant towards other

⁴⁵ Joshua D. Hendrick, 2007, “The Regulated Potential of Kinetic Islam: Antithesis in Global Islamic Activism.” In Robert A. Hunt & Yuksel Asladogan (Eds), *Muslim Citizens of a Globalized World: Contributions of the Gülen Movement* Somerset NJ: Light, p.23.

⁴⁶ Yildiz Atasoy, 2005, *Turkey, Islamists, and Democracy: Transition and Globalization in a Muslim State*. London: I. B. Taurus, p. 154.

political, religious and social groups and now seeks economic power and a greater share of the market. This transformation can be described as a neoliberal version of Islam without the underlying principles of Islam. As the movement began to invest and operate within the market value, it also began to adapt its principles and actions to the imperatives of the market economy, and in so doing, became less religious.

The third phase commenced in the 1990s and extends to the present time. *Internationalization* of the movement began with an expansion of business and educational projects into the Turkish speaking ex-Soviet republics in Central Asia. In the 1990s, political and economic developments in Turkey, the fall of the Soviet Union, the structural weakening of the Turkish state monopoly over information and capital flows, and global developments in communication and transformation technology all contributed to an emphasis being placed on international educational encounters and dialogue activities among the adherents of different religions, nations and civilizations.

Following the collapse of Soviet Union, Hizmet movement realized a great need for education in the newly formed Turkic countries. With the same ideas and similar methods, volunteers of the movement showed great civic engagement, this time at an international level, to establish schools just like those in Turkey. This required great self-sacrifice as hundreds of newly college graduates and small-business owners left their country to Turkic countries to realize their ideas of education. These educational institutions were well received, and also supported by the Turkish state and local provinces; the Hizmet movement became internationally known and appreciated. This led more volunteers to work in many different countries where better education is needed. Similar schools were established to fulfill the Gülen's ideology. Today, Hizmet inspired schools can be seen in more than 150 countries. They are all regulated by state officials, and run by local and independent board of directors that comprise of Hizmet inspired individuals as well as those who are not.

Starting in the early 1990s, Gülen was the first spiritual leader in Turkey to express his views on the necessity of interfaith dialogues, which promote peace among the factions of different ideologies, faiths and cultures.⁴⁷ In the 1990s, one could easily

⁴⁷ Yavuz Hakan, 2003, *Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Gülen Movement*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

observe that in Turkey, many different fractions of the social, political and cultural life were in strong conflict with each other, or it seemed to be so. Leftist/rightist, Sunni/Alevi Turkish/Kurdish, religious/secular, and liberal/conservative among many others seemed to be forming the conflictual ends of sociocultural and sociopolitical fabric of the country. There were countless misconceptions and stereotypical essentializations about each other. Most importantly, the divisions seemed to deepen day after day. Well before the significant increase in dialogue activities in the post-9/11 world, Gülen had established the “Journalists and Writers Foundation” in 1994. It appears that from this time he intended to promote dialogue and tolerance among all strata of the society in Turkey and abroad. In the context of the “Intercultural Dialogue Platform”, Gülen has held talks with many religious leaders and institutions, such as Pope John Paul II (1998), Greek Eucumenical Patriarch Bartholomeos (1996),⁴⁸ Sepharadic Chief Rabbi of Israel Eliyahu Bakshi Doron (1999), as well as a number of Turkish religious leaders.

As a result of these inter-faith activities, Gülen and the movement were strongly criticized by two groups: hardline secularists and some Islamists. The two differed in the ways and reasons for which they criticized Gülen. Hardline secularists rebuked him based on the contention that in order to get into contact with other faiths’ representatives, some sort of an authorization is required. Since Gülen was not appointed by the state, he had no right to speak to someone like Pope John Paul II on his own behalf.⁴⁹ Radical Islamists’ reactions to Gülen’s visit were slightly different. They considered Gülen’s initiatives as a humiliation. A Muslim should not go and visit a non-Muslim. They also believed that for such a prominent Muslim religious leader to visit other religious leaders would cause some Muslims to convert.⁵⁰

Gülen’s dialogue and peaceful coexistence discourse were also replicated in institutions abroad, like the “Dialogue Society” established in 1999 in London and the “Rumi Forum” established in 2000 in Washington DC. There are now hundreds of dialogue associations and charities all over the world founded by the movement’s Muslim and non-Muslim volunteers who are motivated by Gülen’s teachings. Through these charity institutions, these volunteers initiate and engage in interfaith and intercultural

⁴⁸ For “Repercussions from Gülen–Bartholomeos Meeting,” see <http://en.fgulen.com/content/category/148/252/11/>

⁴⁹ Necip Hablomitoglu, 1999, “28 Şubat kararları sürecine bir katkı”, *Yeni Hayat*, Issue 52.

⁵⁰ Mehmet Şevket Eygi, 2000, ‘*Papalıkla Gizli Anlaşma*’, *Milli Gazete*, May 26, 2000.

dialogues with people of different faiths and cultures. Today, around the world, through local partnerships, Hizmet volunteers are regularly co-organizing small and large-scale events and meetings in which people of various backgrounds interact with one another. To this end, the dialogue and mutual understanding initiative is one of the cornerstones of evolution for the Gülen movement. The expansion of the Gülen movement from local to national, then to global one correlated with the developments both in Turkey and worldwide. In Central Asia with the collapse of the Soviet Union, state monopoly on economic and cultural life ended.

This decade also experienced yet another project of *humanitarian aid*, by establishing organizations such as “Helping Hands” and “Kimse Yok Mu”, volunteers answered this call, and started fundraising activities and relief fund efforts around the world. These organizations were able to provide millions of dollars to the areas of hunger, poverty, or areas hit by earthquakes and tsunamis. People around the world voluntarily participate in activities through such organizations. In some areas, volunteers work to build hospitals, provide food to the hungry, yet volunteer doctor’s help in health care, hundreds of Hizmet inspired volunteers work to meet the urgent needs.

Today, the movement operates within a complex and multifaceted structure. Yavuz describes that the movement possesses three layers: “the businessmen, journalists, and teachers and students”. The movement has its hierarchical structure, and aside from the Gülen leadership, only a small group of decision makers of the Gülen community have played an important role in its development after Gülen himself moved to the U.S. in 1997. After leaving Turkey, however, Gülen has still supervised its activities up to present day. Gülen regards himself in the movement as spiritual leader guiding his followers through his Islamic teachings.

V. Islamic Foundations of the Hizmet Movement

What Islamic teachings and values are observed by the Hizmet members is core discourse of this section. Therefore this part will discuss about Gülen’s Islamic thinking, and how it reach the young generation including intellectuals, school teachers, the businessmen, and the householders who make up the community shaped by his vision. It

is Gülen's theological perspective that makes him as spiritual master whose teachings stimulate the formation of a coherent and workable community life.

Like other religions, Islam provides a wealth of teachings and spiritual experiences to guide Muslim community life, thus any individual believer is able to integrate into community with guidance of Islam. In the course of history, it shows that even the greatest scholars or Sufis (mystic) are able to do that. The sources of Islamic teachings and spiritual guidance are the Qur'an and Sunnah. To Gülen, the most important inspiration of his teachings is from the Qur'an and Prophet Muhammad's traditions. Gülen's thought is not as natural philosophy, it is his interpretation and commentary of the Qur'an and Hadith. Gülen's prophetology holds that although it is possible to arrive at a certain limited knowledge of Allah by reason, particularly by means of reflection on nature, much of human existence can only be known through prophetic revelation (Wahy).

On this basis, Gülen lives under the shadow of the Qur'an and the mode of Prophet Muhammad's life. The references of his teachings are much taken from doctrines of the Qur'an, and his everyday life practices from Sunnah of the Prophet. Gülen regards that Sunnah is Allah's gift to Muslims so that they would know how to live according to Allah's will in a way to please the Creator.⁵¹ Moreover, Sunnah is the source for human qualities that Gülen as a spiritual guide would like to instill. Character traits such as tolerance, piety, forgiveness, peacemaking etc. are rooted in Allah's teachings proclaimed by and exemplified in the life of the prophets, particularly Muhammad. For example, in speaking of tolerance, Gülen notes that the quality is not of human origin, but is derived from prophetic teaching: "Tolerance is not something that was invented by us. Tolerance was first introduced on this earth by the prophets whose teacher was Allah."⁵²

The emphasis that Gülen places on the Qur'an and Sunnah underlines the "orthodox" nature of Gülen's teachings and the community's practice. Some observers doubt whether Gülen's theology is within the mainstream of Islamic doctrine. Conversely as many scholars agree that there is no single mainstream in Islamic theology and

⁵¹ "The Sunnah, the unique example set by the prophet Muhammad for all Muslims to follow, shows us how to bring our lives into agreement with Allah's commands and obtain His good pleasure." Fethullah Gülen, 2010, *Muhammad the Messenger of Allah*. Clifton, NJ: Tughra Books, p. 327.

⁵² Fethullah Gülen, 1996, *Toward a Global Civilization of Love and Tolerance*, New Jersey: The Light, p.82.

practice, then in which current does Gülen's fit? This question can perhaps best be answered by looking at those Muslim scholars and pious forbearers with whom Gülen himself identifies.

Gülen's writings are replete with references to the words of earlier Muslim thinkers and mystics. He frequently cites those whom he calls "the lovers to Allah",⁵³ that is, predecessors as Jalal al-Din Rumi, Yunus Emre, Ahmad Yasavi, and Said Nursi. All of these figures are more or less associated with the Sufi traditions. Rumi⁵⁴ and Yasavi were poets and founders of order (tariqah), while Yunus Emre was a Sufi poet but not associated with any tariqah. The Ulama to whom Gülen refers such as al-Ghazali, al-Junayd, and Shah Waliullah are theologians who had close connections to the broader Sufi traditions. Even among those modern figures whom Gülen holds up as "heroes of thought and action" like Ahmet Hilmi, Ferid Kam, and Necip Fazıl Kısakürek who are Sufis and mystic writers.⁵⁵

Gülen's theology can be located best in this broad "humanistic current" of Muslims who stress the interior dispositions to be fostered in the believer in response to the revealed Qur'anic message and in imitation of the prophetic example found in the Sunnah. In this interpretation of Islam, faith is "virtue-oriented"; these Muslims stress internal qualities such as sincerity, patience, peace, tolerance, forgiveness, compassion, respect for others, acceptance of differences; they all encourage humble life characterized by deeds of goodness, love, and service.

While closely related to the Sufi traditions, this current antedates Sufism as such and finds its origins in the pious, ascetic community of early Madinan Muslims in the Prophet time, which came to be called the Ahl al-Suffah. These early Muslims eschewed commercial and military pursuits, and devoted their times their lives to studying and teaching the religious sources. Rifat Atay sees Gülen as reviving the Ahl al-Suffah tradition in two ways, firstly by embodying in his own life four of the typical

⁵³ My analysis of Gülen's appropriation of these figures in 2007. Fethullah Gülen: *Following in the Footsteps of Rumi. Peaceful Coexistence: Fethullah Gülen's Initiatives in the Contemporary World*. London: Leeds Metropolitan University Press, pp.183-191.

⁵⁴ Rumi seems to epitomize for Gülen the characteristics he seeks to form in modern Muslims. "They call everyone to their embrace and to the truth, like Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi, and they tolerate every improper behavior toward themselves." Fethullah Gülen, 2009, *Key Concepts in the Practice of Sufism: Emerald Hills of the Heart*, New Jersey: The Light, p. 270.

⁵⁵ Fethullah Gülen, 2009, *The Statue of Our Souls: Revival in Islamic Thought and Activism*. New Jersey: The Light, pp. 68-72.

characteristic of the early phenomenon (single, simple, humble, and pious); secondly, by carrying on a consistent pattern of spiritual and theological formation for a select number of dedicated students.⁵⁶

On the other hand, Gülen shares many concerns with the Sufi masters and praises Said Nursi for “pouring down on us all the wealth of our schools and Sufi lodges (takka, zaviya, madrasah).”⁵⁷ Like Said Nursi and the Sufis before him, in Islam he places the primacy on love that he regards not only as a gift of the Creator Allah, but also as the bond that unites humanity and can overcome disunity. “Allah Almighty has not created a stronger relation than love, this chain that binds humans one to another.”⁵⁸ Gülen’s theological vision focuses on many of the same themes found in the writings of the Sufis. In the demands of Islamic communities today, he elaborates typical Sufi concepts such as ikhlas (sincerity), ma‘rifat (knowledge), sabr (patience), and taqwa (piety).

What Gülen’s theological vision departs from that of the Sufis is that he emphasizes on communitarian dimension of selfless service. While he affirms the importance of halwat and itikaf (solitude and retreat) to purify one’s soul,⁵⁹ he rejects any spirituality that smacks of an individualistic mystical flight to union with Allah; that has been claimed in most Sufi theories and practices. He is similarly disinterested in the kind of metaphysical speculation that preoccupies so many of the Sufis.

Among the common concerns that Gülen shares with proponents of the Sufi tradition, Mevlana Jalal al-Din Rumi is the importance of the concepts that describe the “exteriorization” of religious practice. In particular, he focuses on two of Qur’anic elements, which can be said to form the conceptual basis of Gülen’s theology. These are the notions of ikhlas (sincerity) and ‘ibada (worship), which are related concepts of ‘ubudiyyah (servanthood) and ‘ubudah (devotion). Because of their centrality to the thought of Gülen and the extent to which they shape and characterize the motivation and attitudes of the community inspired by his ideas, ikhlas and ‘ibada are the two cornerstones or pillars of Gülen’s theology.

⁵⁶ Rifat Atay, 2007, *Muslim World in Transition: Contribution of the Gülen Movement*. London: Leeds Metropolitan University Press. pp.459-472.

⁵⁷ Fethullah Gülen, 2009, *The Statue of Our Souls: Revival in Islamic Thought and Activism*, p. 77.

⁵⁸ Fethullah Gülen, 2000, *Toward a Global Civilization of Love and Tolerance*, Istanbul: Nil, p. 34.

⁵⁹ Fethullah Gülen, 2009, *Key Concepts in the Practice of Sufism: Emerald Hills of the Heart*, III, p. 27.

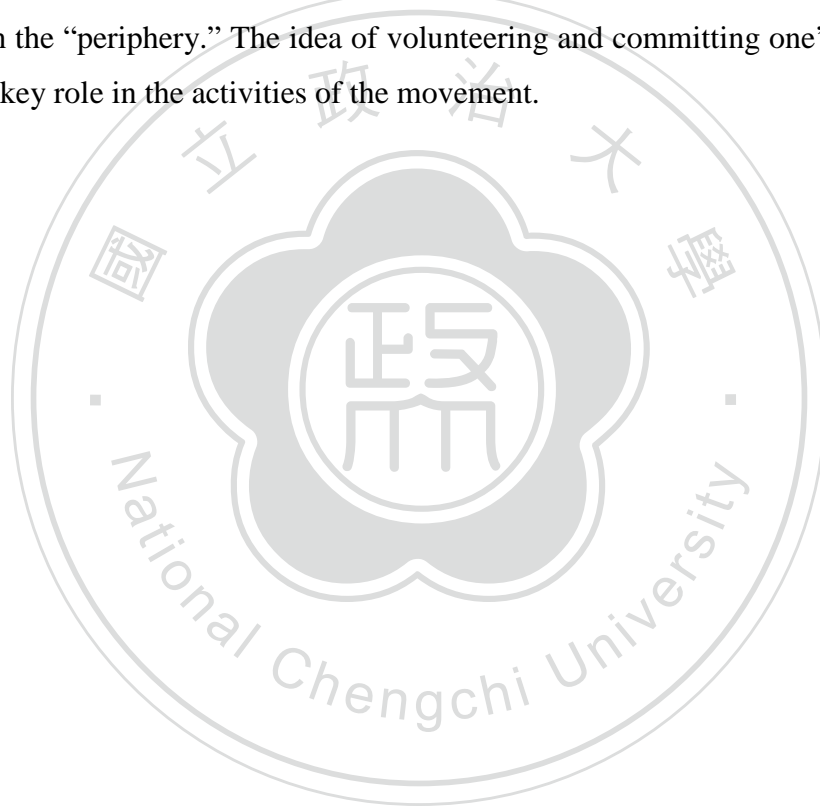
VI. Conclusion

Turkish Republic was the inheritor of the Ottoman Empire, and its social structure is highly complex and diverse. Turkey launched modern reforms in political, legal, administrative, educational, and cultural fields during the eighteenth century. The founders of the republic adopted these reforms and accelerated the modernization process in the new society. Although some of the radical reforms and restrictive policies in the early republican period caused cultural rupture, the fabric of the society preserved the resources and cultural references that make up Turkey's unique identity.

Turkish Republic did not allow pluralism and democracy to operate until 1950. During these five decades secularist elites ruled the country. Islamic identity and discourse were to a great extent de-legitimized and marginalized by Kemalism. The role of Islam in the public sphere has been radically marginalized and the state attempted to confiscate and monopolize even this marginal role. Although the Republic has followed assertive secularist policies, Islam is still deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of the people. The state, through its secularist policies and programs of westernization, endeavored to eradicate the value system of the Muslim in the country without providing a satisfactory and all-encompassing ideological framework which could have mass appeal to replace Islam. Religious leaders, their successors, and the religious functionaries have regained their influence in public life. They have continued to attract masses into religious atmosphere. Local Islam survived despite all attempts of the state.

Today the development of Turkish society witnesses the failure of Kemalism and side-effect of the over-secularization, nevertheless, Turkey is still an exemplary state that shoes Islam and modern democracy can peacefully coexist. In Turkey Islamic groups and their movements aim to re-establish Islamic social and political order, and through their efforts. Turkey has moved into a civil society that accommodates democracy and religions. The Turkish society and religious communities such as Hizmet have redefined the state and the role of the state within the neo-liberalization process. This in turn has led to the emergence of "network" or religious communities. In this process, Islam has been transformed into a mechanism for social solidarity, and became a core component of the network groups in the neoliberal era.

It has been noted that the Gülen movement is a faith-based network with organizational structures and a focus of discourse that has developed as a consequence both of Turkey's unique political history and global events since the end of the Cold War. The Gülen movement is an Islamic social movement which bases its philosophy on increasing religious consciousness at the individual level, and makes Islam an important social force in the public sphere. The movement uses education and business networks to cultivate religious morals in the Turkish society. They refrain from direct involvement in politics and political polemics. The movement demonstrates elements of a congregational structure. Although there is a "core" cadre of devotees around Gülen, the bulk of the movement is in the "periphery." The idea of volunteering and committing one's time and money plays a key role in the activities of the movement.



Chapter 3: Fethullah Gülen's Thought on Education

I. Introduction

In Islam, educational institution, formal or informal, has its long history. Classical Islamic education in the Ottoman Empire succeeded from that in the medieval period, especially the Madrasah system in post-'Abbasid era; while the modern development started from the early Tanzimat era (1839-1876). After the establishment of the Republic, secular education system replaced the traditional ones and was implemented in the governmental schools and universities. Kemalist' Secularization created the problems of educational dichotomy within the Turkish context since 1924. Having these problems, Fethullah Gülen attempted to reconcile secular science and religion to reform the traditional Islamic education. It aims to provide service to society in the transmission of knowledge to humanity, and in cultivating moral values such as responsibility, tolerance, respect, reliability and compassion. Gülen's ideas of education can be regarded as practical means to achieve harmony and peace building. His educational reform improvises dialogue approach as an alternative resolution for intra-and intersociety dispute.

II. Traditional Islamic Education

Islamic perspective for human being and life constitute in harmony and conciliation between sense, mind and religious faith as fundamental epistemological origins, while thinking and considering are instruments to research in these origins. Islam is frequently characterized as a "Religion of the Book (Qur'an)", the revealed scripture of Islam. The first word of Allah said to have been uttered by the angel Gabriel in roughly 610 CE which initiated the series of divine revelations to the Prophet Muhammad was "*Iqra*" (recite or "read"). The act of reading or reciting, in relation to Islam's holy book and in general, thus took on an exceptionally sacrosanct quality within Islamic tradition and practice, and so did the acquisition of particularly religious knowledge by extension.

Muslims also take to heart the Prophet's counsel, "Seek knowledge even unto China," which serialized the journey, often perilous, undertaken to supplement and complete one's education, and can be said to be an endeavor known as "journey in the

search for knowledge”. Another equally well-known statement of the Prophet exhorts, “The pursuit of knowledge is incumbent on every Muslim, male or female,” a statement that has made the acquisition of rudimentary knowledge of religion and its duties mandatory for the Muslim individual, regardless gender. “The scholars are the heirs of the prophets” is another important al-Hadith invoked as proof-text to underscore the extraordinary importance of learning and its dissemination in shaping of communal life and as a basic, integral part of an individual’s religious growth. Sanctioned by both the words of God and the words of Prophet Muhammad, the pursuit of knowledge (*‘ilm*) is regarded as a religious obligation on a par with religious duties. It is customary to find these sacred proof-texts extolling the merits of *‘ilm* assembled and recorded in many treatises on learning and education in both the pre-modern and modern periods in order to exhort the believer to embark on the noble pursuit of knowledge.⁶⁰

The earliest venue of education was the mosque, the place of formal worship in Islam. During Prophet Muhammad’s time, his mosque in Medina served both as the locus of private and public worship and for informal instruction of the believers in the religious law and related matters. The mosque continued to play these multiple roles throughout the first three centuries of Islam. Typically, instruction of religious and legal sciences was offered by religious scholars to students in the seminars (*halqa* or *majlis* in which students sat with the teacher in circle). By the tenth century in Iraq and the eastern Islamic world, *khan* (hostel) was gradually set up and built next to mosques. It accommodated students and teachers together in teaching and learning.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, another important institution was developed and known as Madrasah (school for learning Islamic sciences). Madrasah was usually funded by a *waqf* (charitable foundation or trust), it might be also sponsored by wealthy people or local rulers.⁶¹ Madrasah was a logical development of the mosque-khan complex. It functioned as today’s boarding school, but in rather university level. In addition to the impetus of the greater systematization of knowledge, the development of this institution has also been attributed in part to a reassertion of Sunni Muslim identity in

⁶⁰ Two of the best known of such treatises are Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s *Jami‘ bayan al-‘ilm wa-fadlihi* (“The Expository Compendium on Knowledge and Its Virtue”) (Beirut, 2000); and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya’s *Fadl al-‘ilm wa-l-‘ulama’* (The Virtues of Knowledge and the Learned) (Beirut, 2001).

⁶¹ George Makdisi, 1970, *The Madrasah as a Charitable Trust and the University as a Corporation in the Middle Ages. Correspondance d’Orient*, 2. Brussels: Actes du Ve Congres International d’Arabisants et d’Islamisants.

the wake of the collapse of the various Shi'ite dynasties that had ruled much of the Islamic world in the tenth and eleventh centuries. During the Fatimid Shi'ite rule in Egypt Islamic education reached its peak. One of the Fatimid intellectual legacies was the establishment of the oldest university in the world – the al-Azhar mosque-cum-madrasah in Cairo in 972 CE, which was set up. With the fall of the Fatimids, there was subsequently a concerted Sunni effort to roll back the Shi'ite influence of the past two centuries. The madrasah became in many ways the locus classics for waging this campaign of religious and intellectual reclamation. This is dramatically reflected in the transformation of al-Azhar into the foremost Sunni center of higher learning in a position until today. Henceforth, the madrasah became the principal venue and vehicle for the transmission of Islamic knowledge throughout Islamic world.

In addition to those, other institutions developed over time played supplementary roles in the dissemination of knowledge. One of the types was the burgeoning libraries from the ninth century on. The larger mosques often had libraries attached to them containing books on religious topics. Other semi-public libraries would additionally have books on logic, philosophy, music, astronomy, geometry, medicine, astronomy, and alchemy. The first academy in the Islamic world, known *House of Wisdom*, was built by the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (813-33 CE), which had a grand library and an astronomical observatory attached to it. In this academy, many Arab scholars under the Abbasid patrons translated significant classical Greek works from Syriac, Greek into Arabic. Other specialized institution of learning was *Qur'anic school* which offered courses of Qur'anic studies, *Hadith school* which concentrated on the study of Prophet Muhammad's Sunnah, *school of natural sciences* which was concerned with the philosophy and sciences of the nature, and *school of medicine* which was dedicated to the teaching of medicine. Apart from those institutes, Sufi lodges which combined traditional learning with spiritual training, were merged into Islamic educational institution. At all times, informal and formal instruction was offered to men and women in private homes of scholars and wealthy individuals. In most areas of the medieval Islamic world, such mode of private education was more the norm than formal.⁶²

⁶² Michael Chamberlain, 1994, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350*. Cambridge: CUP, p.69

Religion education was based upon what is termed in Arabic *al-'Ulum al-Naqliyya* (Transmitted Sciences) which consists primarily of the Qur'anic sciences, the Hadith sciences, and *Fiqh* (jurisprudence). In addition to it, *al-'Ulum al-'Aqliyya* (rational sciences") was another form of learning which included logic, philosophy, mathematics, and the natural sciences. The rational sciences were also termed as the "foreign sciences" or "sciences of the ancients" referring to Greek knowledge. In the pre-'Abbasid period, madrasah, were primarily devoted to religious learning based on the study of the transmitted sciences and supplemented with the ancillary sciences of grammar and literature.

The method of teaching was by lecturing and dictation. For legal studies, *munazarah* (argumentation) was important as well. First of all, students were expected to memorize the Qur'an, and then as many Hadith as possible. Issues of jurisprudence were also dictated, and so did linguistic and literary subjects. In relation to the Qur'an and Hadith, *talqin* (learning by heart) was the principal method of acquiring knowledge and a retentive memory was therefore greatly prized. However, at the same time, the importance of understanding was emphasized; students were expected to reflect on what they had learned. This is what the term *Fiqh* shows, meaning "understanding". It can be said that both memorizing and understanding are implemented in traditional Islamic education system.⁶³

In the study of Islamic law, the scholastic method of *munazarah* (disputation) prevailed; it is a pedagogical method that originated quite early in the Islamic milieu. The method of disputation required that the disputant have a comprehensive knowledge of *khilaf* which refers to the divergent legal opinions of jurisconsults, and a thorough acquaintance with *jadial* (dialectic); and it also requires them to acquire skills through practice. Law students were supposed to have memorized as thorough the disputed matters of law and know the answers to them. By virtue of their skills in disputation the students earned their *Ijazah* (certificate) to teach law and issue legal opinions.⁶⁴

Due to the political and territorial expansion of Islam beyond the original Arabian Peninsula, Muslims became the heir of the older and more cultured people whom they

⁶³ George Makdisi, 2013, *The Rise of Colleges*. Create Space Independent Publishing Platform, p.144.

⁶⁴ P. J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel & W.P. Heinrichs (Eds.) (1960-1993). Art. "Madrasah." *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edition. Leiden, 5:1130.

conquered or encountered. In Syria and Iraq, they adapted themselves to the already existing Aramaic civilization which had been influenced by the later Greek civilization in Syria and by the Persian civilization in Iraq. India acted as an early source of inspiration, especially in the wisdom literature and mathematics.

In the early 'Abbasid period, the rational sciences were taught in *Dar al-'ilm* which flourished until about the middle of the eleventh century when they began to cede ground to the *madrasah*. In addition to these institutions, the rational sciences were typically taught in private homes and in other non-institutional locations. In favorable circumstances, the rational sciences continued to be taught and studied openly even in *madrasah*, sometimes even in mosques, and certainly in informal study-circles and libraries. The rational sciences along with the Islamic sciences could always be taught discreetly by professors who had a partiality for both types of learning under a neutral or concealing umbrella rubric like *Hadith*.

Another very important part of education in the Islamic milieu was the humanistic sciences, the *Adab* which contained the study of literature and the linguistics (grammar, and philology). In addition to religious literature, secular literature was also produced since the Umayyad period (661-750 CE). In the field of literature and the arts, the Persian contribution was in a great extent. The earliest literary prose work in Arabic that has come down to us is *Kalila wa-Dimna*, a translation of a wisdom tale from Pahlavi (Middle Persian), which in turn was a translation from the Sanskrit. Poetry had dipped in popularity in the early Islamic period but began to enjoy a resurgence in the eighth century. As a consequence of these intellectual and cultural trends, a specifically Islamic humanism emerged based on the concept of *Adab*; a holistic education contributes to the moral development of the individual.⁶⁵ *Adab* in the broad sense of humanistic studies became an integral part of the curriculum in mosques, *madrasah*, and libraries.⁶⁶ Physicians also commonly learned in *Adab* and the legal sciences just as many jurists had to learn medicine.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Michael G. Carter, 1997, "Humanism in Medieval Islam." in *Humanism, Culture, and Language in the Near East*, eds Asma Afsaruddin & Mathias Zahniser, Winona Lake, Indiana. pp. 27-38.

⁶⁶ Al-Anbari, 1962, *Nuzhat al-alibba' fi tabaqat al-udaba'* (A. Amer, Ed.). Stockholm, p.55; cited in George Makdisi (2013). *The Rise of Colleges*, p.79.

⁶⁷ See, for example, Ibn Abi 'Usaybi'a (1965). *'Uyun al-anba' fi tabaqat al-atibba'*. Beirut, pp. 646-651.

The Ottoman State survived more than 600 years, it consisted of different ethnics. All the ethnic and religion minorities retained their freedom in education and social life. They freely spoke their own language, practiced their own faith, developed their own culture, and had their own educational institutions.⁶⁸ The state did not consider education to be a public service and it never controlled the followers of different religions and creeds regarding education. Therefore all over the empire, educational institutions were different from one another.⁶⁹

The education system in the early period of the Ottoman Empire was the continuation but improved version of the Seljuk education system.⁷⁰ It was based on Islamic principles and traditional teaching methods. Up until the first half of the 19th century, the Ottomans did not see education as a public service. It worked to educate only soldiers, civil servants and administrators, and education was provided mainly by the *waqf* donated by philanthropic citizens. In this procedure, taken from the Seljuks and based on the *madrasah* education system, school buildings were constructed by *waqf* owners, and textbooks, syllabuses and were all designed by the *waqf* owners. The state never meddled in the policies and activities of the *waqf*.⁷¹

In Ottoman Empire the foundation of almost all schools is the *Sibyan* schools (primary schools), whose influence over all the people in Ottoman Empire that we have always seen is worth exploring, and they transformed into even a mysterious institution until the 19th century. The institutions of elementary education and the *Enderun* schools were controlled by the court to educate administrators and civil servants. In addition, the dervish lodge and the mosques were also among the vocational educational institutions.⁷²

In the 19th century the *Tanzimat* reforms were applied in a radical way in the army, education, administrative and legislative systems. And when higher education institutions were founded and the education system was reorganized in a “Western” secular way.⁷³

⁶⁸ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, 1975, *Ottoman History*. Ankara: Publications of the Turkish Historical Institute.

⁶⁹ V. Bilgiç, 2003, “Minorities in the Ottoman State”. In İdris Bal-Mustafa Çufalı (Ed.), *Turkish-Armenian Relations Past and Present*. Ankara: Nobel Publications.

⁷⁰ Taşkın Ünal, 2008, “Ottoman Education Foundations in Classical Terms,” *The Journal of International Social Research*, 1 (3), pp.343-366.

⁷¹ Hidayet Vahapoğlu, 1992, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Azınlık ve Yabancı Okulları (The Minority and foreign schools from Ottoman times to the present day)*. İstanbul: MEB, p. 98.

⁷² Y. Akyüz, 2008, *History of Turkish Education*. Ankara: Pegem Academy Publications.

⁷³ T. Timur, 1998, *Ottoman Heritage: Turkey in the Transition period*. İstanbul: Belge International Publishers.

During the early twentieth century the Young Turks came to power. They hoped to continue the education reforms of the late Ottoman period, but with a new focus.

They were no longer concerned with creating a sense of Ottoman nationalism. Rather, they attempted to create a sense of Turkish nationalism.⁷⁴ This period saw a shift in educational goals: the Ottomanism and Islamism shifted in to Turkism, and finally after World War I, into secular republicanism. The school systems changed during this time, and the methods of education was reformed. The most important event was the introduction of the ideological, political and economic trends of thoughts brought out Abdul Hamid II's acceptance of the Basic Ottoman Law put forward by the Committee of Union and Progress. During this period, new lifestyle based on Western values was developed; while Islamic way of living was not disturbed. As a result, a duality of social institutions emerged in the cities. The central paradox at that time on the one hand, secular educational institutions established according to Western values and formed mainly among the minorities; and on the other, institutions like the *madrasah* implementing programs based on Islamic values.⁷⁵

After the establishment of the Republic, the Law on Unification of Education was implemented. With this law, the hitherto existing duality in the educational institutions was abolished. The national secular education system on European model, especially the French system, was established. By means the Unification of Education, all scientific and educational institutions were brought under the Ministry of National Education; while all kinds of religious educational and training institutions ceased to function, and foreign schools and those of the minorities were put under state control. This was accompanied by a change from Ottomanism to Turkism, thus secular Republicanism became the new ideology taught in schools and religious aspect of education was ignored. In the education programmes, traditional Islamic thought was intentionally replaced by Western philosophy. Moreover, ethnic minority education system also ceased to function.

In Turkey 86 percent of the population is Turks and 14 percent is ethnic groups with different religion.⁷⁶ According to Andrews, there are at least 21 ethnic groups and

⁷⁴ Ekin Enacar, 2009, *Education, Nationalism and Gender in the Young Turk Era (1908-1918)*. VDM Verlag, p.51.

⁷⁵ Y. Akyüz, 2008, *History of Turkish Education*. Ankara: Pegem Academy Publications.

⁷⁶ H. İnalcık, 1951, "A Comparative Examination of Turkey's Economic Position during the Foundation and Growth Period of the Ottoman Empire," *Belleten*, 15 (60), pp. 629-684.

10 religious backgrounds. Educational policy of the secular government does not care about the differences of ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds; Under the Turkism, all the ethnic minorities are forced to assimilate into single ideology. The Ministry of Education supervises and controls all the educational institutions; it has absolute power on decisions affecting the administration of all schools.⁷⁷ In Turkey, education is a uniform for people in all parts of the country, and the transmission and advancement of the dominant Turkish culture is an integral part of this education. The presence of any sub-societies and subcultures of historical existence, values, norms, and ways of life are ignored in the formal school system.

The period of 1923-46 is called the mono-party period. The Republican People's Party founded by Kemal Atatürk governed the country as the sole political power. Educational policies of the mono-party era were based on the conceptualization of education and training, which facilitated the adoption of new social, political and cultural values and supported the establishment of the institutional structure in the formation of the newly created nation-state. The political and cultural socialization function of education was the leading theme. The Ministry of Education issued a statement on 19 December 1923 declaring: "Schools are obliged to indoctrinate loyalty to the Republican principles."⁷⁸ Programs to establish a modern, urban social and cultural lifestyle with a Western approach and course books were written within the framework of this statement in schools. Furthermore, informal educational and socialization attempts were made on behalf of the adult population towards the realization of such political socialization. Education was attributed a critical function in the modernization and Westernization efforts of the nation-building process. This function of education was essential in terms of the development of Turkey's new citizenship identity. In the following years, due to the new historical view affected by pluralist thoughts, ethnical, religious and cultural identities have begun to appear again and the ethnical consciousness have become more widespread.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ I. Sahin & Y. Deniz, 2006, "Cultural Sensitiveness of School Goals and Students' Failure in Turkey," *International Journal of Progressive Education*, Volume 2, Number 2.

⁷⁸ Y. Akyüz, , 2008, *History of Turkish Education*. Ankara: Pegem Academy Publications.

⁷⁹ H. İnalcık, 1951, "A Comparative Examination of Turkey's Economic Position during the Foundation and Growth Period of the Ottoman Empire," *Belleten*, 15 (60), pp. 629-684.

III. Traditional Ethics and Values imbedded in Education

Since 1924 the Kemalist regime identified religion with Turkey's backwardness. Consequently, it promoted the pursuit of science at the expense of religion and the humanities. The secular state kept religion out of the domain of politics and public education. Religion had to remain a private affair, and the educational system had to be secular. The religionists, on the other hand, had no faith in the new secular system of education; rather they kept out of it, and continued to promote religious education; unfourtunately graduates of religious education were marginalized and could not make a significant contribution to civil society.

Up to the 1980s, due to one national education policy hyperpoliticization of all issues in society and divisions between people were prevalent. Extremism and ideological issues were raised around the partisanship between the rightists and leftists, Alevites and Sunnis, ethnic distinction between the Turkish and Kurdish, and differing definitions of secularism between the laicists and the religious. Such issues have dominated society. Tensions and conflicts undermine the security, stability and existence of society. After society had paid dearly, then came the military coup. At the end of the military regime, the social, political and economic landscape of Turkey changed greatly. The government started to recognize previously excluded social and educational issues.

The Turkish Islamic philosopher, Said Nursi realized the problem of conflict and dichotomy between the secular and religious. He sought to remedy it by harmonizing religion with science. There is no reason why a religious Muslim cannot also have a deep interest in science; after all Islam encourages study and reflection on nature. Nursi's *Risale-i Nur* (Treatise of Light), devoted to reconciling science with religion; it opposed the blind positivistic conception of science, but promoted understanding of science for Muslims. He promoted science as study of the laws of nature, study of God's art. Said Nursi understood the power of the newly emerging technology, and had foresight these advances would eventually alter the social and political structure of Muslim societies. Therefore, he was able to bring together elements of science and religion, and in so doing, was able to use science to advance the objectives of Islam. Gülen was inspired by the *Risale-i Nur*, thus he also promoted the harmony between science and religion. He sees

scientific education and Islamic education as compatible and complementary. Although he was educated in traditional institution, he has urged sympathizers open modern school rather than traditional madrasah and mosques. For him, just like Nursi, ideal education should combine modern science with Islamic knowledge.⁸⁰

But different from Nursi, Gülen promotes this harmony through schools all over the world. This does not imply the Islamization of knowledge.⁸¹ There was no attempt to infuse Islamic elements into the secular curriculum. All he wants is for committed Muslim teachers to excel in the sciences. Through education they could raise a generation both deeply rooted in Islam and able to participate in the modern scientific world. High quality education will prepare pious Muslims for careers previously reserved for the Kemalist regime. This brings Gülen into trouble with the secular government. How could a religious man harmonize science with religion? This was an affront to the secular Turkish state that had tried to undermine the role of religion in public affairs for almost a century.

Gülen has always emphasized education's importance, especially the education of the younger generation. Gülen and the political leader, Turgut Özal, have demonstrated the importance of emerging political and economic dynamism in Turkey. Özal was a state bureaucrat who always held aspirations to change Turkey's economic and political environment into one that was more conservative religiously but still operating within the neoliberal economy. Özal believed that a neoliberal democracy would create a democratic environment, and this would help religiously conservative movements to integrate within society. Özal attempted to minimize the role of government in the Turkish economy to give this economic space created by neoliberalism and privatization to the small business owners that were migrating from small towns and cities in Anatolia. This marked the creation of the small business network for people with a more conservative and Islamic background. The new economic conditions in the cities attracted more migrants from Anatolia, and led to a significant demographic shift, mass migration

⁸⁰ Ahmet Kuru, 2003, "Fethullah Gülen's Search for Middle Way between Modernity and Muslim Tradition." In M.H. Yavuz & J.L. Esposito (Eds.), *Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Gülen Movement* (Contemporary Issues in the Middle East Series), . Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, pp. 115-130,.

⁸¹ Since the 1980s the "Islamization of Knowledge" became popular, first among the Muslims of America, and then the rest of the Muslim world, where Islamic schools and universities mushroomed with the aim of Islamizing knowledge, including science. Gülen, in my view, was not preoccupied with Islamization; his focus was on natural science (not the social sciences), and it was important to pursue science, provided it could be combined with faith and ethics.

of people from rural locations to the urban centers. These demographic changes and the conditions of market liberalization have produced an environment that promotes traditional standards, norms, and values within the Turkish society.⁸²

Throughout this period, Gülen, as civil society leader, during his speeches, lectures and series of sermons acted to keep people away from societal tensions and conflicts. He analyzed the prevalent conditions and the ideologies behind the societal violence, terror and clashes. He maintained that violence; terrorism, death, ignorance, moral decay, and corruption could be avoided by conversation, interaction, compassion, education and collaboration. Gülen reminded the masses that they ought not to expect everything from the government. He urged individuals and the public to use their constitutionally given rights to contribute to and serve society positively, constructively and altruistically.

Today, the major problem in the world according to Gülen, is that most of do not have the right knowledge; people are not able to acquire, produce or control the due knowledge. Producing, maintaining and disseminating knowledge can only be achieved through quality education, not by politics or force. Education, for Gülen, is the answer to how individual can contribute to the society. No individual or society, he maintains, can reach its fullest potential without education, it means that people become the true beings of what God has created; thus to be educated is life's most important task. He says: "The main duty and purpose of human life is to seek understanding. The effort of doing so, known as education, is a perfecting process through which we earn, in the spiritual, intellectual, and physical dimensions of our beings, the rank appointed for us as the perfect pattern of creation."⁸³

Gülen sees science, humanities and religion as three main elements in completion of human education.⁸⁴ He advocates the inculcation of ethical values along with a sound training in the secular sciences. He regards education as requisite for social, economic and political modernization, and advocates that individuals will respect democratic law

⁸² Ali Carkoglu & Ersin Kalaycioglu, 2009, *The Rising Tide of Conservatism in Turkey*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan press.

⁸³ Fethullah Gülen, 2010, *Toward a Global Civilization of Love and Tolerance*. Izmir: Tughra Books, p.202.

⁸⁴ Aslandogan Yuksel Alp, & Muhammed Cetin, 2006, "The Educational Philosophy of Gülen in Thought and Practice." in *Muslim Citizens of the Globalized World*, edited by Robert A. Hunt and Yuksel A. Aslandogan Somerset, NJ: Light. pp. 29-50.

and human rights only if they receive sound education. Social justice and peace, he argues, are achieved by enlightened intellectuals with moral values and a sense of altruism. Gülen and his followers hope to educate a generation trained with modern knowledge and Islamic morals. This philosophy is the basis of the educational system in all Gülen inspired schools at primary, secondary and university level.

Gülen argues that although Western civilization has dominated the world for the last few centuries, and has the lead in science and technology, the worldview of the modern West is materialistic and lacks of focusing on other dimensions of the human being, especially the spiritual.⁸⁵ In particular, since the Enlightenment religion has been separated from the goals of science, and was considered outdated becoming threat to scientific enquiry. Gülen insists that religion and science could go hand in hand, and religion can and should play a role in ethical, intellectual and societal realms. In Gülen's view, science and faith are not only compatible but also complementary. He sees a faith based worldview would provide a comprehensive and sound concept that can support and give meaning to secular learning. In his opinions, the best knowledge enables students to connect happenings in the outer world to their inner experiences.⁸⁶ He also rejects blind faith, and criticizes those who fail to use their reason and to explore and analyze the observable universe. Therefore, he sees the necessity of reconciling faith and reason rather than disparaging either of them.

Like his predecessor Nursi, Gülen tries to prove the compatibility of science and Islam in the context of modernity. He agrees with Nursi that there are two books of God including the Qur'an and the book of universe. Science, studied to understand the laws of nature, is a way to understand the existence of God. Therefore, study of science is fixed into religion and to be appreciated rather than rejected. He foresees to bring up a generation in the education of both science and religion together, and to revive "Turkish-Islamic" traditions. Education is seen as a perfect tool for constructing new identities, and for having knowledge of Islam and modern sciences, and Turkish-Islamic culture. In this attempt, there is a desire for Turkish Muslim community to attain an important place among the powerful states of the world.

⁸⁵ Jill Carroll, 2007, *A Dialogue of Civilizations: Gülen's Islamic Ideals and Humanistic Discourse*. İzmir: Tughra press, p.20

⁸⁶ Fethullah Gülen, 2010, *Toward a Global Civilization of Love and Tolerance*. İzmir: Tughra press, p.202.

Islam places importance on science as a way of understanding the existence of God. The removal of science and philosophy from madrasah program would lead to the regression of scientific researches in the Islamic world,⁸⁷ and it closes the way to read the book of universe in education system and disregarded the emphasis given to science in Islam. However, for Gülen, modern school system following the positivistic education of understanding the sacred also developed in the same manner. To combine two readings of the Qur'an and the universe, Gülen envisages the combination of modern school and madrasah systems. Gülen aims to restore the nation by "remembering" its Islamic and Ottoman past. He argues that Turkish Muslims are exposed to spirit, meaning, identity, personality and civilization crises in the result of Westernization. These crises have caused breaks in Muslim consciousness, perceptions and transfer of tradition. They diverged from their spirits, meanings and historical roots.⁸⁸ For Gülen, this is the obstacle of revival in Islamic world in general, and Turkey in particular.

Gülen calls the new generation of new and old education "golden generation". According to Agai, the main characteristics of this golden generation are faith, love, idealism and selflessness. Faith shows the believer his purpose, and teaches him responsibility for his deeds. Gülen argues that faith leads to the application of science in the beneficial way to mankind, since faith teaches man what is good and bad. Love resulting from faith leads to loving and embracing everything that is created. Idealism and selflessness are traits for transforming moral values together with scientific knowledge into action.⁸⁹ In Gülen's opinion, the golden generation is the altruistic teachers of the future, who have scientific knowledge, faith and Turkish-Islamic tradition. They are portrayed as the people who will bring back the Ottoman glory.

The essential philosophy of the Gülen schools is to educate a generation with balanced mind and heart. The holistic approach is based on teaching science, values and morals from a variety of aspects. The students are not only valued from the grades, but also from their behavior. The teachers have close relationship with each student, and they

⁸⁷ Yavuz M. Hakan & John L. Esposito, 2003, *Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Gülen Movement*. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press.

⁸⁸ M. Enes Ergene, 2005, *Gülen Hareketinin Analizi Geleneğin Modern Çağa Tanıklığı*. İstanbul: Akademi Yayınları pp, 72.

⁸⁹ Bekim Agai, 2004, *Between Network and Discourse: The educational network surrounding Fethullah Gülen: The flexible application of modern Islamic thought*, Vol.2. (S. Conermann, Series Ed.). Hamburg: EB-Verlag., p. 36.

follow up on the students not only on an academic level, but also from other considerations. The teachers are involved with the students' growing up through their close contact with the parents and the students; it is not only the teacher's job to make students good in knowledge, but also make them sincere persons. To become a fully educated student the students have to be filled with modern knowledge as well as universal values.

Gülen's opinion on education is that, school as a holy place where holy activities take part. Teacher training is essential, not only in methodology, but also in nurturing the whole person. Teachers should lead by examples; otherwise they cannot hope to reform others. Gülen states: "in order to bring others to the path of traveling to a better world, they must purify their inner worlds of hatred, rancor, and jealousy, and adorn their outer world with all kinds of virtues".⁹⁰ Thus, teachers have to combine the study of science with personal character development, and success must be measured by scientific and moral progress. Material advancement without morality will destroy humanity. Not all teachers are educators in Gülen's perspective as he asserts: "Education is different from teaching. Most people can teach, but only a very few can educate." Teaching, in other words, is merely the conveying of knowledge; whilst education involves giving knowledge but also imparting self-sacrificing love and moral guidance: "True teachers sow the pure seed and preserve it. They occupy themselves with what is good and wholesome, and lead and guide the children through life and whatever events they may encounter."⁹¹ Thus, teaching is a spiritual activity which enables students to embrace change, and to be transformed is a teacher's "foremost duty" in Gülen opinion. Teachers are responsible for providing knowledge with the wisdom to use it and for providing moral guidance by embodying spirituality and love.

To Gülen education is the key tool in the development of society, and is an all-encompassing lifelong process. As an educationalist, Gülen does not confine his understanding of education to one particular facet of life. He argues that we live in a "global village", and that "education is the best way to serve humanity and to establish a

⁹⁰ Michel Thomas, 2003, "Fethullah Gülen as Educator." In M. Hakan Yavuz & John L. Esposito (Eds.), *Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Gülen Movement*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, pp.69-84.

⁹¹ Fethullah Gülen, 2002, *Essays, Perspectives, Opinions*. Rutherford, N.J., p.78.

dialogue with other civilizations”.⁹² Education can be characterized as humane service and is the solution to the three main problems troubling our societies: ignorance, poverty and division. As ignorance is the most serious problem, it could be remedied by education. Poverty is removed by working and by having enough capital. Conflicts and separatism are eliminated through unity, dialogue and tolerance.⁹³

The Gülen’s inspired school education style aims to respond the question of how to generate an ethical human with common values. As argued by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, the role of education is not only to transmit the knowledge, but it attends to achievement of human character. Islamic education is concerned not only with the instruction and training of the mind and the transmission of knowledge (*ta’lim*) but also with the education of the whole being of men and women manners (*tarbiyah*). The teacher is therefore not only a *teacher*, a “transmitter of knowledge”, but also a *murabbi*, a “trainer of souls and personalities”. The Islamic educational system never divorced the training of the mind from that of the soul.⁹⁴ The methodology of teachers to transmit the good manners is interesting: “*Being a good example through one’s deeds*”⁹⁵ is a method of pedagogy and communication that can be seen in Gülen’s inspired schools. It is also the character of Gülen’s schools that the material and spiritual realms are reconciled for bringing out the ideal human character.⁹⁶ Teachers are inspired to give and impart wisdom as well as some qualities such as devotion, simplicity, trust, loyalty, fidelity to his friends, humility, modesty, and contentedness.

Gülen’s philosophy of education is based on four major values.⁹⁷ The first is appreciation of education, teaching and learning. Gülen presents education as the main duty in human life and the only lasting solution society’s problems. Teachers who embody ethical values act as role model for their students and are the primary agents of the movement’s educational activism. The second value is altruism in education or the

⁹² Fethullah Gülen, 2004, *Toward a Global Civilization of Love and Tolerance*. Somerset, N.J.: Light, p.198.

⁹³ Y. Alp Aslandoğan, 2007, “Interfaith Dialog and Tolerance in the Contemporary World: Fethullah Gülen”,. Paper presented to the *Southwest Commission on Religion Studies*, Dallas, TX.

⁹⁴ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, 2001, *Ideals and Realities of Islam*, New York: ABC International Group, p.56.

⁹⁵ Elizabeth Özdalga, 2003, *Following in the Footsteps of Fethullah Gülen: Three women teachers tell their stories*. In H. Yavuz & J. Esposito, *Turkish Islam and the Secular State: the Gülen Movement*. NY: Syracuse University, p. 86.

⁹⁶ Fethullah Gülen, 2002, “At the Threshold of a New Millennium Essays, Perspectives, and Opinions,” *The Fountain*, p. 30.

⁹⁷ Y. A. Aslandoğan, & M. Çetin, 2006, “The Educational Philosophy of Gülen in Thought and Practice.” In R. A. Hunt & , Y. A. Aslandoğan, 2006, *Muslim Citizens of the Globalized World: Contributions of the Gülen Movement..* Somerset, NJ: The Light & IID Press, pp.31-54.

establishment of altruistic social activism. This value primarily includes the use of experienced and altruistic teachers whose motivation is beyond financial interests. In this respect, Gülen makes a distinction between education and teaching. “Most human beings can be teachers”, he states, “but the number of educators is severely limited”. The educator assists in the formation of the student’s character and personalities, and enables them to develop qualities like self-discipline, tolerance and altruism.

The third is Gülen’s organizational view which comprises tripartite relationship of the educator, the parents, and the sponsor for the altruistic service. By finding sponsors and receiving support from the society through families and parents of students, the movement attempts to minimize the impact of politicians on schools. The last value of significant purpose of education in Gülen schools is to assure that “individual abilities are improved and attributes are transformed into positive behavior”. In this case the aim should be to develop the individual personality, a sense of responsibility, tolerance, dialogue and ethical values, which will be the core of human life. Acquiring knowledge without these life principles is useless. The characteristic of the schools inspired by Gülen is that the material and spiritual realms are reconciled for upbringing the ideal human character.

In Gülen’s opinion, education begins at home, and the school is merely an extension of the home. Teachers do not only provide information, but also nurture the personality in both intellectual and emotional aspects. Parents and teachers should set the example. The Gülen schools have a reputation for good results, but this is not the only reason why parents send their children to these schools. Students are also impressed by its moral ethos. Though the Gülen schools are operated with modern education system, they are criticized of their conservative and authoritarian nature such as gender segregation, centrality of obedience in teaching, strict disciplinary manner, intense moralism, and the high level of nationalist idealism.⁹⁸

Regarding gender equality, one may claim that there is a gap between what Gülen teaches and how his followers practice. Yavuz explains that Gülen is more practical and progressive than his conservative co-religionists in the attempt to bring them up to

⁹⁸ M. H. Yavuz, & J. L. Esposito (Eds.), 2003, *Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Gülen Movement*, New York: Syracuse University Press.

advanced modern society. During the 1980s, instead of sending to ordinary high schools, the majority of the movement's participants preferred to send their daughters to the Qur'anic courses or the female Imam Hatip schools. It is said that Gülen received passive resistance from his followers when he urged them to establish schools to educate the new generation. For years, he consistently encouraged his followers to educate their children regardless of gender. According to Yavuz, Gülen plays a reforming role in the modern world by reimagining religion in terms of its main precepts while overlooking the details. Gülen states that he would prefer education if he had to choose between education and the headscarf for women, and he argues: "What is in the interest of the state and nation: education or illiteracy? Each person should decide in her conscience on the issue of the headscarf. As far as I am concerned, she should prefer education". Evidently, to him, the headscarf is *furuat* (a secondary method of jurisprudence). He has been criticized for this interpretation by fundamentalist groups.⁹⁹

The mobility of females in the movement is another discussion point. As some argue, female participants have very limited mobility within its core institutions in the field of education and media. Surprisingly, little is known of the factors explaining the participation of women at the lower strata of the movement. Based on my observation, women's factual position in the society and attitudes of the conservative participants can form an obstacle for the female participants to move up to a position of upper levels. There are only a few females in managerial position of the movement's media outlets or its schools. The importance Gülen attributes to such a kind of education is intimately connected to the final scope of the movement, which is to reform society. Indeed according to him, education will shape a new generation (the golden generation) who should be able to use scientific knowledge according to Islamic ethics and to lead society on the right path.

⁹⁹ In relation to debates around the *niqab* in Turkish society, where the issue of female head covering in the public sphere is extremely divisive, Gülen stated that he regards this as a matter that is not an "essential" but a "detail" of Islam, which differs in form in relation to its appropriate implementation according to the cultural context in which it is found. In Gülen's own words: "If a person takes her headscarf off, she does not become an unbeliever."

IV. Education for the Global Peace

Nowadays the majority of the world population is suffering the impact of global conflicts and wars. Educational activities have contributed to resolution of the conflict in order to attain peace. Adherents of all religions are making efforts for the dominion of peace. In Islamic world the efforts of Gülen movement have important effects in this matter can be seen. Gülen made all efforts to extinguish the fire of conflict amidst this chaos, and made great impact on building peace. Gülen's efforts on the educational reform may not stop the conflicts immediately; rather it will equip young people with values that prevented them from engaging in such conflicts.

Contemporary scholars of peace-building have elaborated on certain elements that are essential for making peace in any part of the world. Two of them are *education* and *knowledge*. Gülen's greatest efforts and contributions are related to these two fields. Said Nursi ever stated that "there are three major enemies of Muslims: *ignorance*, *poverty*, and *internal division*."¹⁰⁰ If one looks at modern world, one may easily understand the importance of education, particularly for Muslims. Gülen considers lack of education to be a disease requiring a cure. Education, according to Gülen, will result in peace. Today in Turkey, Central Asia and many other parts of the world, the educational institutions that were established by admirers of Gülen have continued to contribute greatly to the education of people of different religions and ethnicities.

Recent research suggests that civil society is more effective in providing peace than state actors, because civilian groups are less visible, less expensive and more flexible.¹⁰¹ Van Tongeren states that civil society groups are successful due to being less constrained by narrow mandates, and being able to talk to several parties without losing credibility. Thus they can deal directly with the grassroots population better than States actors.¹⁰² Turkish government has been in struggle with the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). As a result, more than 40 thousand people died, and millions left their homes.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Said Nursi, 1976, *Hutbe-i Samiye*, in *Risalei Nur*, II. Istanbul: Sozler Nesriyat. pp. 16.

¹⁰¹ M. Ross & J. Rothman, 1999, *Theory and Practice in Ethnic Conflict Management: Theorizing Success and Failure*. New York: St. Martin's.

¹⁰² P. Van Tongeren, 1998, *Exploring the Local Capacity for Peace: The Role of NGOs. Prevention and Management of Violent Conflicts: An International Directory*. Utrecht: pp.45

¹⁰³ Martha Ann Kirk, 2008, "Seeds of Peace: Solidarity, Aid, and Education Shared by the Gülen Movement in Southeastern Turkey." in *Islam in the Age of Global Changes*. Washington, DC: Rumi Forum, pp. 407-434

The Hizmet movement has been involving the resolution of Kurdish issue by setting up schools in Kurdish region. The Hizmet activities in the Kurdish region can be categorized into three: university preparation centers, schools, and tutoring centers. Educational have been established in remote poor areas, where no education provided for the people beyond age of fifteen. Now, hundreds of students from those poor villages have entered university studying medicine, engineering, genetics, and business.¹⁰⁴ As offered with opportunity to better education, young Kurdish people have become less involved in PKK's political activities.

Recent reports both police and organization show that in the regions where the Hizmet movement operates schools, crime rates and the PKK activities had dropped dramatically. Students who attend these educational institutions tend to avoid violent actions and protests.¹⁰⁵ The Hizmet educational activities also increase cultural exchanges and integration between the ethnic Kurdish and the Turkish people. Kurdish issue's expert Dogu Ergil, states that PKK leader Öcalan's call for engagement "stems from the worry that the movement is a serious political rival and can work on the PKK's grass roots to cut off a large number of youths from the organization. Additionally, Öcalan has come to realize that the movement has gained enough support and popularity both in southeastern Turkey and the Kurdish part of Iraq. This popularity is based on providing Schooling and training courses to enter universities."¹⁰⁶ Gülen states that the power of the government might have blinded its reasoning to use force for suppressing the conflicts. This might solve the problem for a short time, in the long term it would create more serious problems. On the other hand, Gülen does not expect a resolution only from the government; rather he works for education, interaction between people, and dealing with the poverty. All these are right approaches to solve the Kurdish problems.

Hizmet movement has been acknowledged and supported by some Kurdish businessmen, because they believe Hizmet schools would help with the region's low socio-economic status as well as reduce PKK terrorism. At least the Atak high school in Mardin brings together students of Arab, Kurdish, and Assyrian backgrounds, who usually do not mingle. This suggests that Hizmet schools provide opportunities

¹⁰⁴ İ. Avcı, 2009, "Güney Doğu'ya Cumhuriyet tarihinin 5 katı yatırım," *Zaman*, October 22.

¹⁰⁵ Muhammad Cetin, 2008, "An Example to Curb Terror and Violence," *Today's Zaman*, July 31.

¹⁰⁶ Ergil Dogu, 2010, "PKK-Gülen," *Today's Zaman*, December 15.

for multiculturalism. Mehmet Kalyoncu observes that in 2007 the school's students "achieved a 95% success rate in university entrance and placement tests."¹⁰⁷ The movement founded a Kurdish TV channel, the Dunya TV which highlights spirituality, Kurdish culture and music, and even provides Kurdish language-instruction program. Koç argues that due to the increase in the number of educational institutions in the region, crime rates have dropped, and cultural exchange and integration has increased. Hizmet affiliated foundations also grant scholarships for students from low-income families in the Kurdish region to attend high-ranking high schools in western Turkey.¹⁰⁸ The militant numbers of PKK decline when the number of students attending to the Hizmet institutions increase. This may be caused by the fact that the Hizmet movement promotes peaceful coexistence and discourages criminal activities in general. Students who are involved with the Hizmet movement are less likely to affiliate within PKK. The movement provides education with extensive activities, and draws students' attention to education; therefore, they are less likely to involve in any kind of criminal activities.

Gülen's main ideology of education is to create "*The Golden Generation*" through educational reform, and he hopes that lasting peace can be achieved through the work of a generation which is peaceful, and is made up of individuals who are living examples of peace. They will build bridges of dialogue and mutual understanding to make peace. The aim of *the Golden Generation* is construct perfect society, and also requires young people to show a great respect for religious and national values. To Gülen, the Golden Generation has certain qualities: knowledge, faith, love, idealism, altruism, and action.¹⁰⁹ The ideal Golden Generation will always think of positive steps to build peace.

In fact, his Golden Generation has already contributed through educational endeavors to peace building in many areas of conflict, including the Balkans, northern Iraq, Northern Ireland, and the Philippines. Thomas Michel states: "The school established where armed conflict was constant between Moro separatists and the State, *Philippine-Turkish School of Tolerance* offers Muslims Christian Filipino children an

¹⁰⁷ Mehmet Kalyoncu, 2008, *A Civilian Response to Ethno-Religious Conflict: The Gülen Movement in Southeast Turkey*. Somerset, NJ: Light, p.45.

¹⁰⁸ Dogan Koc, 2013, "Hizmet Movement's Effects on PKK Recruitment and Attacks,". *Turkish Journal of Politics*, Vol.4, No.1.

¹⁰⁹ Bekim Agai, 2004, *Between Network and Discourse: The educational network surrounding Fethullah Gülen: The flexible application of modern Islamic thought*, Vol.2. (S. Conermann, Series Ed.). Hamburg: EB-Verlag, pp36.

excellent education and more positive way of living relating to each other”. Michel finds students in this school are from all backgrounds, and describes it as a “heaven of peace” of the area of conflict.¹¹⁰ Another example is Skopje in Macedonia, a school established by supporters of the Hizmet. When civil war broke out in the region, members of different ethnicities were sending their children to this school. Their parents were fighting, but the children were living peacefully under the roof of the same school.

Gülen strongly advocates selflessness and living for others as the most essential qualities of the peace builder. He calls them *adanmış ruhlar* (sacrificed souls). By living for others, he thinks an individual should always prefer the advantages of others over his/her own. Gülen argues that peace would not be possible, without a generation with such qualities. This is why he constantly asserts the need for faithful and selfless individuals to dedicate themselves to the establishment of peace. Educational institutions should serve to bring up such individuals from the realm of imagination to the realm of realization. Gülen’s educational efforts work towards this realization. He believes that the efforts of building peace in the world and attempting to create a harmonious society will bear fruit. He states, despite intercontinental obstacles, through the teaching of the *Qur’an* a permanent love, respect, and dialogue will be achieved. Even now, through migration of his followers, his ideas have flowed around the world, and in every corner they are creating *islands of peace* for stability and harmony.¹¹¹ Gülen is so insistent on education, not only does it train individuals but also is the most vital factor for positive social change. In addition, he sees education as the most effective tongue for relations with others.¹¹²

Another important activity is initiated by Gülen in the cause of global peace is his emphasis on the notion of tolerance, dialogue and intercultural and interfaith relations. Dialogue activities are an extension of Gülen’s global educational struggle; they also serve the education of humanity. Although he has been severely criticized by some people, he bravely argues that dialogue is primarily concerned with religion and is thus a

¹¹⁰ Michel Thomas, 2003, “Fethullah Gülen as Educator.” In M. Hakan Yavuz & John L. Esposito (Eds.), *Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Gülen Movement*. Syra Cruz: Syra Cruz University Press. pp. 69-84.

¹¹¹ Fethullah Gülen, 2006, “A movement whose samples are from within itself,” *Çag ve Nesil Serisi*, N. 8, p. 111.

¹¹² Fethullah Gülen, 2010, *Toward a Global Civilization of Love and Tolerance*. Tughra Press, p.202.

religious duty.¹¹³ Thus for Gülen, one of the prime functions of education is to foster intercultural understanding. Failure to take into account the diverse nature of society in education resulted from the homogeneous and mono-cultural dominance in many host cultures. Denial or disregard of the diversity which already exists in society leads to misrepresentation of the others. This partisanship is the root of every turmoil and social conflict. One of the most important factors here is to eliminate causes that separate people, such as discrimination based on color, race, belief and ethnicity. Education, Gülen says, can uproot these evils.¹¹⁴ The Gülen movement works very hard to promote tolerance both inside and outside Turkey. For Gülen, dialogue and tolerance mean accepting every person, irrespective of their status and learning to live together. In this regard, education is considered as an island of unity. Tolerance and dialogue need to be taught in school. Teaching differences and giving the accurate picture of the unfamiliar others give opportunities to move on. Gülen thinks that this is a key for the improvement of relationships among the world's nations. Education is the way to transmit these universal values. Education of tolerance also contributes to the solidarity of nations and their willingness to live together.

Gülen proposes education as an effective method to realize global peace and progress to curb extremism. He stresses that “education is vital for both societies and individuals”¹¹⁵ to satisfy the needs of people and societies and in turn to solve the problems of humanity, such as terror, anarchy and conflict caused by ignorance, poverty and disunity. Gülen has the conviction that these problems can only be overcome with knowledge (through education), work-capital (through labor) and unification (through dialogue). The process of education for harvesting peace is a lifelong process. It is claimed that the Gülen movement has been distinguished by its special attention to establishing schools in areas where ethnic and religious conflicts are escalating. Zeki Saritoprak and Barton argue that these schools play a remarkable role in decreasing levels of conflict in these areas through educating the new generations.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Ergene Enes, 2005, *Geleneğin Modern Çağa Tanıklığı*. İstanbul: Yeni Akademi, p.47.

¹¹⁴ Ali Ünal, & Alphonse Williams, 2000, *Advocate of Dialogue: Fethullah Gülen*. Fairfax, VA: The Fountain, p.330.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Zeki Saritoprak, 2005, “Islam in Contemporary Turkey: The Contribution of Fethullah Gülen,” *The Muslim World*, Special Issue, 96 (1), pp. 325-471.

In the movement schools, education of tolerance is being practiced vividly, and it is fair to say that diversity is part of their existent schooling system. In many countries students from different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds study in the same peaceful atmosphere of these schools. For example, in Bosnia, Croatian and Serbian students study peacefully alongside Bosnian students, in spite of the brutal war. In South Africa, in the city of Johannesburg, the pupils are mainly Christian Africans; in Durban they are chiefly Hindu Indian; in Cape Town, the school population comprises a mix of Christians and Muslims. As secular schools, with pupils from diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds, the focus is on promoting ethical values. The moral ethos represented by the teachers is a distinctive feature of the schools. This is clear indication that the Gülen movement's schools have succeeded in establishing a non-sectarian atmosphere in their educational system. Gülen is optimistic for the future of these activities and their contribution to global peace.

Hizmet schools in the Kurdistan region of Iraq have played the role of building trust between different ethnic groups. As non-governmental organization, they prepared and set up the preconditions for understanding each other's needs, and in so doing they are able to make confidence among antagonistic parties. Unlike the standard of the Kurdish schools, in Hizmet schools students have to study four languages, Turkish, Arabic, Kurdish and English in the first year, thus it improves the opportunities for effective dialogue. This policy clearly demonstrates how Gülen's inclusiveness and how his movement works within fragmented societies by valuing each group and by constructing the desired societal model in their schools. Schools are the best places to transform individuals into members of a more tolerant and peaceful society. There is no doubt that Gülen schools fill an extremely important gap in terms of creating the space of multi-culture. By including all regional languages in their curriculum, they not only value the significance of each language in communication, but also provide a channel for solution on the creation of a cohesive and cooperative community.

V. Conclusion

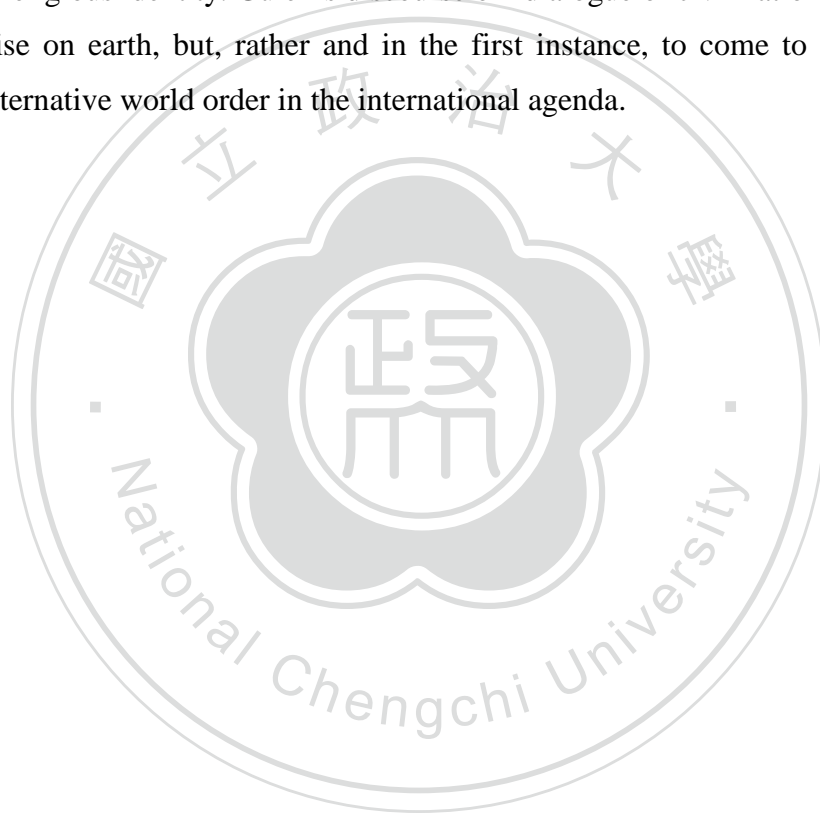
Islamic Education seeks to achieve the distinct role of the human being, which is to reform and construct human life. This Islamic concept of life is based on the

fundamental concepts as individual, society and education in the world all work to find a balanced relationship and equal position among the parties. This relationship is based on the Qur'anic ethics which is the sources of Islamic education; therefore the task of education is to link every human activity or behavior with ideal moral value. Islamic education is interested in all activities of the individual at the physical, mental, psychological, and spiritual level, and tries to find a balance among these forces. For example education on independent thinking and creativity takes a great interest in Islamic culture. Islamic philosophy of education aspires to shape the human being by matching the three dimensions of sense, mind and religious faith, in the belief that harmony among those dimensions may attain the human values in reality. This kind of education believes that human life progress is a duty of every Muslim; progress achievement is done by activism of the three dimensions.

Based on Islamic teachings, Gülen has successfully motivated and mobilized many young people across the globe to establish schools that put into practice his discourse on individual character development and universal values. Gülen's idea is helpful in disproving the thesis of clash of civilization, and provides healing of this paradigm in two ways. First, to live in peace as a result of dialogue and education is vital in today's world, where globalization, mass communication, and technology have pushed individuals and groups together in ways never seen before in the human history. In global connection, people must develop the capacity to dialogue and create coexistence of different peoples. Developing strategies and capacities for peaceful coexistence amidst radical difference and shrinking natural resources is the central challenge of our era. Second, Gülen pursues an inclusive middle way between fundamental futures of modernity and the Muslim traditions.

Regardless of the differences of race, faith and color, Gülen schools and organizations aim to serve as a bridge between the peoples of different countries for the world peace. Gülen's vision of devotion and tolerance is tied with the Islamic understanding of education as a necessary component of religious commitment. As have being seeing in Gülen's works, the goals of inter-religious dialogue are two-sided with respect to promoting education and removing ignorance.

The aforementioned shows that as a pluralist, a dialogue activist and peace maker, Gülen's ideology of education has been creating harmony and world peace in the twenty-first century. He sees dialogue as a framework for mutual acceptance and respect for each other's identity. At the same time, it would be an important stepping stone to a new world order of peace and justice for all human beings. Gülen's conviction is that respecting differences is necessary to avoid mutual destruction, which means avoiding the earth turning into living hell. Real dialogue and the four dimensions of peace are possible only when accompanied by moral values and mutual knowledge and acceptance of cultural and religious identity. Gülen's discourse of "dialogue of civilizations" is not to create a paradise on earth, but, rather and in the first instance, to come to a common vision for an alternative world order in the international agenda.



Chapter 4: The Hizmet Movement in Kazakhstan

I. Introduction

Islam has been existing in Kazakhstan for a very long period, and educational institution in the region has also a long history of development. In the chapter, first the history of Islam and Islamic education during the Soviet and post-soviet in Kazakhstan shall be discussed to highlight the impact of Soviet Union's policies on local Islamic education. In addition, the remarkable boom of Islam and Islamic education in the post-Soviet period, especially after 1991, will be paid more attention. Dynamics of Islamic education under rapidly changing and oftentimes extremely harsh political conditions will also be discussed. Then, it shall discuss the Hizmet movement's expansion beyond the borders of the Turkish state, demonstrating how the movement has continued to develop both philosophically and compositionally as it has traveled into other nation-states and emerged on the global scene. It brings the movement into its post-nineties phase of "transnationalism," which is a concept that will be explored in detail, and should be set up for an examination of the movement's identity as it is expressed in local contexts, while maintaining a newly global presence. Besides, the Turkish influence and specifically the ideals of Gülen and his movement on the formation of identity and values in Kazakhstan are analyzed.

II. Islam in Kazakhstan



Figure.4.1. Map of Kazakhstan

Islam entered Central Asia in the mid-seventh century by the Arab conquests; it then became the dominant religion in the region by the eighth century.¹¹⁷ Before the rise of the Soviet Union in the twentieth century, Islam continued to be the major force of shaping Central Asian culture and religious identity. By 875, Islam became the official religion of the Samanids, its capital was Bukhara. The roots of Islamic faith were strengthened during the Karakhanid and Seljuk Empires.

The institutionalization of Islam was gradually and unevenly spread across the region. Compared with other Central Asian tribes, the Kazakhs embraced Islam much later. Islam was more deeply rooted in the non-nomadic Tajik and Uzbek populations than the nomadic Kyrgyz, Turkmen, and Kazakh tribes.¹¹⁸ The Kazakh tribes maintained their nomadic way of life much longer than any other ethnic groups in the region. Indeed, some of the most important figures in Islamic civilization came from this region. Two of the six Sunni Hadith cannon compilers, Abu Ismail al-Bukhari (810-70) and Abu Isa Muhammad al-Tirmudhi (825-92), were from Central Asia. The great scientist Abu Nasr al-Muhammad al-Farabi (950), known as “the Second Teacher” (after Aristotel), and the rationalist philosopher Abu Ali ibn Sina (980-1037, known as Avicenna in the West) were from this region.

Though the development of Sunni Islam in Central Asia, the majority are Sunnis following the Hanafi madhhab¹¹⁹ which is known because of its respect for individual freedoms, only to be challenged by Wahhabism¹²⁰ starting in the 1970s. The Shi’ites in Pamir, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan are minorities. Sufism also spread among Uzbeks and Tajiks, mainly through the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood.¹²¹ By the thirteen century Sufism also had become a dominant part of religious and cultural life of Central Asian Muslims. In Central Asia three Sufi orders, Yasaviya, Kubreviyye and Naksibendiyye,

¹¹⁷ David Christian, 1998, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers; Richard Foltz, 1996, *Religions of the Silk Road*. New York: St. Martin’s Griffin; Mehrdad Haghayeghi, 1996, *Islam and Politics in Central Asia*, New York: St. Martin’s Press; Svat Soucek, 2000, *A History of Inner Asia*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

¹¹⁸ Ahmed Rashid, 2001, “The New Struggle in Central Asia: A Primer for the Baffled” *World Policy Journal*, 17, no.4, p. 33.

¹¹⁹ Within the Sunni Muslim tradition, Hanafi is one of four “schools of law” and considered the oldest and most liberal school of law.

¹²⁰ Wahhabism in the strict sense practice puritan religious doctrine preached in Saudi Arabia.

¹²¹ Sufism gained wide acceptance in Ma Wara’ al-Nahr. Sufi brotherhoods of Central Asia–Naqshbandiya, Yasaviya, Qadiriyya, Qubraviyya--exerted the strongest impact on the cultural and socio-political life in the region, in which a new stratum of the religious class was formed, the influential leaders and preceptors of Sufi brotherhoods: pirs, ishans, and shaykhs”. See Vitaly V. Naumkin, 2005, *Radical Islam in Central Asia: between Pen and Riffle*, p.9.

were very powerful. Overall Muslims in Central Asia are the quietest¹²² as the liberal Hanafi School is observed.

Under the Soviet rule, Islam was driven underground; mosques were closed and destroyed; however Soviet totalitarianism could not destroy Islam entirely.¹²³ The repression of Islam under Stalin was very severe from 1927 onwards. During the Soviet rule, Central Asia was on the edge of the Islamic world, it was cut off from the major centers of Islamic civilization. At the time of independence, most Muslims in the region possessed a rudimentary knowledge of Islamic teachings.¹²⁴

Since its introduction in Kazakhstan, Islam has played a very important role in the formation of Kazakh ethnic culture, national consciousness, self-identification and spiritual identity. The majority of Kazakh Muslims belong to the Turkic peoples. Islam is the most widely-spread religion among the Kazakh population. The majority of Muslims in Kazakhstan are the Kazakhs, which account for 65% of the total population. The second major Muslim population is the Uzbeks. Next comes the Uigurs, the Tatars, the Kirghiz, the Bashkir, the Tajiks, the Azerbaijani, the Dugans, the Turks, the Chechen and the Ingush. The Muslim community of Kazakhstan is composed not only of the native population, but also of the migrants from Muslim countries. Most of these migrants are Sunni Muslims.

Religious leaders take measures to unite the Muslims of Central Asia so as to resolve the pressing social problems and to fight the negative developments of public life as well as the expansion of radical parties and movements. At present time, one can witness the rapid growth of Islamization and increase of religious feeling in Kazakhstan. Due to the activity of foreign Muslim missionaries and the influence of religion on the consciousness of the young, the current religious situation becomes more definite. The active role in Islam proliferation on the territory of Kazakhstan is attributed to missionaries from Arab countries. Later the strengthening of the position of Islam was reinforced as a result of the activity of Tatar mullahs.

The Kazakhstan was free from religious fanaticism. Kazakhs religious tolerance

¹²² David Lewis, 2008, *Temptations of Tyranny in Central Asia*, London: Hurst Publishers. p. 185.

¹²³ Yaacov Ro'i, 2000, *Islam in the Soviet Union: From the Second World War to Gorbachev*, New York: Columbia University Press. See also Mehrdad Haghayeghi, *Islam and Politics in Central Asia*, pp. 1-70.

¹²⁴ T. Jeremy Gunn, 2003, "Shaping an Islamic Identity," *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 64, No. 3, p. 390.

helped peaceful coexistence of various religions. In several regions Christianity kept its influence for centuries. Compared to other four schools of jurisprudence, the Hanafi has moderate views, tolerance for dissentients and a rather uncomplicated religious service. Another moderate unorthodox trend of Islam, Sufism, is widely spread in the south of Kazakhstan, where it adapted to the nomadic life of local Turkic population. Islam did not play any important role in the political life of the Kazakh society before the revolution; local clergy served the common needs of the Kazakhs. During the Soviet period, the religious situation was characterized by a weakening position of Islam in the policy of state atheism. Repressive actions were taken against Muslim clergy, and many mosques were closed and destroyed. It was only in 1943 that Spiritual Directorate of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan renewed its activity. Popular Islam, however, remained as means of self-identification of the Muslims and an important element of the mode of life of the people.

After the break-up of the USSR the situation in Kazakhstan from the religious point of view is exemplified as numerous religious trends. The first years of independence were marked by the large scale construction of mosques and orthodox churches. *Qur'an* was published in Kazakh with Russian translations, and the Bible also became available in Kazakh language. Special shops selling religious literature and calendars opened. Religious periodicals were published. Since 1997 the monthly *Islam Elemi* (Islamic World) and the newspaper *Nur Shapagat* were published. The Committee on Religions of the Ministry of Culture of Republic of Kazakhstan informed that in 1990 there existed 671 religious associations in Kazakhstan, representing 10-15 confessions. The number of pious Muslims is permanently growing. Arab countries have invested considerably in Islamic education of the young.

The Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan guarantees freedom of conscience and freedom of worship. Representatives of all confessions freely practice their activities. Kazakhstan is a secular state and no religion has a dominant position in everyday life, ideology, or politics. The conception of Kazakhstan as a secular multinational and multi-religious state implies equal rights for all nationalities and religious communities, granting them freedom of conscience. The process of Islamic revival in Kazakhstan was followed by the process of revitalization of Islam. Growing number of mosque, madrasah,

Muslim school and Islamic institution of higher education, Islamic publications, and well-educated ministers of religion come as evidence of reactivation of religious life.

The ideas of Gülen became known and popular in Central Asia and especially in Kazakhstan. Being Hanafi Muslims, Kazakhs could appreciate Gülen's approach to Islam, because they were very much in tune with the modernists' ideas and very close to the national mentality of the local people. Gülen does not favor the state's applying Islamic law, the Shari'a. He points out that most Islamic regulations concern private life and only a small portion of them concern state and government.¹²⁵ However, this should be changed because religion is a private matter and its requirements should not be imposed on anyone. The democratic form of government is the best choice, an outlook that causes Gülen to oppose strongly the regimes in Iran and Saudi Arabia.¹²⁶ Gülen holds that the *Anatolian* people's interpretation and experiences of Islam are different from those of others, especially the Arabs. He writes of an "*Anatolian Islam*" based on tolerance and excluding harsh restrictions or fanaticism. He proposes two keys to provide peace in society: tolerance and dialogue. Therefore, the ideas of Gülen have no difficulties to be adopted in this region. Some of his works have been translated into Russian and Central Asian languages. These books are very easy to find near mosques and in some private book shops. Many ideas of Gülen about interfaith dialogue between adherents of Islam and other religions have been brought about. Hence, Gülen has become a symbol of interfaith cooperation among many Muslim intellectuals in Central Asia.

Overall this short historical overview offers some important points with regard to Islam in Central Asia after the collapse of Soviet Union. First, although the Islamic teachings and education were damaged under the Soviet rule, the majority of the population's self-perception as Muslim was still intact. Olcott argues that consciousness of Islamic heritage is one of the determinants of Central Asian identity "even if a particular individual knew almost nothing about religion and observed none of its tenets".¹²⁷ Therefore Islam is an integral part of the identity of the majority of people in the region of Kazakhstan. Second, the religious revivalism, which emerged in the 1980s,

¹²⁵ M. Fethullah Gülen, 1996, *Understanding and Belief*. Rutherford N.J.: The Light, p.45.

¹²⁶ M. Fethullah Gülen, 2002, *Essays, Perspectives, Opinions*. Rutherford N.J.: The Light, pp. 67-69.

¹²⁷ Martha Brill Olcott, 1995, "Islam and Fundamentalism in Independent Central Asia." In Yaacov Ro'i (Ed.), *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies*. Portlan: F. Cass, p. 21.

after a period of underground development, is not foreign import. According to Roy, “it is the public appearance of a culture and a religious practice that never entirely disappeared”.¹²⁸ Third, political Islam and radical Islamist groups in the region are not the result of outside force, either, although the militant networks existed under the Soviet Empire and re-emerged on the surface with the political reforms of the 1980s.¹²⁹

III. Profane and Religious Education in Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan is a country with a population of over 17 million. This population is quite well educated, a positive legacy from the former USSR. Great efforts have been made in recent years to reform Kazakhstan’s education system to meet the needs of modernization. A number of economic, social and political reforms have contributed to laying the foundation for education system that aims to keep strides with those of its neighbors in the EU. Kazakhstan has faced serious problems since its independence. The economic depression led to major cuts in public financing for education in 1993 with many teachers leaving the field for more lucrative careers abroad. Since the time of instability, the country has worked with its neighbors to strengthen its education system. The Ministry of Education and Science follows the 1995 constitution which provides for mandatory primary and secondary school education and free tuition in public schools.

The development of the national capital through education is one of the priorities and challenges for Kazakhstan. According to UNESCO’s report, adult and youth literacy rates are 99.7% and 99.8% respectively.¹³⁰ Kazakhstan was the first among post-soviet countries to join the Bologna Declaration in March 2010, and became the 47th member country of the Bologna process and a full-right member of the European education area. Citizens compete for socialized institutions of higher learning. Private education is increasing, about 5% of students enrolled in the private schools that remain largely under arbitrary state control.

The role of preschool education is one of the urgent issues at hand. Political and educational leaders acknowledge that children who attend kindergartens are likely to be

¹²⁸ Olivier Roy, 2000, *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations*. London: I. B. Tauris, p.144.

¹²⁹ N. Naumkin Vitaly, 2005, *Radical Islam in Central Asia: Between Pen and Rifle*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, p.61.

¹³⁰ UNESCO-EFA (2000). *The Education For All 2002 Assesment*. UNESCO

advanced at all levels of education and are more successful in life. In 2010, the percentage of children receiving preschool education was about 40%, but by 2013 this had risen to something in the region of 75%. The concern at this point is with the quality and not just the quantity of this provision. All kindergartens are currently expected to teach both Kazakh and Russian, and most of them emphasize one language over the other.

There are different types of primary and secondary schools (in Kazakhstan these are to be referred to *secondary* education) which differ in terms of urban-and-rural classification and missions. Mainstream *secondary* schooling in Kazakhstan is made up for the most part of secondary comprehensive schools, gymnasiums and lyceums. There are also specialization-oriented schools which have their specific missions of helping prospective school leavers towards their career choices. There is a network of schools for gifted children in the country.

There are so-called ungraded schools, predominantly in rural areas, which represent mixed forms where, for example, fourth-graders would study in the same form with fifth-graders because there are not many pupils in each discrete grade. Almost every fourth teacher in Kazakhstan is working, and every sixth pupil is studying, in an ungraded school. It is recognized that the low quality of the education provided in many ungraded schools requires a strategic solution, and this has been emphasized in Kazakhstan's "State Program of Education Development for 2011-2020".

Education in public schools is available through the medium of Kazakh, Russian and other languages represented by ethnic minorities. To date, almost half of schools (49.8%) use Kazakh as a medium of instruction and the rest are run in Russian (19%) and other mixed language programs (31.2%). According to new educational standards, school leavers should be able to search for and make meaning of information, be able to demonstrate critical thinking, and have skills for teamwork and independent lifelong learning. One thing that becomes clear even from this brief outline is that schools in Kazakhstan are at the centre of a multiplicity of demands for change, most of which are centrally driven, even if they are a response to locally expressed frustrations or dissatisfaction.

Students continue in lower secondary school from grade 5 to year 9. This roughly corresponds to what is called in the USA, junior high school, or middle school. Typically

a student in year 8 is 14-15 years old. The curriculum is a general education curriculum covering subjects like literature, student's first language, Russian or Kazakh language (depending on the language of the school in general), history, physics, mathematics, biology, chemistry, foreign language, and so on.

Primary school in Kazakhstan starts at age 6 and runs from years 1-5. All primary schools are state-owned and receiving primary and secondary education is constitutionally protected rights. The curriculum for both school is established by the Ministry of Education, with little choice left up to the individual schools. Textbooks are provided by government to the students. Primary school is offered to all citizens and residents of Kazakhstan free, and parents typically pay only for extra-curricular activities such as sports programs, music programs, and sometimes lab equipment or other special equipment.

Once leaving lower secondary school, there are three tracks available. Students are free to choose any track of higher secondary education but are required to pursue one track. Graduates of all three tracks are eligible to enter university. The first track is a *general secondary school* which covers grades 10-11 and provides general education covering a variety of subjects. In addition, there are two curriculum tracks for *vocational education*: *Initial vocational education*, which is provided by training schools and lycees, and secondary vocational education, provided by colleges and commerce schools.

Initial training schools are designed to train students in a skilled profession. The program takes usually two or three years (ages 16-18), but for some professional training four-year programs are required. After completion of this level schooling, students may continue to study in colleges for advanced vocational training, or attend university. All the education is free. The lycee not only provides basic vocational education to prepare students for various professional skills, but also general academic education. The course of study is three years and free.

The college gives program that provides both academic general education and advanced vocational education, however if licensed, it may also provide basic vocational education; its program usually takes three or four years (grades 10-12, 13). Accelerated programs exist for students who have already completed both general secondary education and initial vocational training in the same field.

Since 2007, a new dimension has taken its course in the state language policy that emphasizes “trilingual language training”, i.e. Kazakh, Russian and English are to be taught in schools.¹³¹ Science subjects at trial schools have to be taught in English, while Kazakh, Russian and English are taught from the 1st Grade up to the 11th in secondary schools. In higher education system the trilingual policy is implemented to give students are more opportunities to integrate with international educational institutions.

Regarding the development of Islam and Islamic education in Kazakhstan, at least two regions can be distinguished. Southern Turkestan Kazakhstan has been characterized by its links to Sufi Tariqa, especially the Yasaviya and Naqshbandiyya. It is generally held that in other parts of Kazakhstan, the role of Islam has been more restricted. Still, there can be no doubt that general identity of all Kazakhs is linked to Islam. Tatar Mullas played an important role in the field of Islamic education, especially in the north and northwest.

The soviet policy towards Islam in Kazakhstan followed roughly the same pattern as most other regions of the Soviet Union. The 1918 October Revolution brought the well-known regulation designed by the council of the people’s commissars of the RSFSR on the separation of church and state ended all religious teaching in state schools. However, the public sector of education was minimal in Kazakhstan, and after 1918 religious education was still allowed in private sphere. Therefore it should not be a surprise that during the early 1920s a time of severe economic hardship and hunger, Islamic education flourished in the Muslim communities with the establishment of a large number of mosque schools run by imams. The pressure of communities applying for the permission to receive Islamic teaching led to serious concession from the government; thus in 1922, the presidency of the Turkestan central executive committee (TSIK) felt compelled to permit Islamic education to be implemented at secular schools temporarily.¹³²

The Kazakh TSIK regulated national weekly holiday from Friday to Sunday, it should be observed in all cities settlements with a Muslim majority in population; while the Islamic feasts of Ramadan and Qurban-Ait of the sacrifice became national

¹³¹ Davranzhon Gaipov, 2011, “Mother tongue based multilingual education in the context of globalization,”*III ICBCB: integrating languages, linguistics, literature, translation and journalism into education*, Almaty: SDU. pp. 94-100.

¹³² Bruce G.Privratsky, 2001. *Muslim Turkistan: Kazak Religion and Collective Memory*. New York: Routledge press.

holidays.¹³³ Muslim jurisdiction of Sharia courts mainly in charge of marriage, divorce and inheritance cases remained its function in Kazakhstan until 1924. Muslim communities collected Zakat and Sadaqa to finance the imam's administration and supported the construction the schools and mosques.¹³⁴

The leaders of the mosque communities organized countless regional and district conferences to elect their delegates in 1926. During the conference the crucial issues of debate were civil right and tax exemption for Muslim clerics and the transfer of the local registry offices under the administration of the Mullas, it also brought to discussion about the training courses for Muslim officials and the founding of a Madrasah that could provide broader possibilities for the education of new functionaries. The Kazakhs delegates support the idea that Islamic teachers should be granted the unrestricted right to offer education, and to abolish the existing requirements that pupils of Islamic schools had to be of a certain age and have a certain educational level in order to be eligible. Several local Muslim officials sent these demands to the executive committees in the provinces. By 1926, however, the soviet government determined to eliminate the Kazakhstani religious hierarchy by administrative measures, and it weakened the influence of the Ufa spiritual directorate in Kazakhstan. At the same time more and more financial pressure was exerted upon the Kazakh clergy in order to maintain its own existence. With the mass collectivization the authorities enforced the closure of unofficial Islamic schools, and illegal Islamic schools were shut down in the district of Zharkent. In those schools students aged between eight and fifteen years old were educated. Muslim clerics were reported to plan the opening of madrasah for adults, and one imam in the district opened his personal madrasah program that held lessons for 20 adults. Of course, these official numbers on schools and students have to be evaluated cautiously, but they show that Islamic education was still functioning in those years.

In 1929 religious education was banned completely in all schools.¹³⁵ In the following period, mosques were either shut down or destroyed, and large number of

¹³³ Khalid Adeeb, 2007, *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

¹³⁴ Yaacov Roi & Alon Wainer, 2009, "Muslim identity and Islamic practice in post-Soviet Central Asia," *Central Asian Survey*, September, Vol.28, No.3, pp. 303-322.

¹³⁵ David M. Abramson, 2010, *Foreign Religious Education and the Central Asian Islamic Revival: Impacts and Prospects for Stability*. Silk Road Paper, March. Central Asia-Caucasus Institute.

Islamic books was burnt. In only a short period, anti-religious circles were spread across all the Soviet Union. The departments of national education stipulated rules of anti-religious education in public institutions. Mosques and Maktabas (elementary schools) were destroyed or transformed for various secular public purposes. The alphabet reforms made matters even worse. Originally the Kazakh was spelt in traditional Arabic script; however in 1929, the Latin script was introduced to replace Arabic one, and by the following year the whole public education system of Kazakhstan used new alphabet system. A major aim of this was to alienate people, especially the younger generations, from their traditional literature which was more influenced by Islam.

After Gorbachev came to power in 1985, the official policy on religion and Islamic education in particular began to change. Perestroika and democratization initiated a wave of social and political restructuring, during which numerous new religion organizations were founded. The political situation in Kazakhstan required a reform of the hierarchy of the religious administration, and this immediately affected the Islamic education system as a whole.

The question of structural reforms in the administration of Muslim communities in Kazakhstan was raised for the first time in early 1989. As early as 1990, Dumk founded its Islamic higher Islamic institute (or university) in Almaty. During the 1990s, students could receive Islamic education at the Madrasah in Almaty, Taraz, Chimkent, Merke, and Lugovoi, all located in the south. Moreover, through the Islamic university in Almaty, students were encouraged to study abroad. In 1996, for example, Kazakhstanis were reportedly to pursue their studies in Muslim countries such as the Middle Eastern, South Asian universities such as the well-known al-Azhar in Egypt.

The Education Act officially banned the teaching of Islamic subjects at primary and secondary schools. Only a few states schools as well as some privately financed secondary schools offer Arabic language lessons. However, one may assume that several foreign institutions use Arabic and Turkish lessons for unofficial Islamic teaching. The Kazak-Turkish lyceums of the KATEV foundation play a very important role in the Kazakhstani education system, since the lyceums are officially regarded as secular schools. The actual Islamic teaching can only be carried out in private forms of discourse reading and discussion circles, mostly performed in the student's dormitories.

Presently, children may receive elementary Islamic education courses at those mosques, i.e. the foundations of Islamic faith and Arabic language lessons. There appeared approximately 20 Madrasah in Kazakhstan; most of them were located in Almaty, Atyrau, Talghar, Taraz, and Zhezkazgan. The madrasah in Chimkent and Saryagash, which served to train imams and female teachers, were shut down after they had failed to obtain a state license. There are some 20 unofficial Islamic schools in the Dzhambul Oblast and other southern regions. None of these schools have been officially registered, nor have they been granted state licenses. Most of the mosques offer the aforementioned courses of primary Islamic education and Arabic. Very often these are established in order to make up with the closed madrasah. Students learn about the Islamic faith and Shari'a, and they have to take the Qur'anic lessons.

Islamic education in Kazakhstan is in need of comprehensive reforms due to a gap between the need for such education and the resources necessary in the form of institutional facilities and trained personnel. External and internal factors play an important role in its development of Islamic education in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. Though there were 63 mosques in Soviet Kazakhstan, there were no official religious institutes of education. Therefore, in the early 1990s, after the establishment of the independent *Spiritual Directorate of Kazakhstan Muslims* (1990), the local clergy has appeared to be very responsible for handling problems concerning the restoration of the broken process in training highly educated theologians. The lack of developed system of religious education and institute of qualified 'Ulama' caused a need for getting religious education at foreign Islamic centers on the one hand, and an aspiration to considering their experience in order to develop a local educational network on the other hand. The establishment of direct diplomatic contacts between the Islamic world and Kazakhstan in the 1990s made favorable conditions for realization of these tasks, which in turn gave Arab-Islamic organizations from Persian Gulf countries the opportunity to start activity in the country. The strategy developed by Arab-Islamic world towards the "New Islamic States" of Central Asia was based on the desire to support "Islamized consciousness" of local Muslims.

Along with the Spiritual Directorate of Kazakhstan Muslims, graduates of foreign and local Islamic Centers start to take a substantial place in networking Islamic education.

Their activity proves the strengthening role of a new generation composed of higher qualified theologians as a result of deep social-political and spiritual changes in the society. In spite of that, the issue of religious education in foreign Islamic Centers gradually loses its relevance, as the necessity to adhere to local Islam with its regional peculiarities in order to prevent the spread of alien Islamic ideology is increasingly stressed. In this context, the importance of external Islamic factors for Kazakhstan is not only in their contribution to religious enlightenment, but also in substantial degree in the extent of adaptation of their strategy to local socio-political transformation and mentality. The development and strengthening of Islamic education system in the context of Kazakhstan is represented as long-term process requiring first of all high professionalism from the local clergy and authority of national religious elite.

IV. Schooling Kazakhs

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Central Asian countries got independence to pursue building new nations; that is, the work of establishing political economic and social institutions, developing new national identities, and elaborating alternatives to communism as the ideological underpinnings of their new societies and policies. Turkey is considered to be an important stabilizing actor in this emerging new world order because of its close historical, cultural, ethnic and linguistic bonds with the newly independent Central Asian countries.

One of the most crucial phenomena in post-Soviet Central Asia was the establishment of a wide network of Hizmet schools in Central Asia. The Gülen movement was a key player in filling the gap in the post-Soviet educational systems. In the 1990s, people who were engaged in Hizmet started to build schools outside Turkey, and the movement began to operate in new nation-states and varying political, historical, and cultural contexts. While this began in the Turkic republics of Central Asia to promote cultural connection and “brotherhood” among all Turkic peoples in and out Turkey,¹³⁶ it later developed into a worldwide educational project, spanning across continental and cultural boundaries in the hope of promoting cooperation and common ground to serve an

¹³⁶ Berna Turam, 2003, “National loyalties and international undertakings in Kazakhstan.” In Yavuz Hakan & Esposito John L. (Eds.), *Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Global Impact of Fethullah Gülen*. Syracuse University Press.

increasingly interconnected world. This process of traveling across borders has gradually changed the form and content of the Hizmet movement in important ways.

Gülen and his advisors have urged their followers to move to Central Asia. They adopted a strategy which can be seen as a type of twinning or sister cities between in Turkey and Central Asia. Usually it started with businessmen, and they were soon followed by students, teachers, journalists and other members of the movement. Economic and cultural networks were thus established between the movement and the different social and economic actors. Those people are sent to develop a solid foundation for the movement through contacts with important companies, bureaucrats, and political figures. Several Hizmet delegations visited these countries and invited Uzbek, Kazakh, Turkmen and Kyrgyz officials to Turkey for interactions, hoping to convince them to advocate the replication of Hizmet educational structures in their countries.¹³⁷ The fact that the Kazakhs people could relate itself more to the Turks resulted in the increasing number of high schools and universities.

According to Gülen, Anatolia is indebted to Asia for its high degree of civilization; without Asia, Islam and Turkish culture would never have established themselves there. It is known that in the distant past Islam and Turkish culture arrived in Anatolia from Asia as a result of the missionary activities of Sufi dervishes. Gülen sees the activities of his followers in Central Asia today as a sort of repayment of a moral debt. When followers of Gülen were asked about their motivation in coming to Central Asia, they give the same answer as their chief: “*We are here to pay our debt, our moral debt, vefa borcu.*” The movement is moderate and never expresses strong nationalistic or Islamic ideas. They repeat that their mission in Central Asia building a cultural bridge between Turkey and its Turkic sister republics.

It is important to note that the post-Soviet period has witnessed the formation of new relations between home countries and host countries¹³⁸ that share large populations of co-ethnic (Turkish) and co-religious (Muslim) people. This new situation has proved very beneficial for the Hizmet movement’s exposure in the region. Since the mid-1990s, the Hizmet movement has opened numerous schools and launched small and midscale

¹³⁷ Bayram Balci, 2003, *Fethullah Gülen’s Missionary Schools*. ISIM, Leiden, pp.2-3.

¹³⁸ Rogers Brubaker, 1996, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

business and trade networks in Central Asia. The movement has 32 schools in Kazakhstan, 12 schools in Azerbaijan, 13 schools in Turkmenistan and 20 schools in Kyrgyzstan.¹³⁹ Uzbekistan is the only country that is hostile to the movement's schools; it has not only repressed Islamic action as a result of fear of Islamic threat but also banned the movement's schools since 1999. The Hizmet schools in Kazakhstan are striking both quantitatively and qualitatively. Five out of 32 schools in Kazakhstan are located in Almaty.¹⁴⁰ In addition to the striking number of schools, the quality and popularity of the Hizmet schools have opened the way for a large-scale accommodation of Turks as well as for a vibrant business interaction between Turkey and Kazakhstan. Kazakh-Turkish High Schools (KTHS) established in 1992 under the agreement of the Turkish and Kazakhstan presidents-Turgut Ozal and Nursultan Nazarbayev, are consequently co-funded by Kazakhstani State and Turkish Foundation, and have been providing education in four languages: Kazakh, English, Russian and Turkish under the coordination of Kazakh-Turkish Educational Foundation (KATEV).

¹³⁹ Questioned by journalists about the management of schools, Gülen said that the mission of the *Asya Finans* bank was to help with their administration. See Nevval, Sevindi, 1997, *Fethullah Gülen ile New York Sohbeti*. Istanbul: *Sabah* newspaper, October, 12.

¹⁴⁰ Bayram Balci, 2003, "Fethullah Gülen's missionary schools in Central Asia and their role in the spreading of Turkism and Islam," *Religion, State & Society* (31:2), pp. 151-177.

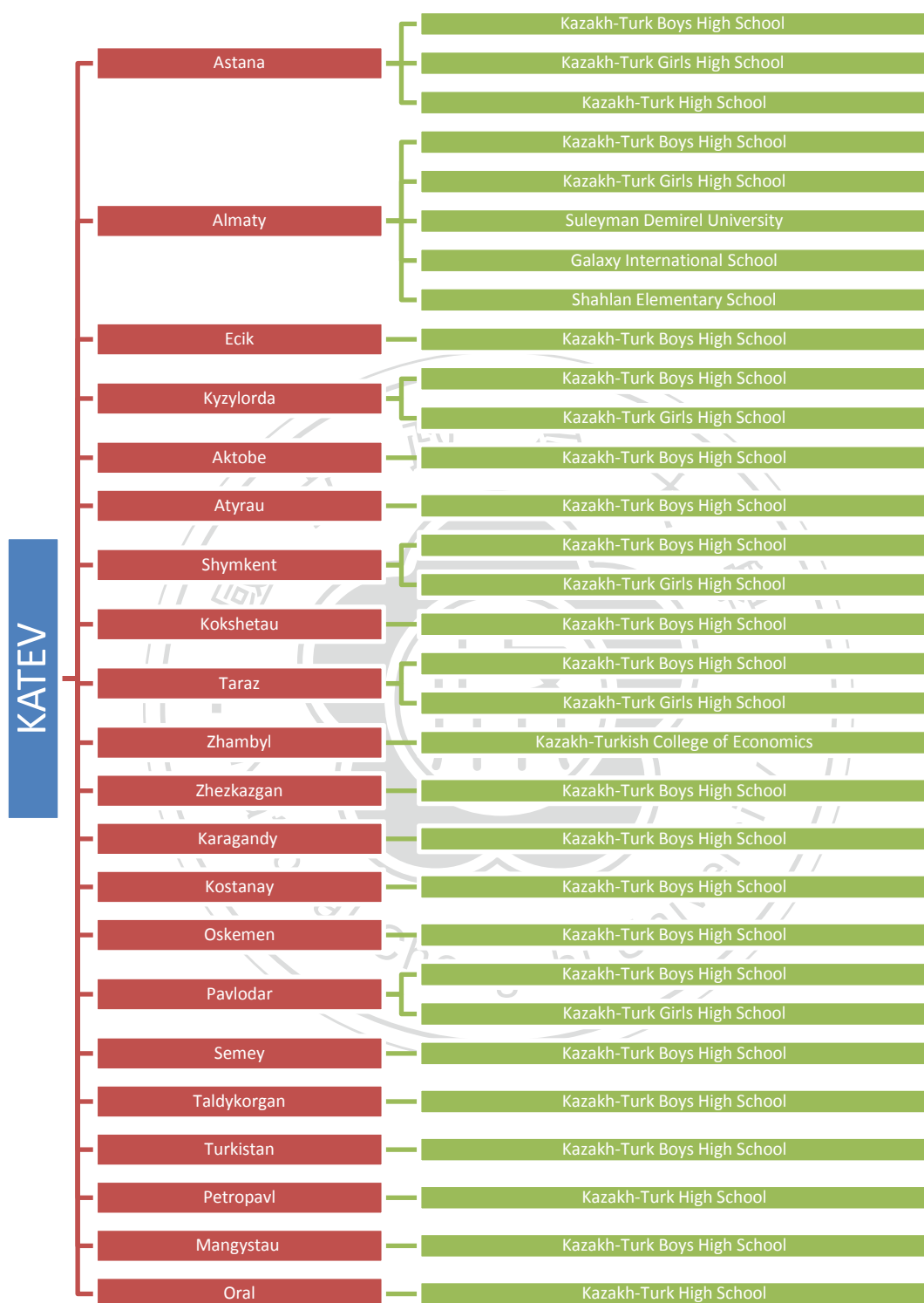


Table.4.1. Hizmet Schools run by KATEV in Kazakhstan

In strengthening the bilateral relations in the educational sphere, the international foundation “KATEV” plays a significant role. KATEV was established in 1997, its main purpose is to educate competitive specialists who will be able to compete at the international level with the developed countries, and to prove their abilities in the field of education, technology, arts, and culture. Besides, it also aims to conserve and develop the national values.¹⁴¹ Since 1997, KATEV has been coordinating educational activities and supervising educational institutions, especially the 32 Kazakh-Turkish lyceums, the Economic College in Taraz, the “Shahlan” elementary school, and the Suleyman Demirel University. The language courses and other educational activities have been operating throughout Kazakhstan.

Currently, the 32 Kazakh-Turkish High Schools are functioning in different regions of Kazakhstan. Among the Kazakh-Turkish High Schools, 19 offer boy classes, seven provide classes for girls, two are coeducational schools, 2 are coeducational Nurorda International Schools (NISs), one coeducational Kazakh-Turkish College of Economics (KTCE), and one coeducational Kazakh-Turkish Multi-profile College (KTMC). Among the Kazakh-Turkish High Schools, 29 educational establishments provide dormitories except girl KTHS in Astana and two NISs.

Generally, pupils finishing the sixth grade can apply to KTHSs by following the rules set by the Ministry of Education in 2010. Unlike standard KTHSs, the primary school pupils can apply to NISs and can study for eleven years up to higher education level; whereas the former provide education from 7th to 11th grades and it takes five years. The KTCE and KTMC have different admission procedures from the other two types given that pupils who finished the 9th grade can enter this type of colleges. As a result of KATEV’s achievements, the Kazakh Turkish high schools’ achievements can be shown in different kinds of competitions, during which the students have won more than 8,000 medals at the regional and national competitions, and about 1,500 in international Olympiad competitions. In general, cooperation in the cultural and educational sphere between Turkey and Kazakhstan is seen highly active. The KATEV schools spend much effort developing the student’s character, and thousands of Kazaks students have obtained a higher education. The network of influential people with which

¹⁴¹ Our mission, KATEV, accessed on August 2014, <http://www.katev.kz/>

the movement works is crucial for the establishment and growth of the movement in Asia and in the West as well.

The first schools appeared in the period 1992-1993. The time was favorable for two reasons. First, at that period the relations between Turkey and the Central Asian countries were excellent, probably because they were both newly founded. There was the question whether these countries would adopt a “*Turkish model of development*,”¹⁴² as the context being that of a “*reunion*” of “Turkic brothers”. Second, Turkey’s president Turgut Özal at that time helped the initial mission activity on the part of Gülen’s schools. Özal had also actively lobbied for those schools in order to reestablish the historical ties Turkey had with the region. Those schools would stay under the control of the hosting state. The Kazakh government has favored this cooperation as it has helped it to speed up the “Kazakhization” of the country in order to reduce the extensive Russian influence. In just two years, 1991-1993, hundreds of companies and dozens of schools were opened in Central Asia, moreover, the Hizmet newspaper *Zaman* was also published in the capital of each republic.

The Hizmet schools are bound to flourish in the next five years due to the excellent academic performance of their students in recent years. These schools shall soon become an alternative to the established private schools in Kazakhstan. In principle, the Hizmet schools are secular, but try to maintain a balance between the needs of the individual and the society. They stress the building of character and endeavor to cultivate universal moral values, and at the same time they provide an excellent training in order to prepare the youths become elites of the society. These schools are open to all irrespective of religious persuasion, cultural background or socio-economic status.

The schools are run by directors, teachers and tutors. There is a clear sense of hierarchy in the schools. At the top of the hierarchy is the general director who is in charge of all the schools in the country. At the next level, each school is managed by its own director. These directors have to meet once a month in the capital city and the general director elaborates the blue-plan of mission to them. In the General Directorate there is an individual in charge of each discipline (biology, mathematics, etc.), called

¹⁴² J.Jalolov, 1994, *Bozor Iqtisodiyati: Turkiya Modelining Siri: Market Economy: The Secrets of the Turkish Model*, Tashkent, Adolat press.

Zümre Başkanları in the jargon of the community. Each *Zümre Başkanı* is responsible for the preparation of an annual syllabus for his subject. The General Directorate of all schools is responsible for the foreign policy of its company in the assigned country. For example, it has to maintain good relations with the government of this country, with the Ministry of Education, with universities and with all-important organizations in the country. It is also the intermediary between the schools in its republic and the Hizmet headquarters in Turkey. Moreover, the heads of Hizmet businessmen or trading companies in Central Asia or in Turkey negotiate with the general director about the assistance they provide for schools.

Teachers of Hizmet schools are carefully selected. They are usually recruited within Hizmet circles; at least they will have been known to the Hizmet for a long time. Each member offers his or her services to help in the diffusion of the ideas of Nursi and Gülen. Most of the Hizmet followers became members of the Hizmet thanks to their family or their friends at work or school. They were educated in the Hizmet's private schools, staying in student residences or the famous "Houses of Light": flats belonging to the Hizmet or rented by Hizmet businessmen where young students—usually from poor families—are allowed to stay during their studies. Each "Houses of Light" is under the direction of an *Abi* (big brother) who helps to tutor the residents. The selection of teachers is done by the representative in Turkey from each company of *Katev*. The selected teachers and *belletmen* (tutors) therefore have the same characteristics, being competent in their particular field of subject.

The schools are private; they were initially free-based institutions accessible for elites. They have been popular because of their offering rigorous, world-class education and imparted skills in the contemporary world. Leading businessmen and bureaucrats send their children to these schools because of the high probability that they will pass their university entrance examinations. The language of instruction in these schools is English, though some subjects are taught in the language of the host country; the curriculum also includes Turkish and Russian. The schools possess excellent teaching materials and computer equipment, and emphasize such traditional themes with respect to teachers and students, hygiene, personal appearance and discipline. The schools also provide scholarship to poor but brilliant students. Although Hizmet teachers are devoted

Muslim, they do not teach religion at school and strictly observe Turkey's state-sponsored secular curriculum. As in Turkey, a strong emphasis on sciences, ethics, and self-discipline is what these schools characterize.

In its enthusiasm in education, the followers of Hizmet are regarded as heirs to the Jaddidis; but as Bayram Balci argues, they are rather understood as Muslim Jesuits who seek to transform society through educating elites.¹⁴³ They present good images of Islam, not so much through preaching, but to a great extent through members' setting model in attaining expertise in different areas of specialization. Rather than teaching religion, the Hizmet schools stress the transmitting of Islamic ethical and moral values. The two key notions in the Hizmet movement's understanding of Islam are morality and identity. The Hizmet school members see themselves as working for Islam because they act as good model to guide students. Another key notion is *tamsil*, meaning representation. Instead of teaching Islam directly, the teachers behave to be good role models for the students, personifying the values of Islam through their good deeds and moral conduct.

Hizmet schools have reached good reputation among the local populations. Once they enter one of the Hizmet schools, children begin a schooling life very different from what they used to experience at the state schools. Every child, even if the parents live nearby, has to stay in the dormitory. This system allows educators to supervise their students in all aspects of life. The supervision which is almost twenty-four hours a day, relieve much burdens of the parents. Therefore, these schools became an attractive alternative to other types of school with their ethics understanding and guarding strategy. Families choosing these schools aim to prevent undisciplined behavior of their children to achieve sound personality and success in the future.

The Hizmet schools display a selective approach in accepting students to the schools. Students should pass a talent test in order to be accepted.¹⁴⁴ They take in clever and easily educated children. The aim is to raise new elites composed by the clever students brought up from early childhood and knowledge of Islam and modern sciences. The activities of the Hizmet in economical educational and media areas have created a social and economic space for these communities own elites.

¹⁴³ Bayram Balci, 2003, *Fethullah Gülen's missionary schools in Central Asia and their role in the spreading of Turkism and Islam. Religion, State & Society* (31:2), pp. 151-177.

¹⁴⁴ Ömer Laçiner, 1995, "Postmodern Bir Dini Hareket: Fethullah Hoca Cemaati," *Birikim*, 76, pp. 9-11.

Hizmet schools are equipped with modern education approaches; however these schools are criticized of their conservative and authoritarian nature in education system. The gender segregation, the centrality of obedience, the strict disciplinary manner, the intense moralism, and the high level of nationalist idealism compose the target of critiques.¹⁴⁵ These highly authoritarian and conservative postures of the Hizmet schools are seen as a danger for critical thinking and for free and pluralist generations of future. The spirit of the Hizmet movement, and the highly emphasis upon discipline, morality and nationalist idealism are the weak points of the Gülen's educational ideas aiming to bring up a future's generation equipped with both modern skills and religious knowledge, and successful in synthesizing them. Previously it has been described as the most important activity of Hizmet, that a wider network of schools in Central Asia was established. But the movement is also important, for it serves as the model of Turkish civil society organization. Formation of the strong civil society, which can be an equal player along with the states in politics, is a very important and timely goal for all Central Asian republics.

The Hizmet movement developed alongside the emergence of new nations with populations that spoke either Turkish or another language in the Turkish speaking family. These countries created for Turkey a potentially natural sphere of influence extending from the Mediterranean to the China border. Central Asia became the first laboratory for the Hizmet movement which involves in education and economics in this region. The quality of Hizmet schools in the region is widely appreciated. The teachers' missionary spirit and dedication have placed Gülen's establishments among the most highly ranked schools in terms of students' success in college entrance exams in Central Asia. Most of their graduates attend the region's leading universities, and some even win scholarships to study in Turkey, Europe, or the United States. As a result, these schools win the trust and support of parents, who are often influential figures in their countries and thus guarantee the schools' continued prestige and the goodwill of Central Asian authorities.

In addition to schools, the Hizmet network in Central Asia includes a number of *Business Associations of Kazakhstan and Turkey* (KATIAD) that contribute to the movement's success and increase economic ties between Turkey and the region. In the

¹⁴⁵ Ahmet İnsel, 1997, "Altın Nesil, Yeni Muhafazakârlık ve Fethullah Gülen,". *Birikim*, 99, pp.67- 75.

early 1990s, when Turkey tried to connect Central Asia to “the great Turkic economic and cultural zone”, businessmen associated with the Hizmet movement were already on the ground, striving to develop a whole network of joint ventures. The robust economic ties which the Hizmet movement created first in Central Asia and then around the world, have made it easier for Turkey to open up opportunities to foreign countries. Ankara has done so in collaboration with business associations close to Hizmet; these business associations can provide proper advice and contacts thanks to the Hizmet schools and companies that are familiar with the educational and economic environment of the country.

In addition to the teachers, the *Belletmen* (tutors) are also the other important participating in guiding students in Kazakhstan. They are usually Turkish students and followers of the *Hizmet*, who have left Turkey for their mission; they act as an elder brother or role model to the pupils. About ninety percent of those tutors are male. It is not impossible to find female members of the movement in this region but they are certainly rare.¹⁴⁶ The system with the “elder brothers” functioning as guides is really common within the Hizmet. Katev pays for their studies in Kazakhstan universities and arranges for them to stay in schools. They live together with pupils in the dormitory, and are responsible for pupils’ daily activities. The tutors guide students and teach them about good hygiene and adequate nutrition; besides, they provide tutorial to the pupils in the dormitory. When the pupils are at the school, the tutor is free to attend the university. The arrangement is good for the tutor, because his studies, food and accommodation are free. The educational company stands in the same line with him as he does with his pupils. His most important mission is to transmit the message of universal values to these children.

Textbooks and learning programs in these schools are more or less the same, and the Hizmet even has its own publisher called Sürat Yayınları. Pupils enter Hizmet schools after the fifth or the sixth class in the old Soviet system, and they have to pass difficult exams for the acceptance. During the first year pupils have to learn English and Turkish. They attend English classes for about 15-20 hours a week. This is very important because from the second year onwards all the classes are conducted in English and Turkish. After

¹⁴⁶ Bayram Balci, 2002, “Fethullah Gülen’s Missionary Schools,” *ISIM Newsletter*, 9 (1), p. 10.

the first (preparatory) class, pupils study for four years preparing for university entrance examinations. Scientific subjects and computer science are a priority throughout.

Foreign languages and scientific teaching in these schools are appreciated by parents, as good foreign language skills allow their children to obtain good jobs in foreign companies and to study in famous universities. The government authorities are also quite interested in these schools. Large numbers of bureaucrats and administrators send their children there, and they speak out to defend their rights. For the government, these schools are regarded as interesting partners in helping the state for raising new elites. Each school employs foreign Turkish and local Kazakh teachers. The scientific subjects are in the hands of the Turks and the rest (local history, literature) are taught by local teachers, although the Turkish teachers may also teach the Turkish language, history and geography.

Thanks to its high level of success in preparing students for university exams, Hizmet schools won the trust of parents and educators. A majority of pupils coming from Hizmet schools entered prestigious universities in their country or abroad. According to Hizmet statistics nearly 90 percent of students pass their university entrance examinations. In the former Soviet Union there was a tradition of “Olympiad” examinations. Every year a series of examinations would select the best pupils from schools all over the country. Hizmet teachers adopted the tradition, and developed it into “International Olympiads” in Central Asia. Students from Hizmet schools usually do very well in these examinations, and this makes the Hizmet more popular in the eyes of local people and authorities.¹⁴⁷ Thus, the relation between school teachers and parents is harmonious, and Hizmet schools are very much appreciated. Once conflict occurred between the school and local authority, parents often take side with the school, and lobby on behalf of the Hizmet. After the first crisis in Uzbekistan the intervention of some prestigious parents dissuaded the authorities from expelling the Hizmet out of the country.

The Turkish teachers are science graduates of their home universities. Academically, they are aware that they must dedicate themselves to the service of the school, and socially they mix easily with fellow Turks who share the same religious and

¹⁴⁷ These schools are called Turkish Schools; name of the *movement or Fethullah Gülen* is never mentioned. All the media are controlled by the authorities in central Asian countries, so if a newspaper expresses satisfaction with something, it can be assumed that the authorities are satisfied, too.

moral values. They know that their service at the school takes on a form of sacrifice: sacrifice to leave one's country, to give off one's time, to share one's talent, and to teach for moderate salary. Teachers sacrifice their time in weekends by giving extra teaching to the students, especially the matriculated ones. They participate in national workshops twice a year, and contribute to it by sharing their teaching experiences with a view to improving their methods.

The efforts and foresight of Hizmet community in laying foundation in Central Asia contribute to the remarkable expansion of Turkish influence in the Turkic republics of Central Asia since 1991. In fact, the Hizmet movement contributes the most to Turkey's soft power in this vital Central Asia, while Ankara government has never been in doing so at the aftermath of the Soviet Union's collapse.

The cooperation between the schools and Turkish diplomats has rendered the movement positive image. In these countries, it always re-assure to have a state guarantee behind every civil society movement. In other words, the good relations between the government and the Hizmet people in Turkey have provided the movement with a respectable image in Kazakhstan. The end of the informal coalition between Turkish president Erdoğan and Gülen in December 2013 is deemed as turning point in Turkish politics and Turkey's soft power in post-Soviet Central Asia and the Caucasus. Erdoğan's declaration of war on the Hizmet movement could bring out serious impact on the image and credibility of both sides in Kazakhstan. However, although weakened in Turkey, the Hizmet's credit has not yet been damaged. In spite of the pressure from Ankara, the quality of education does not deterred local elites' support to their schools in Kazakhstan, and their esteemed position has been maintained. Previously some worried about the alliance between AKP and Hizmet might encourage the development of conservative governments similar to the AKP in the region. Kazakhs' worry seems not reduced despite the split between Erdoğan and Gülen; they continue to keep tight control on Hizmet.

Sociologist Berna Turam argues that the Hizmet's Turkish character is highly emphasized with a form of Turkish ethnic politics largely being realized through its civil society projects of education—schools, dormitories, and summer camps—as well as business and trade networks inside and outside Turkey. KATEV, the Gülen community's central organization in Astana, not only coordinates and supervises the thirty schools in

the country, but also “serves as a public relations agency, a community association, and sometimes a coffeehouse for a vibrant Turkish community there”. Most importantly, it emphasizes pride in Turkish consciousness, “proudly celebrating commonality between the Kazaks and Turks.”¹⁴⁸ The affirmative sayings of this celebrated ethnic commonality are often heard: “we have the same roots,” “the same mother nursed us,” and “we are blood brothers”.¹⁴⁹ These expressions of ethnic commonality are a form of dialogue, “facilitating relations with the local people, with students in the schools, with parents, and with local businessmen and politicians”. For the Hizmet community, highlighting this ethnic commonality works to trigger and transmit what Turam calls an “Islamic sense of nationhood,” appealing to a variety of Turks from different political and even religious orientations to enlist their cooperation in their faith-based educational, business, and charity projects in the under-developed region. It is found that in Kazakhstan Gülen’s concept of dialogue is portrayed as applicable not only between Muslims and non-Muslims or Turks and non-Turks, but also among various Turkic cultures and Islamic ways of life. Thus, Hizmet movement stresses Islam and Turkicness in ways that cooperation in educational, business, and aid projects set up to mutually benefit the country. When Central Asian states got independence from the Soviet Union, the followers of the movement went there to reestablish the long lost ties between the peoples.

These brief examples demonstrate that Hizmet-related activities throughout the Kazakhstan have little to do with teaching or proselytizing Islam, but principally work to apply the Islamic moral values of tolerance and dialogue through educational activities in order to dissuade conflict, decrease ignorance, and diminish poverty. In order to succeed in transnational networking, Hizmet practitioners must understand their own religious and cultural backgrounds, they have to understand various locations, organizations, and peoples they work with in order to communicate and promote these values in each particular community.

In Kazakhstan Hizmet schools have played a role in the revival of Turco-Islamic heritage that was weakened by its Soviet experience. The Katev acts as both a cultural

¹⁴⁸ Berna Turam, 2003, “National loyalties and international undertakings in Kazakhstan.” In Yavuz Hakan & Esposito John L. (Eds.), *Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Global Impact of Fethullah Gülen*. Syracuse University Press, p.189.

¹⁴⁹ According to my fieldwork in Kazakhstan, january 3, 2015

center and an organization of civil society.¹⁵⁰ KATEV foundation schools continue to function in Kazakhstan because the Hizmet preserves a modern, secular curriculum content, takes an unobtrusive approach to imparting *terbiyâ*, and does not threaten the state. The Kazakhs-Turkish Schools add value to Kazakhs education system with its quality education and creating a diversification in the system. Schools prepare people for participation in the economy and polity, giving them the knowledge to make responsible judgments, the motivation to make appropriate contributions to the well-being of society, and a consciousness about the consequences of their behavior.

The celebration ceremonies of special days of Turkey are absorbed by all students and parents. One of the Turkish principals said: *“Those schools are like a bridge between Turkey and Kazakhstan; everything is initiated by education. We have the same ethnic and historical origins. The students at our schools develop very positive feelings and impressions about Turkey and Turkish people.”* Through the school activities local people have also acquired a great deal of information about Turkey, the Turkish culture and the national and religious holidays. Based on those impressions, most of the Kazakhstan parents would like to send their children to Turkey for university education.

V. Conclusion

Gülen’s ideas and writings can be used for further development in region in order to create a better society, based on religious tolerance, modernity, value and the importance of education and the pursuit of knowledge, and the formative role which played by religion and spiritual life. His quest to establish an accommodation between Islam and modernity, its resonance with the contemporary concern with civil society, and its possible contribution towards more harmonious relationship between East and West at a time when many are unfortunately using the language of clash of civilization are regarded as valuable resources, which have to be applied in a modern society because of the two key words that dominate the Gülen philosophy: tolerance and dialogue. His educational approach, which is integrated with traditional religious education, with its

¹⁵⁰ BernaTuram, 2001, *National Loyalties and International Undertakings*. Georgetown University, April, 26-27, 2001. While the number of schools in Kazakhstan went down from 29 to 23 during 1997-2006, they still remain active and important. In 2006-2007, 5,613 Kazakh students graduated from schools run by the Turkish education company Katev.

emphasis on combining spiritual values with modern secular scientific education, and technologies of the twenty first century, is very important in Central Asia and especially in Kazakhstan.

The Hizmet followers exist in most cities of Kazakhstan and will definitely contribute to changes in the republic, which already influences the national educational system. The aim of the community is to educate and influence the future national elites, who should radically differ from the old Soviet apparatchiks. This might take long years, but the Hizmet are ready to invest in this long-term goal: the future elites are expected to speak English and Turkish and it is hoped that they will prove their good intentions towards to movement and Turkey. The KATEV foundation plays a very important role in the Kazakhstani education system, since the lyceums are officially regarded as secular schools. The actual Islamic teaching can only be carried out in private forms of discourse, reading and discussion circles, mostly performed in the student's dormitories.

The Hizmet has been active in Kazakhstan since 1991, it does not claim as an Islamic movement, but rather a movement of Turkish heritages; this is because Islamic movements are not welcome in Kazakhstan by the current government, and it explains why the movement never officially or openly shows its authentic religious identity, and why local communities have no clue if the schools' education is Islam-oriented. Almost 60% of the Hizmet members in Kazakhstan are Turks from Turkey. It means the movement is an expatriate and migrant phenomenon. Openness on the part of the movement will only be possible should the governments in the area change their attitude towards religion, in particular Islam.

The future of the movement in Kazakhstan seems promising as not only the authorities support these schools, but educated elites are on the verge of emerging from them, and will have significant opportunities to access high positions in the state administration in the near future. The collapse of this mutual cooperation between Erdoğan and Hizmet raises the question of the movement's future in Turkey and abroad. Nonetheless, most importantly in the schools have played a crucial role in the Gülen Movement's international strategy. In brief, Kazakhstan pays great attention to education, and the country has clearly shown its attempts to be part of the global world. As a result of the very close relations between teachers, educators and pupils, the Hizmet schools

have played a much more important role in the formation of human qualities than in the imparting of knowledge.



Chapter 5: Impacts of the Hizmet Schools on Kazakhstan's Social Changes and Its Relations with Turkey

Introduction

KATEV has been operating about twenty years in Kazakhstan, educating and training the Kazakh youth. The institution has won a high reputation for quality education through excellent results, demonstrated by its students' high grades in international and domestic scientific competitions. It is of no doubt that the Hizmet schools have played a very important role of educational reform and social transformation of Kazakhstan in the transition period. In this chapter the impacts of Hizmet schools on Kazakhstan's national development shall be discussed. Besides formation of national and cultural identity, contributions of KATEV to enhance democratization in Kazakhstan will also be discussed. As known by both Turkish and Kazakh peoples, the KATEV and KATIAD's presentation in Kazakhstan has enhanced the economic relations between the two countries, as Turkish entrepreneurs have invested immensely in the country.

The content of this chapter is based on field research carried out between January and February 2015 in Kazakhstan. In the course of research, many people were interviewed, especially the Hizmet members who work in various field. People interviewed are classified into the following categories: the manager of all the schools, the teachers and tutors, pupils and their parents, employees of the Ministry of Education in the country, religious authorities, Turkish diplomats in the country and Turkish Hizmet businessmen.

II. Impact of the Hizmet Schools on the Educational Reform

The academic success of Turkish lyceums is seen in the Gülen-inspired institutions all over the country where schools are opened. The fact that schools provide a parallel moral education is widely accepted. Hereafter are the results of a short investigation on their role, taking as research-field Kazakh-Turkish establishments.

1- Differences Between the Turkish and Kazakh Schools

In the interview, participants were asked two questions to compare the Turkish and Kazakhs schools. The first question was about the reasons for their preference to those schools. Similar reasons were stated by Kazakhs parents, such as the opportunity to learn four languages, more disciplined in training students of good behavior, the high quality of instruction (e.g. education at world standards), and the opportunity to develop modern technique such as computer skills. This can be explained by the value conflict experienced by Kazakhs.

Other than the above reasons, parents think the close cultural, religious, and ethnic relationship between the Turkish and Kazakhs, and linguistic affinities make opt for the Hizmet schools. One Kazakhs parent said: “students who finish those schools will have good positions to bring the country to world standard because they can attend Western universities.” The Turkish parents had reasons different from the Kazakhs parents. They send their children to those schools because they work in Kazakhstan.

The responses of Kazakhs students to this question are parallel to their parent’s. One Kazakhs student seems to have another reason: “*He chose Hizmet School to develop his morality, need to learn Turkish and other languages at this school.*” Kazakhs are positive attitudes towards religion in Turkey that is why his mother sent him to learn a foreign language and develop his morality.

Teachers and administrators were asked to explain their reasons for their preference to work in the Turkish schools. Some differences were observed between the Turkish and the Kazakhs teachers and the administrators. All of the Turkish teachers and administrators state that they serve Kazakhstan because they are part of the Turkic world. They state that there are no difficulties in adapting to the Kazakhs culture, because of the language and history similarities. One administrator states: “*I think we have a historical mission. Helping people who gained their independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union is great pleasure, since we have the same language and religion. Everybody is satisfied with this. The Kazakhs government supports us and values our schools.*” One Turkish teacher mentions that he likes to learn about the original Turkic culture and language. In general, the Turkish teachers and administrators believe that they have commonness in culture, religion, and language.

However, Kazakhs teachers and administrators have different reasons for working in the Hizmet schools. They regard working conditions is very satisfactory, because of good salary, qualified students, and good relationships among colleagues and administrators. One of Russian teachers mentions that Turkish colleagues are very helpful and students are more disciplined in school performance.

Some of the Kazakhs teachers observe that the curriculum implemented in the Hizmet schools is heavy loaded and students do not have any leisure time to engage in different activities which may help them to develop their abilities in various domains (social, emotional, personal). One of them also mentions that the Turkish schools has disadvantage as the students' relationships with their parents have been limited. The Turkish teachers mention that comparing to the Turkish teachers, the Kazakhs colleagues in Kazakhs schools were more democratic and flexible.

Some thinks there are similarities in the methods of education between Hizmet schools and Christian missionary schools, but their aims are different. In fact, there is a “cliché” of missionary schools applied to Hizmet schools. In methodology Hizmet schools accentuate family-like study that would strengthen ties among the students. The schools are have a strong discipline, strict control over the students. The parents are permanently enrolled in education processes and students stay at the dormitory during the week. By the functioning they may resemble to Christian “missionary” schools acting nowadays.

2- Parent-School Relations

All of the Kazakhs parents were very satisfied with their relationships with the school and the teachers. The majority of them visit the schools frequently in order to get information about their children. The Kazakhs parents state that teachers of the Turkish schools are very helpful to children. However, some Turkish parents state that they only participate in the meetings of the school-parents association. The teachers and the administrators in the school make special effort to develop an effective relationship with the parents. They visit all the parents and try to recognize the parents by name. Both parents and teachers are very pleased with this, and they believe that this contributes to the effectiveness level of the Turkish schools.

All of the schools in Kazakhstan have parents committees. They engage in activities such as collecting donations for the needs of schools and introducing those schools to the community. Literatures reveal that when parents are involved in their children's education, both children and parents are likely to benefit. Researchers report that parents' frequent participation in children's schooling enhances children's self-esteem, improves children's academic achievement as well as parent-child relationships, and helps parents develop positive attitudes toward school and a better understanding of the schooling process.

Most Kazakh parents satisfy with what their children receive in the Hizmet schools, especially the training of multi-language skills.¹⁵¹ They also agree that the schools are better facilitated than state schools, such as comfortable dormitories, good cafeterias, and access to modern technology.¹⁵² Muslim and non-Muslim families alike would prefer high quality secular education without intervention of politics. In Kazakhstan schools have played a role in people's zeal to revive a Turco-Islamic heritage that was weakened by its Soviet experience. The KATEV acts as both a cultural center and organization of civil society.¹⁵³ KATEV foundation schools continue to function in Kazakhstan because the KATEV preserves a modern, secular curriculum content, takes an unobtrusive approach to imparting *terbiyâ*, and observes state's secular regulations. In addition to offering quality education, the Hizmet movement provides local youth an opportunity to prepare themselves as citizens of the new world order.¹⁵⁴ The success of these Islamic- oriented private schools is perhaps the Hizmet movement's greatest accomplishment in Central Asia, as it has overcome the obstacles of the secular communist authority's pedagogy. Gülen states that:

"The family, school, environment, and the mass media should all co-operate to ensure the desired result. Opposing tendencies among these vital institutions will subject

¹⁵¹ Yasar Sari, 2006, "Turkish Schools and Universities," *The Times of Central Asia*, p. 22.

¹⁵² Engin Demir, Ayşe Balcı, and Fusun Akkok, 2000, "The Role of Turkish Schools in the Educational System and Social Transformation of Central Asian Countries: The case of Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan," *Central Asian Survey*, 19, no. 1, pp. 141-55.

¹⁵³ Berna Turam, 2001, *National Loyalties and International Undertakings*. Georgetown University, April, 26-27, 2001. While the number of schools in Kazakhstan went down from 29 to 23 during 1997-2006.

¹⁵⁴ Mustafa Aydin, 1996, "Turkey and Central Asia: Challenges of Change," *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 157-177.

*young people to contradictory influences that will destruct them and dissipate their energy”*¹⁵⁵

As it does in the domestic and communal sites in Turkey, the movement has a clear interest in disciplining the private sphere of Kazakh people’s lives. Parents are encouraged to collaborate in this ambitious “educational” project. The parent-teacher collaboration is one of the most striking indicators of the “individualized” aspect of the Hizmet schools.¹⁵⁶ The educators and teachers visit students’ homes and monitor students in their family life and follow their progress by psychological tests and counseling. They not only make sure that the home environment does not contradict the discipline in schools. They also interfere with “order” in the private sphere if they do not find it conducive to the moral education that they are attempting to implement. It is an all-encompassing educational project that extends to all spheres of the students’ life. Liberal concerns of freedom of experimentation and individual space to develop one’s own path and identity are of no concern in this educational project.

3- Impact on the Process of Social Change

When the teachers and administrators were asked about the impact of the Turkish schools on the state educational system and social change process, they answered that these schools were perceived as a model for modern education, because of teaching-learning activities, facilities, quality of personnel and level of achievement. Students of the Turkish schools who participate in International Olympiads often are awarded first prize in math, physics, chemistry and biology. The Kazakhs government and peoples believe that their country is well-represented in international platform through the Turkish schools. Another point mentioned by Turkish teachers and administrators is the impact of those schools on the behavior of their students, since they were recognized as very well-behaved individuals who respect their elders and work very hard.

The administrator of the *Economy High School* mentioned: “*Kazakhstan is in the transition period. Those hizmet schools are trying to teach the concepts of “market”, “bank”, and “market economy” which the students find very hard to understand.*” A

¹⁵⁵ Fethullah Gülen, 2004, *Toward a Global Civilization of Love and Tolerance*, 2nd edition, USA: The Light, p.205

¹⁵⁶ Elisabeth Özdalga, 2003, “Following the Footsteps of Fethullah Gülen: Three Women Teachers Tell Their Stories,” in Yavuz and Esposito (eds.) *Turkish Islam and the Secular State*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, pp. 85-115.

Turkish teacher from the *Technical High school* also mentioned: *“Kazakhstan has very old traditions of technology. They have not developed their own technology yet. Hizmet schools trains students who have knowledge and skills related to recent technological development and they will use them at work places. Hizmet schools contribute to the development of Kazakhstan. The schools also help the students to have an occupation in the transition period.”*

Kazakhstan administrators and teachers agree with their Turkish colleagues. One of the Kazakhs principals said: *“We need ‘know how’ for the development of our country. Those schools provide hope for us in achieving our aims, the schools train students equipped with universal standards. This is very important, especially in the transition period.”* Kazakhs teachers and principals also believe that these schools are models for Kazakhs schools because Kazakhs are trying to reform their educational system.

The teachers and the administrators in Kazakhstan believe that the Turkish schools train the future bureaucrats, leaders and technocrats with high qualifications of international level. While explaining the impact of Turkish schools one of the Turkish teachers stated: *“Kazakhs people have started to realize that their religion should be Islam, and start to get involved in re-Islamization.”* One of the Kazakhs teachers thinks that students would develop the notion of national unity.

In the interviews students were asked to indicate the possible impacts on their future. Most students think there are more opportunities to attend prestigious university in Turkey or in other countries and to find a good job in Turkish companies since they would be able speak Turkish and English. One of the Turkish students said: *“I can live in any part of the world after I get graduated from this school since I know English and I am equipped with various academic skills.”* One of the Kazakhs students said: *“in Kazakhs schools they are really worried about their future, but I am not.”* While explaining the impact of Turkish schools on their life Kazakhs students all mentioned that they would be pioneers in the development of their country. The regular awards which Hizmet schools obtain in the Olympiad competitions have created a sense of achievement and prestige. This makes Hizmet schools succeed in the academic sphere as they obtained publicity in almost in all parts of the world. According to the article published in national daily “Kazakhstan Skaya Pravda” President of Kazakh Academic University give a short

outcome of the lyceums:

*“For the last three years at international Olympiads they won 14 gold, 30 silver and 37 bronze medals, half of the whole number of medals Kazakhstan schoolchildren were awarded. They are welcomed at Kazakhstan and some overseas High Schools. 97 percent of the graduates are annually admitted to both national and foreign Universities”.*¹⁵⁷

Later he describes the strong assets of the lyceums:

*“Training in Kazakh-Turkish high schools is graded, according to knowledge levels, a good experience to be adopted. Experienced teachers hold tutorials with gifted children to coach them for Olympiads and contests. Besides, groups of 3-5 students have such tutorials for several years. Special personnel supervises students' daily routines, cater for their intellectual and other needs.”*¹⁵⁸

The Kazakhs-Turkish Schools are adding value to Kazakhs education system with its quality education and creating a diversification in the system. Schools prepare people for participation in the economy and politics, giving them the knowledge to make responsible judgments, the motivation to make appropriate contributions to the well-being of society, and a consciousness about the consequences of their behavior. Parallel to this, in the education system of Kazakhstan, there are elected class and school presidents. In actuality, they are seen as an assistant to the teachers. However in Kazakhs-Turkish Schools, the system of class and school presidency seen as a part of education system to teach democracy, to improve responsibility and leadership skills of students, and a communication channel between students, teachers and administration. In the Turkish Schools, students nearly spend all their time together. They have lessons in the day and living in the dormitories in the evenings for five years. Because of various ethnic groups in Kazakhstan, of students different backgrounds studying and living educate students the norms of tolerance.

Today, as a result of developments in communication, and transportation people are living in a global village. In order to maneuver throughout the global network, it is essential that students should know how to use the internet efficiency and speak English.

¹⁵⁷ Zymanov, S. 2003, *Kazakh Turkish High Schools, A Valuable Experience*. Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 17.09.2003.http://www.kazpravda.kz/index.php?uin=1152249713&act=archive_date&day=17&month=9&year=2003

¹⁵⁸ *ibid*

The significant difference of the Turkish schools is teaching these tools in a good way. The students of Turkish schools have many Turkish teachers and some from other nations. The diversity of the teachers enhances the students' ability to take their first steps towards a more global environment. Further, they meet with people from other parts of the world who have different histories, habits, languages and behaviors. Also, students attend different programs in other parts of the world. For example, students may attend 'Kazakhs Culture Days' in European countries, and they are attending international Olympiads in different countries.

Beside these contributions to democratization and globalization, Hizmet Schools also contributed to establish well-educated staffs for the country. Before independence, Kazakhstan was dependent on skilled workers who were mostly among Russian-speaking minorities, mainly Germans, Russians, and Ukrainians. In 1980 just 13% of the republic's engineers and technicians were Kazakh.¹⁵⁹ Following independence, huge numbers of Russian speaking minorities returned to Russia. This resulted in huge decreases in GDP of the country and created new problems throughout the country as a whole. The country had to re-educate technical and professional staffs. Some government programs like Cadry XXI. Veka¹⁶⁰ started in order to solve this problem. With the efforts of KATEV, they are hiring qualified administrators and teachers from the country.

The vocational high schools in particular are expected to contribute to the development of industry and market economy in Kazakhstan, because students learn about capitalism which is very different from socialism. Kazakhstan uses very old-fashioned technology in industrial and in agricultural production. Whereas vocational high schools and others train students by using new technologies such as computers are necessary to establish new industries.

In brief, when considering the characteristics and needs of Kazakhs society in its transition period, it is possible to conclude that Hizmet schools contribute to the development of Kazakhs society as well as increase the quality of education. The most important impacts of these schools on Kazakhs community are the training of future

¹⁵⁹ N. Mamedov, 2005, *Ethno-cultural Practices in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan: A Comparative perspective*. Unpublished Master Thesis, Central European University. pp,77.

¹⁶⁰ The Government of the Kazakh Republic has established on-going national education programs such as Araket (1998-2005), and Kadry XXI Veka, which provide school supplies or other educational benefits for low-income families.

leaders and bureaucrats, helping the students in developing a notion of being a nation and serving the unity of their countries. Therefore, Turkish schools provide a base for cultural and social restructuring which may create opportunities for their countries to integrate with the capitalist world.

4- Curriculum Implementation

In terms of teaching strategies, both Turkish and Kazakhs teachers adopt lecturing and questioning. Students are said to be satisfied with the methods used in the classroom, and that teachers are willing to answer all the students' questions both inside and outside the classroom. Most teachers seem to be highly motivated in the Turkish schools. Due to the curriculum not being adapted to the Kazakhstan educational system, teachers and school principals face the problems of implementing curricula. They think that the social science curriculum should be based on the needs and characteristics of the Kazakhs society. The curriculum of Turkish schools is adapted to the Kazakhs education system so that they may have lesser problems. The most important problem is heterogeneity of students in terms of the level of Turkish language, since there are Turkish and Kazakhs students at these schools.

Problems are caused by the merge of courses of Turkish and Kazakhs'; it resulted in overloading of the program. Students therefore have difficulties to get used to this situation, since Kazakhs primary education dose not encourage competition. Another question for teachers and principals is parents' participation in the curriculum implementation. Interview data reveals that Kazakhs parents do not contribute to the implementation of the curriculum, but they are sensitive to the progress of their children. They try to motivate their children at home rather in school to increase their chances of success. The teachers and the administrators observe that Kazakhs parents have more knowledge about pedagogical issues and helped teachers to deal with the students problems. The general impression mentioned by the teachers and the principals is that Kazakhs parents are not interested in children's education because of the former education system. The government, but not the parents, was responsible for the education in the period of the Soviet Union.

The extracurricular activities in which students prefers playing football, watching

Television, reading books, preparing wall bulletins, singing, dancing, knowledge competitions and chatting with friends and teachers. Students are satisfied with their school because they believe that they are well educated, and they are having very good time with their teachers and friends.

Parents and students also were asked if their children had any adaptation problems in the Turkish schools. The answer is no; rather the most difficulty is communication with foreigners and away from home staying in a boarding school. However, all the parents and students mentioned that they solved these problems very easily with the help of the teachers, the Turkish students and the administrators.

The physical facilities of the Turkish schools seem to be sufficient. They have laboratories for language, science and computer courses. Students have opportunities to ask questions of their teachers when in need because most of the teachers are not married and live close to the student's dormitory. Since the curriculum of each school is very loaded, they organize a disciplined working condition under the control of *belletmens* (tutors). Therefore, students do not have much time to play, and engage in different extracurricular activities. One of the important extracurricular activities is to prepare students for the Science Olympiads. These activities also require academic work and help the development of cognitive skills rather than social skills.

Parents were also asked if they would change anything in those schools when there is possibility. Although most of the parents are satisfied with the schools, there are some changes required by the Kazakhs parents such as building swimming pools and other places for sport activities, reducing time for leisure activities, and emphasizing the social science courses.

One of other the major contributions of the Hizmet movement have been through translation and publication of a number of books. Besides Gülen's works which are translated to local language, the Hizmet has also organized symposiums on the topics of dialogue and world peace, and has been involved in many other activities all around Kazakhstan.

Speaking of education, the most important contribution of Gülen movement in Kazakhstan is building dormitories for students who need shelter. Dormitory serves as a platform for inter-religious activities. An outgrowth of these schools' success is the

activities of inter-civilizational dialogue that emerge from a humble, self-sacrificing circle. These schools, with their teaching and administrative staff, strive to bring people of diverse religions, cultures and civilization to a common understanding. It lays the cornerstone and foundation of dialogue. By rising people who are consistent with moral, human, and social values and who can welcome diversity, these schools establish a comprehensive infrastructure for future inter-civilizational dialogue. A human being who is harmonious with various cultural fibers is the most basic element of a cultural reconciliation. In short, the dormitory provides a great studying environment. Building dormitories and providing shelter for students in need is indeed a significant contribution that Gülen movement has been giving in Kazakhstan.

The movement's schooling system has been criticized that those schools are focusing on science only and neglecting social studies, arts, humanities, and extra-curricular activities. That might be an area of improvement for the Hizmet schools. On a larger scale, the Hizmet schools' emphasis on humanities and social sciences has indicated a lack of support to the teaching of social sciences in the past. In the recent years, Gülen has mentioned several times that the new millennium is the *age of social sciences*. Social sciences are left to the management of the local educators and no significant effort is shown to support and strengthen social sciences. With strong personal encouragement from Gülen, Suleyman Sah University, an all-social sciences institution, was established in 2010, and soon became the most sought after private university in Turkey.

III. Impact of the Hizmet Entrepreneurs on Turkey-Kazakhstan Relations

The relations between Turkey and Kazakhstan, which began after Kazakhstan's independence, have been influenced by the Turkish private sectors and the Turkish entrepreneurs. Even whenever the efforts of Turkish government were insufficient, the Turkish investors take the initiative and shape the relations between Turkey and Kazakhstan. The Hizmet's Private Kazakh-Turkish Businessmen Association (KATIAD) was in front to undertake the responsibility to clarify the Kazakh investments regulations for Turkish businessman. In this context the following discussion will clarify how the

investments by Turkish entrepreneurs' role in the economic and political relations between Turkey and Kazakhstan in the post-independent Kazakhstan.

Both Turkey and Kazakhstan are the rapidly emerging Asian countries. Turkey is one of the most influential players in Asia, while Kazakhstan is just started its fast growing economy. The bilateral relations between both countries have been established firstly due to deep cultural, historical ties, brotherhood kinship that caused Turkey the first country to recognize Kazakhstan. Secondly, the development of the Turkish-Kazakh relations is based on the identity or similarity of positions on a wide range of issues; moreover, both countries own interests in the international relations system also play a significant role in strengthening the bilateral relations.¹⁶¹ This situation opened to Ankara a tempting prospect to lead a conglomeration of ethnically related countries. Turkey started to develop its new identity as the leader of the Turkic community.

In this regard, in 1992 Turkish Foreign Ministry set up "Agency of Turkic Cooperation and Development" (TIKA) which deals with economic, cultural, technical, social and environmental affairs. The priority tasks of the TIKA are to facilitate the structural and market reforms, the rapid integration of the Turkic states in the world economy. In carrying out these Functions, the representatives of the TIKA are involved in individual projects by government ministries, businesses and banks, working with international organizations.

In the early years of independence, Central Asian countries made contacts with the world via Turkey. The leaders of the new states saw Turkey as a mediator, which is able to help them quickly to integrate into the global political and economic system, such as the "Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development", the "Black Sea Economic Cooperation", the {Organization of the Islamic Conference". Turkey played an important role in the accession of the Central Asian republics to the NATO's "Partnership of Peace" program. Turkey also contributed to the penetration of these states of the international financial institutions (the IMF, World Bank, Asian Development Bank). Kazakhstan has made genuine contributions to the process of the "Summits of the Heads of States of Turkic Speaking Countries". Together with Turkey, Kazakhstan has

¹⁶¹ Aslan D. Han, 2012, *Turkey's Foreign Policy of the Justice and Development Party Governments (2002-2011)*, PhD Dissertation, Warsaw University, pp. 201.

played an important role in the foundation of the Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking Countries and especially for the last couple of years; Kazakhstan has been promoting a policy growing closer to Turkey. Turkey was initially perceived as a model of socio-economic and political transformation by the Central Asian states. Some countries in the region showed an interest in the Turkish version of economic development. However, the hopes that Turkey would become their main political and economic partner did not materialize. The main reasons are they do not have common borders, the Russian influence in the region, and the new states leaders' fear of becoming too dependent on Turkey.

KATIAD has functions such as following the development of economic, financial and industrial relations between the two countries, acting as advisor to Turkish companies on the Kazakhstan's laws and legislations, arranging conferences concerning economic issues. KATIAD is active in following fields; publishing of Kazakhstan Country Report to demonstrate the possible investment opportunities in Kazakhstan, introduce Kazakh management to Turkish companies, providing support to companies operating in Kazakhstan for the challenged faced and contribution to the improvement of relations between two countries by arranging social, economic, cultural and sport events are among the operations of KATIAD.¹⁶² KATIAD shows that Kazakhstan has provided various possibilities to Turkish companies since the independence, and that Turkish companies have gained prestige by providing quality products and services. It has been very successful in bringing the official bodies of Turkey and Kazakhstan.¹⁶³ With its 210 members and 35.000 employees in total, KATIAD is the only association that represents Turkish firms in Kazakhstan. During the conference called "The Future of Turkish – Kazakhs Relations" in 2013, Kazakh Ambassador to Turkey, Canseyit Tüymebayev, declared that Turkish businessman has done very much to Kazakhstan and will continue to do so. Kazakhstan is now preparing its infrastructure in Almaty and Shymkent to establish "Organized Industrial Zone" like that in Turkey.¹⁶⁴ Sembol İnşaat, one Turkish Consruction Company has invested over 500 million\$ in Kazakhstan. And, also the Okan

¹⁶² Katiad, <http://www.katiad.kz/index.php/tr/katiad-hakkinda/katiad-hakkinda>, Accessed Date, 01.03.2015

¹⁶³ Gömeç, S., 2007, "An Evaluation about the Turkey and Turkish Republic's Relations", The Journal of International Social Research, Volume 1/1 Fall, Ankara, pp. 114-131.

¹⁶⁴ Tüymebayev, Canseyit, 2012, *Kazakistan Türkiye İşbirliğinin 20. Yılı*, Eko Avrasya Dergisi, Bahar, Yıl 5, Sayı 18. pp. 8-11.

Holding has existed for twenty years in Kazakhstan to run many projects that have brought two countries get closer. Turkuaz Holding, one of the most respectable and trustworthy companies in Kazakhstan, is the country's largest distribution chain of variety of products to the hotels, restaurants, catering, food and beverage industries etc. Apart from these, the biggest Turkish investor in Kazakhstan is Turkish National Oil Company that has established a joint-venture firm "Kazakh Turk Munai" with the Kazakhstani Ministry of Geology and Preservation of Underground Resources that produces a large amount of oil for Kazakhstan.

In the commercial sector of Kazakhstan there is large Turkish presence, particularly in construction, textile and communication industries. The investments between two countries are based on the "Mutual Incentive and Protection of the Investments Agreement" (1992). In addition, financial and economic relations of these two countries are under the control of "Joint Economic Commission" founded in 1993. Thus, the relations began with the freedom of Kazakhstan have been speeded up with the investments of Turkish entrepreneurs continuously up to present day. According to the 2010 Country Bulletin of DEIK, Kazakhstan is the country where Turkish businessmen make the most amounts of investment and business volume.¹⁶⁵

The Establishment of Turkish-Kazakh Business Council in 1992 brought order and discipline to the relations in the private sectors of these two countries and the opening of Turkish-Kazakh International Bank and International Ziraat Bank built up trust for Turkish investors in Kazakhstan. Turkish companies are especially active in the following fields: construction of facilities such as hotels, business centers, shopping center, apartment and hospitals, industries such as telecommunication, food, ironworks, steel, copper, leather and petroleum. The USA, England and South Korea were the countries that ranged after Turkey regarding foreign investments in Kazakhstan between 1993 and 1997.

Turkish entrepreneurs started to make investments in Kazakhstan after its independence. As mentioned above, Turkish businessmen's construction work have contributed very much to the regeneration of industry, transportation and most

¹⁶⁵ Deik, "Kazakistan Ulke Bulteni 2010 (Kazakhstan State Country)", can be seen at www.deik.org.tr/lists/bulten/attachment/101/Kazakistan%20bulten%20subat%202007_TR.pdf, Accessed Date, 30.01.2015.

importantly the infrastructure of the country. Approximately 210 Turkish companies in Kazakhstan have completely Turkish capital working with both Kazakh companies and multi-national companies. Turkish companies in the good relation of the two countries have provided significant support to the Asia Winter Olympics in Astana in 2011. The director of Asia Winter Olympics, Berik Sarin stated that Turkish companies including Sembol İnşaat, Okan Holding, Ahşel Group, Turkuaz, Alarko, Ceylan Limited, Anko and Beko contributed to build Kazakhstan in Olympics. The stadium and the ice rink have already been constructed by Sembol İnşaat. In addition to this, Eximbank declared that it would provide long term credits for the businessmen in Turkish Republic to invest in Kazakhstan and showed that it paid attention to the relations between the two countries. The former Turkish Minister of Economics, Zafer Çağlayan announced speaking in Turkish-Kazakh business forum that Turkish entrepreneurs who invested in Kazakhstan after Customs Union established with Russia and Belarus would also address to the market of 170 million.¹⁶⁶

Bureaucrats of Turkey have developed ambitious politics towards Kazakhstan since 1992; however later on, because of both economic inefficiency and the deficiency in the number of personnel operating in the region, Turkish existence in Kazakhstan could not be appreciated. For this reason, linking the two countries was undertaken by private sectors that were there in the first place. Thus, as emphasized, Turkey's existence in Kazakhstan was not ensured by the sustainable state politics, rather it is realized by private sectors and investors.¹⁶⁷

One of the significant reflections of the investments is the foundation of Foreign Investments Council. This council ensures the integration of Kazakhstan economy with foreign investments, and establishes dialogues with investors directly by cooperating and providing fast resolutions to the problems concerning investment. Just like KATIAD, foreign investors founded Kazakhstan Foreign Investor Council, and they operate together with Kazakh administration. The great achievement of Turkish businessman is to teach Kazakh counterparts to succeed in entrepreneurship. Now, with the verdict of

¹⁶⁶ *Kazakistan'da yatırım yapana Eximbank kredisi*, 23 Mayıs 2012 <http://www.dunya.com/kazakistanda-yatirim-yapana-eximbank-kredisi-155182h.htm>, Accessed Date, 10.02.2015

¹⁶⁷ A. Gençler & A. Akbaş, 2011, "Socio-Economic Relations between Turkey and Kazakhstan after the Independence (1990-2011)," *Trakya University Journal of Faculty of Letters*, Volume: 1, No: 2, July, pp. 1-35.

Present Nazarbayev to “make Kazakhstan *heaven* for investors”, Kazakh government is about to simplify visa procedures for top investing country’s citizens.¹⁶⁸

Turkey’s educational ties with the Central Asian Turkic republics are an important part of cultural reorientation policy. Until now, between the two countries several educational projects have been launched and realized. One of the most advanced projects is the establishment of Hodja A. Yassavi International Kazakh-Turkish University in Turkestan (Southern Kazakhstan). In 1996, the private Suleyman Demirel University was established, and moreover, 32 Kazakh-Turkish high schools have been set up. Every year the number of Turkish students studying in Kazakhstan increases. By sponsorship Kazakh undergraduates and graduates are sent to study in Turkey. Likewise many Kazakh scientists and specialists go to teach in Turkish universities.

Education has been the important part of Turkish national cultural reorientation policy. Very much like the educational campaign, modern Turkey has embarked to create the consciousness of “Turk”. Turkish elites reckon that education is to bring up social elites who would be in charge of the transformation towards a market economy and democracy in the countries. More importantly, the goal is to create a social stratum who would be well versed in Turkish culture and language, and they would act as a bridge between Turkey and other Turkic countries. In other words, like many scholars who previously highlighted the link between *education* and *identity*,¹⁶⁹ Turkish officials are to realize the importance of education as a powerful mechanism of identity creation and social change. As one former Turkish minister of national education stated:

*These children, during their education will get the chance to know their Turkish friends closely and thus will become the foundations tones for the common cause. Furthermore, when they return to their countries after finishing their education they will become the architects of the great Turkish world.*¹⁷⁰

In terms of educational exchange between Turkey and Kazakhstan there are two trends. The first is that university students are invited to study in Turkey on Turkish government’s scholarships. Second, there are educational institutions, mostly at the

¹⁶⁸ Kazakistan’da yatırımcılar için vize uygulaması kaldırılıyor. Tarım arazisi kiralama süresi artırılıyor, 6 Mayıs 2014, <http://turkkazak.com/site/?p=37024>, Accessed Date, 06.05.2014

¹⁶⁹ Ernest Gellner, 1983, *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, p. 36; William A. Reed, “Curriculum as an Expression of National Identity”, *Journal of Curriculum Supervision*, 15, 2, 2000, pp. 113-133.

¹⁷⁰ Koksal Toptan, 1991, *Türk Cumhuriyetleri Eğitim Bakanları Konferansı Açılış Konuşması*, May, 16-23. p. 11.

secondary education level, established by the Turkish Ministry of Education and by various foundations that are affiliated with the Hizmet. The involvement of the Hizmet as a non-state actor in this educational exchange indicates a degree of delegation in the process of creating a collective Turkic identity. This is an interesting point because Turkey most of the time prefers to keep a tight monopoly on culture and national identity issues. However on the whole, from the perspective of the Turkey, all these educational exchange ties both public and private can be regarded as a long-term investment. The success of this investment will only be determined in the coming decades. Likewise, during budget discussions in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Ismail Cem, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, reiterated the importance of this educational exchange both for Turkey and for the countries in Eurasia. He stated:

*In order to be able to expedite the transition to democracy and to market economy in the Turkic Republics of the former Soviet Union as well as other Turkic communities, and to develop cultural, economic and political relations, we give special importance to the scholarship project. We are in full coordination with the related ministries, in order to provide the best education possible for the students who will become the ruling cadres of their country.*¹⁷¹

Despite the Turkish teachers' teaching Turkish language and culture, Gülen and his followers reject the idea of preaching religion and propagating Turkish nationalism in Hizmet schools. Gülen insists that their educational operations should not be thought as retaliation against the missionary activities of "others".¹⁷² He thinks that "constructing a congregation is more important than constructing a mosque",¹⁷³ and the existence of 'ties from the heart' is the reason he and his followers prefer to establish their educational enterprises in the Turkic countries.¹⁷⁴ In other words, the Hizmet members see themselves as lobbyists carrying "Turkish culture" and "the idea of Turkishness" abroad through education and the post-modernity of Islam. In Gülen's words, "the success of these schools is also the success of Turkey".¹⁷⁵ Initially, this characteristic of Hizmet

¹⁷¹ Ismail Cem, 2002, *Disisleri Bakanligi Mali Yili Butce Tasarisini* Turkiye Buyuk Millet Meclisi Genel Kurulu'na Takdimi Vesilesiyle Hazirlanan Kitapcik, Ankara: p. 28.

¹⁷² Hulusi Turgut, 1998, "Fetullah Gülen ve Okullari," *Yeni Yuzyil*, 2 February, p. 6.

¹⁷³ *ibid*

¹⁷⁴ *ibid*

¹⁷⁵ *ibid*

help to draw support from non-Hizmet businessmen engaged in business in the former Soviet Union ¹⁷⁶ as well as Turkish statesmen.¹⁷⁷ The aim of this campaign is to help create the next generation of elites who are familiar with Turkish culture and language and with the principles of market economy. In other words, the goal is thorough cultural reorientation.

In the field work Kazakhs' concepts on Hizmet school achievement are investigated. All the participants agreed that Hizmet schools contribute to the development of the relationships between Turkey and Kazakhstan, as they have come to know Turkey and its Islamic heritages very much. Most parents obtain information about Turkish Islamic culture through their children and the activities conducted by school teachers and administrators. Through that the Kazakhs feel more close to Turkey. Regarding the publicity of Turkey, it is also achieved by sending Kazakh students to visit Turkey. As a result, students of the Kazakhs-Turkish schools have positive attitude toward Turkey, even after their graduation.

In the social adaptation, ceremonies of Turkish festivals are also absorbed by students and their parents, such as the foundation of the Turkish Republic, annual commemoration of the death of Atatürk. According to one of the Turkish principals, these schools are like a bridge between Turkey and Kazakhstan; everything is initiated by education through that "Turkish historicity and ethnicity" connect peoples in the two countries. Students develop very positive feelings and impressions about Turkey and its people. Through the school environment and relations they have also acquired a great deal of information about Turkish culture, although they knew very little about Turkey during the Soviet Union rule. Based on those impressions, most of the Kazakhstan parents prefer to send their children to Turkey for advanced education.

The Hizmet schools offer better standards of technology and secular curriculum. Through these schools is creating scientifically competitive future generations, who will also be ethnically conscious citizens. The primary goal in schools is to overcome the anticipated conflict between science and Turkic-Islamic ways of life. In Kazakhstan the schools have played a role in the people's zeal to revive a Turkic-Islamic heritage that

¹⁷⁶ *ibid*, pp. 8.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid*

was weakened by its Soviet experience. The KATEV acts as both a cultural center and an organization of civil society.¹⁷⁸

The Hizmet schools have broader cultural and educational agendas. Firstly, the schools abroad, particularly those in Europe, attract the Turkish emigrants who would like to have their children educated in Turkish traditions. Secondly, in the underdeveloped or developing countries of Africa and Asia, they appeal to students for the quality of teaching, technology and better standards of education. Finally, Gülen's high concentration of schools in Kazakhstan enhances the revival of Turkic culture in local society, which Gülen has advocated.

In addition to the striking number, the quality and popularity of Hizmet's schools prepare the grounds for large-scale accommodation of Turks in Kazakhstan to instigate the vivid business interaction between Turkey and Kazakhstan. The KATEV is the corner stone of the Turkish community in Astana. KATEV is an efficient hierarchical organization supported by charities of the Turkish companies, the devout Hizmet community and the businessmen in Astana and Almaty.

Functioning as community center, KATEV appeals a wide-ranging diversity of Turks. It contributes to the flourishing of an ethno-centric associational life in Almaty. KATEV does not only coordinate and supervise schools, but also serves as a public relations agency, a community-based association, and sometimes a coffeehouse for vivid Turkish community activities in Astana. One of its primary duties is to co-ordinate and organizes the events, such as hosting guests from Turkey, to make immediate connections with businessmen, schools, entrepreneurs, local politicians by guiding them in the city and initiating and facilitating intercultural events. In other words, KATEV is the social, cultural and economic center, which organizes international business and educational connections. The events organized by KATEV endow the movement with a reputation in Turkey as the "Turkish center" in Kazakhstan.

Gülen plays an important role in creating a particular ethnic politics in Kazakhstan, which emphasizes pride of nationhood through its projects and activities.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ BernaTuram, 2001, *National Loyalties and International Undertakings*. Georgetown University, April, 26-27, 2001. While the number of schools in Kazakhstan went down from 29 to 23 during 1997-2006.

¹⁷⁹ B.Yack, 2000, "*Popular Sovereignty, Nationalism and the Liberal Democratic State*", paper presented in the workshop "*What Can states Do Now?*" Montreal: McGill University.

It proudly celebrates commonality between Kazakhs and Turks. The Hizmet's exposure to Kazakhstan appears more emotion-laden and nostalgic than politically-driven. This impression is confirmed by the self-definition of the followers as non-political social actors. According to my investigation, local people try to reconnect Turks with their Kazakh ancestors with their Turkic origins for cultural familiarity. In Kazakhstan, one often hears the affirmative sayings of this celebrated commonalty: "Tupumuz bir" (We have the same roots, in Kazak language), "Ayni anadan sut emdik" (We were nursed by the same mother), and "Kan kardesiyiz" (We are blood brothers, in Turkish language).

Originally the school aimed to revitalize Turkish-Muslim ways of life, it now have also helped to create business networks between Turkey and Kazakhstan. Schools welcome both Islamic and secular Turkish businessmen who visit Kazakhstan. It provides various connections between the Turkish visitors and the locals. The Turkish community is linked with the parents others who develop personal or contractual ties with the Hizmet followers. Thus it shows that Turkish businessmen and entrepreneurs contribute to the finances of the schools in one way or another. They provide them with their products, offer scholarships to students and pay school teachers' salaries.

Mr. Yahya, a Hizmet follower who owns a medium-size business, indicates that Gülen has been the motivating force behind this Turkish exposure to Central Asia or Kazakhstan for a long time. His followers observe his advice and try to create a Turkish community here. The schools are the bases of this community which is fully supported. Apart from the followers, non-followers also support the schools. Mr. Vahid is one of the presidents of a large Turkish firm in Almaty. Although not being follower, he is sympathetic to the activities of the Hizmet movement in Kazakhstan. During my interview with him, he explained his financial support:

"The Kazak-Turk high school means human capital, for business and future of enterprise. He says, if I wish to transfer the same quality of human capital from Turkey to work in firm in Almaty, have to pay much more. Besides, she or he will come here without knowing Kazakh and Russian, probably not even English. These schools produce a well-educated, hard-working reserve army of labor."

The Hizmet movement establishes an international approach to education, which

involves educational policy-making with the Turkish state and the host countries. This internationalism is catalyzed by its strong national loyalties. When asked the purpose of the schools, several followers in KATEV responded with the following question: “*Why would there be only American and German schools all over the world and not Turkish?*” Many businessmen benefactors of the schools report that their national feeling is satisfied and pampered by watching Kazakh students singing the Turkish national anthem and fluently speaking proper Turkish. Admitting that they burst into tears while they watched student activities, the followers expressed their emotionality and national sentiments: “*Who would not feel proud seeing the Turkish flag in the schools abroad?*” The emerging sensibility is not simply globalization or trans-nationalization of Islam: what was so touching for them was to observe the representation of the national culture and its symbols in the international sphere. The process of nationalization of Islam and Islamic identities coincides with aspirations for internationalization of them.

In contrast to the initial suspicions that Turks may be replacing Soviet hegemony, Hizmet’s schools claim to serve for establishing a “*dialogue between civilizations.*” This goal is seen the higher platform on which Gülen convinced the Kazakhs to cooperate with the formation of the principles of international peace, mutual recognition and the faith in the universality of science and knowledge. These objectives are presented as higher goals, which are to transcend local concerns and ethnic differences. In this sense, the international arena is a higher platform¹⁸⁰ over which the state’s interest is extended and is co-constructed with the good of both the Gülen community and the host country.

One of the teachers stated: “*The aim is not to Turkishize in Kazakhstan, as some of the locals have speculated, but to bridge a variety of the Turkic cultures and their resources.*” However, when further probe about this multiculturalists discourse, he added: “*We do not simply teach the Turkish language but also the Turkish culture. When the students are asked about their national affiliation, they say they are Kazakh. They really lack ‘ethnic consciousness.’ In the future, they will define themselves as Kazakh Turks. It only takes a decent education for them to realize their roots and how much we have in common. Is not education all about self-awareness and self-realization?*”

¹⁸⁰ Tom Nairn, 1997, “*Faces of Nationalism*”: *Janus Revisited*, London: Verso, p. 28.

The followers emphasize that English is the universal medium of education and science. The openness to the West makes the schools more attractive for Kazakhs. Along with the movement's recognition of universal principles of science, their goal is to make the Turkish language an international means of communication and science. As my interviews with the students and the graduates of the Hizmet schools illustrate, students graduate with a proficiency in Turkish. The principal of the boys' high school in Almaty stated that after graduation some alumni work for Turkish companies in Kazakhstan. Others become closer and friendly to the Turkish culture, and consider moving to Turkey for work. The principal proudly state that the graduates are the bridges between Kazakhstan and Turkey.

The progressive daily newspaper *Yeni Yüzyıl* reported: "*Four thousand teachers of Hizmet schools operate like diplomats abroad.*"¹⁸¹ *Zaman*, the Hizmet's daily newspaper also applauded the teachers for their successful representation of the Turkish state.¹⁸² "An international network in Kazakhstan would only strengthen *our* Turkic nation-states," said one of the KATEV's distinguished administrators, Hüsametdin Bey. He was a whole-hearted supporter of the ultra-nationalist party in Turkey. After serving as a teacher and later as a principal in the movement's schools, he was granted an award for being a "distinct education specialist" by the Kazakh government. During my fieldwork in KATEV, I had several chances to observe his unconditional service to the Diasporic Turks, "the real Turks," as he referred to them. The families of these people moved to Kazakhstan before the Soviet regime closed down its borders, and after that they could not go back to their homeland. Mainly through his educational projects and community activities, their Turkish traditions are preserved. In my interviews, the teachers identified themselves not only as followers of the movement, but also as "*loyal servants of the nation*," and good citizens of the Turkish Republic. More importantly, the schools in Almaty are presented simply as "Turkish schools"—and not as the movement's schools.

Education has been the major enterprise of Hizmet movement. The community views it both as a public service and a hub to coordinate other activities, especially in

¹⁸¹ *Yeni Yüzyıl Newspaper*, 27 March 1998.

¹⁸² *Zaman Newspaper*, 27 March 1998.

foreign countries. The schools aim to convey the spirit of Turkish Islam and the humanitarian character it has acquired as it has been blended in Turkish social culture. For Gülen, Turkish culture is more human oriented and tolerant to other creeds. It also aims to counter the influence of Iranian Shia and Saudi Arabian Wahhabism that are both radical and prone to violence in mainly Sunni Islamic countries of Central Asia. Moreover, it aims to establish outposts in foreign countries with the purpose of producing a friendly group of graduates who would establish a permanent link with Turkey and affinity to Turkish culture. School teachers and administrative staff soon became consultants for Turks coming afar in search of lucrative business opportunities, expanding the horizon of Turkish economy that is the 16th biggest economy of the world.

In June 2000 Turkish ambassadors in Central Asia, under the initiative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, held a consultation meeting and noted in their final report the positive role played by Hizmet schools in raising the prestige of Turkey among significant sectors of local populations. As their loyalty and proven legalism in these countries has not hampered Turkish diplomacy, the presence and activity of the movement's followers in Kazakhstan has gone a long way in contributing to the visibility of Turkey as a bridge between East and West.

Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu ever said that Turkish schools abroad are playing an important representative role and that Turkish government officials will do everything to support them.¹⁸³ Gülen seeks to prevent “emotional alienation” among the Turkic-Muslim youths by establishing the missing link between the Turkic-Ottoman communities and God. He stresses the role of natural sciences to prevent the fragmentation and alienation caused by skepticism. The Hizmet education system, therefore, seeks to discover the attributes of nature to consolidate faith in God. Hizmet schools promote patriotism and common religio-historical consciousness for the Turkic youths.

In sum, Hizmet movement makes education one of the tools of its foreign policy. The Gülen network's trans-nationalist activities might in this way be furthering Turkey's economic interests abroad as well as contributing to a shifting of Turkey's domestic political arrangements. The responses of participants revealed that Turkish schools

¹⁸³ *Today's Zaman newspaper*, Tuesday, December 10, 2013.

contribute to the development of economic and cultural relations between Turkey and Kazakhstan, since they all have information about Turkey and the Turkish culture and they seemed to be impressed by the social and economic power of Turkey. Therefore those schools serve the political and economic goals of Turkey in relation to the Central Asian countries and Kazakhstan. This part has researched the effects of the Turkish private entrepreneurs on the economic, and diplomatic relations between Turkey and Kazakhstan. As a result, based on the findings of the study that Turkish existence in Kazakhstan has been achieved not by sustainable state politics but Hizmet private sectors.

IV. Building a Bridge through the Dialogue of Education

The transnational Hizmet schools provide a model of education that fosters intercultural respect and dialogue. When Hizmet schools opened in Kazakhstan, they proposed a system of education which consisted of dormitory-based schooling. Dormitories would serve as an institution for inter-cultural activities. An outgrowth of these schools' success is the activities of inter-civilizational dialogue that emerge from a humble, self-sacrificing circle. These schools strive to bring people of diverse religions, cultures and civilization to a common understanding. By rising people who are consistent with moral, human, and social values and diversity-minded, these schools establish comprehensive infrastructure for future inter-civilizational dialogue. A person, who accepts various cultural elements, will take the attitude of cultural reconciliation. Both dialogue and reconciliation refer to a broad, common spectrum of social space that allows people to live together on the basis of mutual respect without denying each person's foundations for existence. Building dormitories is a significant contribution that Hizmet movement has been giving in Kazakhstan.

Through education significance of diversity, recognition of human dignity, understanding of common origins of human beings, positive attitude toward differences, and coexistence could be understood. Building peace through education is a sustainable reconciliation in divided societies. Gülen claims a holistic education requiring a learning circle that consists of family, school, friends, neighbors, faith and cultural organizations, and workplaces. This allows children from an early age to shape the concepts of harmony and peace.

In this regards, the movement's International Turkish Language Olympiad (ITLO) takes this a step further to international level, bringing together secondary-school students from different cultures to compete in the Turkish language, providing a platform of friendly competition where they can experience diversity and build strong relationships. The competition provides a positive encounter of globalization and interconnectedness in non-judgmental atmosphere of peace and harmony, and builds awareness of global citizenry on its participants. Others express that the Olympiads enhance their personal development and transform their perception of the world. The ITLO is similarly effective in removing some of the student's prejudice that is affected through exposure to internet and media sources. Some students' views are illustrated in the following quotations:

I could see my generation in different versions of it, and this, of course, broadened my vision a lot. It helped to change some of the prejudices that I had towards people from certain parts of the world. (Kerimov)

Turkish Olympiad contributed a lot to my perception of the world. I got to see other peoples' culture and their outfit. Also, my perception of other people changed because the way they are portrayed in the media is different from the way I saw them. (Nurbek)

Significantly, one of the participants experienced transformation to become friendlier, more motivated and socially active: *The Turkish Olympiads contributed to my personal development by turning me into friendlier person, develop motivation, and it helped me in experiencing more social activity. It has also been contributed to the world's perception by creating peace, friendship, love, and respect especially, respect to other cultures and religions. Also it gave me enough courage to compete in the international stage. (Muhtar)*

Hizmet schools have been regarded as peace maker for universal values and peace. Saritoprak holds that these schools have played remarkable roles in decreasing levels of conflict in these areas. Consequently, a harmonious and revitalized society in a diverse global environment would be established through the new generations referred to by Gülen as the "Golden Generation"¹⁸⁴.

¹⁸⁴ Zeki Saritoprak, 2005, "Islam in Contemporary Turkey: The Contribution of Fethullah Gülen," *The Muslim World* (Special Issue), 96 (1), pp. 325-471.

Participants are of the view that international events, such as the ITLO, bring together people of many different backgrounds whilst contributing towards intercultural dialogue. For the duration of the project, some participants view getting together in this program as the initial step to developing long-lasting relationships:

It has helped people in getting new friends from different countries, who can now talk and share ideas. For now it may seem to them that the interaction is short-term, but when they get to the outer world the first people they would hold on to are those who they met within a short period with an everlasting effect. (Ataman)

Students also highlight the benefits of the preparation phase for the ITLO through the Turkish lessons at the Turkish schools. One student expresses that she has gained a better insight into multiculturalism through the topics discussed in class:

During the Olympiad, I felt like I was in an entirely different habitat... This Olympiad, carrying the quality of diversity, helped me appreciate differences that exist between communities and nations. Now I have friends from all over the world. This makes me feel good and “international” too. When I left arena the last day, all in tears, I could feel that we all had become better people. (Avezov)

The vibrant atmosphere combined with people from a vast number of countries reminded me of the International Sporting Olympics in the sense that so many different cultures and languages were all there in the same space at the same time. (Atalay)

The comments from the interviewees demonstrate the potential for the ITLO participants to develop lasting friendships that continue outside the framework of the organization. Grounded in Hizmet education that emphasizes multiculturalism, global citizenship, moral values and democracy, the ITLO gives the students the opportunity to “live” these values during the event period, the participants themselves claiming to “feel” international. This demonstrates the participants start to place their global, human identity about their national identity enabling them to see difference as something non-threatening. The impact of these relationships lasting for years after the ITLO events has the potential to contribute positively to peaceful coexistence between different cultures.

Turkish Olympiad helps us learn to appreciate differences and tolerate them. It promotes solidarity and understanding among people. The lack of tolerance and solidarity is precisely the cause of the current conflicts in the world. Promoting them,

which is something that this Olympiad has succeeded in is the right way to peace. We're on the right tracks; I would say... (Altinbek)

Students also noted the fact that all students are able to share aspects of their own culture and traditions as opposed to only the Turkish culture and traditions being imposed on all students contributed towards world peace by establishing mutual relationships:

In the universal Turkish schools and Turkish Olympiads the students also have the chance to show their own cultural aspects and expose their own traditions not just Turkish which is the factor that supports the contribution towards world peace. (Nurlan)

Teachers preparing students for the ITLO also play a significant role in promoting world peace and harmony to students. The emphasis they place on the virtue of diversity and respect towards different cultures helps students increase their self-confidence and feelings of sympathetic towards other cultures. Participants in the ITLO show an acute awareness of the value of respect and tolerance of diversity as essential for world peace and global harmony. From the personal level of developing friendships based on these common values, to sharing and enjoying the differences in cultures and traditions, demonstrated in the interviews.

The ITLO has not only established communication between students around the world, but also has given rise to long term relationships. One of the students notes that she still has contact with students from the Olympiads. The following quote demonstrates the Olympiads' potentiality for establishing strong bonds between individuals.

I loved my time in Turkey as I was able to build relationships with people around the globe. Until now I continue to communicate with them and plan to see them in the future. I loved the hospitality that people offered us in Turkey. (Aybek)

Another student values the exposure to different cultures and found that the team spirit helped participants to establish a strong sympathy for one another, common values and healthy relationships:

The dialogues were the favorite part of the event, people of different cultures, races, religion come together and talk about the similarities they hold, how the Olympiads has helped them establish peaceful interactions within a team spirit of mutual coexistence. This event should be enhanced to bring greater effect, one day it would be a story proud to tell. (Yernur)

Interestingly the ITLO is becoming increasingly effective in building long-lasting relationships between individuals as well as between nations. It is thus proven that globalization through cross-cultural communication and dialogue provides more thrust to educational NGOs. In a world that is increasingly culturally pluralistic there are few places untouched by globalization. This world requires more sophisticated, culturally aware citizenry to promote peace and understanding and to avoid suspicion, conflict and exploitation. Language teaching and learning enables people to avoid stereotyping individuals by fostering an understanding of other nations, cultures and traditions. It develops curiosity and openness to others and unites people through their commonalities whilst promoting tolerance, respect and understanding of differences.

The youth from the international communities that take part in the ITLO experience reflective changes in the way they see others and people from other countries. Being high-performing students from successful Hizmet schools, it is not wrong to consider they may hold positions of respect and influence in the community in the future. In this sense, as future world leaders, not only do they experience significant personal transformations but also as a group they have the potential to positively affect global peace and harmony. The results of the interviews clearly demonstrate the value that the students attach to their experience at the ITLO, by their acute awareness of the positive impact and change, it has made to their lives and their wish to extend the effect of this through continuing the friendships they formed during the event period. In order to establish a global civilization of peace and harmony effectively and efficiently, it is essential that intercultural dialogue and communication should be at the forefront of world peace initiatives.¹⁸⁵

In short, Hizmet students harmonize the global modern values with their local cultural traditions. The Hizmet movement is a global initiative; it is both global and local. It is global because the movement institutions and schools have spread to all continents. It is also local as it tailors operations to the needs of the communities; for example, if the official policy mandates that half of the teachers to be locals that is what the Hizmet schools will do; Or, if the school day has to end at a certain time, the time schedule will be adjusted accordingly.

¹⁸⁵ Ian Hosack, 2011, "Foreign language teaching for global citizenship," *Policy Science*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 125-140.

V. Conclusion

Education is perceived to enhance the social and economic development and transformation of countries.¹⁸⁶ While analyzing the role of education in social transition, the notions of correspondence, cultural reproduction and contradiction must be taken into consideration.¹⁸⁷ In terms of social transition, Kazakhstan has been in the process of reproducing its culture and political system, education plays a crucial role in this process, and foreign entrepreneurs are encouraged to establish schools at international standards.

One of the serious problems of Kazakhstan in the transition period is the dramatic decrease in the quality of education. Hizmet schools are perceived as an opportunity for children to have better education. Curriculum implemented at those schools is more updated than that in Kazakhstan schools. In this context, Hizmet schools are perceived as a model in the educational reform to bring up citizens who are able to cope with modernity. Since the graduates of Turkish schools can speak English and Turkish effectively, they are perceived by the Kazakhs communities as future pioneers to establish and maintain the relationships with Western countries. These schools seem to have filled the gap that has emerged in the transition period.

The Hizmet schools have been operating in all regions of Kazakhstan about 20 years. As a result of their activities, thousands of Kazakhs students have received a higher quality education. The schools' success in scientific competitions in domestic and international area results a good reputation in the country. Beside these schools spend more efforts to develop student personal characters. The education in these schools supports the democratization and globalization of the country. The students meet with democratic practices in their early years, and also are integrated into global world by having foreign teachers, learning foreign languages and attending scientific Olympiads. Hizmet schools educate students with good manners and concept of loyal citizens. Hizmet schools also contribute to the development of economic and cultural relations between Turkey and Kazakhstan. Therefore those schools achieve the political and economic goals of Kazakhstan in relation to Turkey.

¹⁸⁶ Martin Carnoy, 1990, *Education and Social Transition in the Third World*, Princeton University Press, p 15.

¹⁸⁷ Michael. W. Apple, 1996, *Cultural Politics and Education*, New York: Teachers College Press, p 18; H. A. Giroux, "Schooling as a form of cultural politics: Toward a pedagogy and for difference." in H. Giroux and P. McLaren eds.d, *Critical Pedagogy: The State and Cultural Struggle*, ed. by State University of New York Press, 1989, pp. 125-151.

This vision seems to be shared by the general global community, and it is with this vision that the Hizmet schools have been facilitating an education that is based on global values such as diversity, tolerance, respect and intercultural dialogue. Students of these schools are then given the opportunity to experience through international events which we have seen provide a rich, intense, life and perspective changing experience. The key reasons behind the success of Hizmet schools is the unique and unprecedented educational philosophy of Gülen which is followed by the unparalleled and devoted teachers who sacrifice their time and efforts, and hence strive for academic perfection while imparting moral values to the students.



Chapter 6: Conclusion

This study has addressed social conflict and its possible solutions from the perspective of a transnational movement's activism through educational dialogue. This concluding chapter provides a recapitulation of the main lessons learned from the Hizmet movement, along with reflections on the aforementioned central research themes. There is little scholarly work so far on the movement's message regarding social conflict and reconciliation. This study therefore makes a contribution to the study of peace by providing insights into the management of diversity' and the practice of multiculturalism and cohesiveness in pluralist societies. This study is the first contribution on the Hizmet Movement in Kazakhstan. Therefore this thesis attempts to explore the question of how the educational activities of the movement contribute to the solution of social problems.

Over the years, the identity of the movement has changed, but continues to evolve and develop. Hizmet's activism is no longer simply on "articulating faith in secular Turkey" or even establishing an "elite group of educated Muslims" through new schooling systems; it has rather been promoting dialogue through new mediums around the world. The Hizmet community does not identify itself as an Islamist political organization, an Islamic reform movement, or Sufi order; rather it claims as a social reformation. In Kazakhstan the hizmet has played a role in the revival of Turco-Islamic heritage that was weakened by its Soviet experience.

In observing and discussing Hizmet schools in Kazakhstan, it is clear that the key issue is to facilitate dialogue, mutual respect and understanding amongst different types of people, rather than to bring about a reformation of Muslims, or teach about a new type of Islamic order. Still, it is important to note that while Islamic teaching or schooling was not directly or clearly stated. These brief examples demonstrate that Hizmet related activities in Kazakhstan have little to do with proselytizing Islam, but principally work to apply Islamic moral values of tolerance and dialogue through educational and charitable activities in order to dissuade conflict, to decrease ignorance, and to diminish poverty. In order to do this successfully as a transnational network, Hizmet practitioners must understand their own religious and cultural backgrounds as well as the society they live in order to communicate and promote these values in each particular community.

At the global level, today there is an urgent need for a new sense of peaceful coexistence. Gülen, as one of the most persuasive and influential voices in the Muslim community has advocated dialogue as a step to peace. He proposes dialogue as a method to establishing culture of peace among people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Gülen's inspirations for worldwide educational efforts contribute to peace and dialogue among societies of the twenty first century. In Kazakhstan, Hizmet focuses on the development of relations amongst Muslims due to the overwhelming number of Muslims in the country. Also, enhance ties between the Muslims and non-Muslims through the Turkish schools and their inter-religious and inter-cultural activities. The schools are like a bridge between Turkey and Kazakhstan. The schools have opened the way for a large-scale accommodation of Turks as well as for a vibrant business interaction between Turkey and Kazakhstan.

Furthermore, there are two seemingly contrary views on the world. From one perspective, it has become potential site for new wars and conflicts due to greedy appetites; but from another perspective, it is the cradle of brotherhood, love, forgiveness, and unity due to the efforts of people who are ambassadors of peace and dialogue. This thesis asserts that dialogue is possible only when accompanied by *moral values, mutual knowledge and acceptance of cultural and religious identity*. It argues that the movement provides, initially and primarily, an example of a renewal with a potential to influence individuals, both Muslim and non-Muslim. A number of positive NGOs and peaceful institutions (schools, and dialogue centers) led by volunteers, social innovators and peaceful, can form "Islands of Peace" around the world. This depends on deep and large-scale system change, involving work with idealistic people from all faiths, multi-national corporations, government agencies, and civil society organizations all over the world. The Hizmet movement provides a unique case in this regard.

The movement is a growing approach to the reunification of faith and reason with hopes for a peaceful coexistence between liberal democracies and the religiously diverse. Gülen has developed a peaceful approach to religion and science as two aspects of the same reality complementing one another. The civic movement he inspired challenges people to build a peaceful world based on dialogue, tolerance, respect and compassion, and to raise individuals who use their intellect, zeal and lust lawfully in modern world.

Gülen's intellectual activism is likely to have lasting impacts on the renewal (*tajdid*)¹⁸⁸ and the modernization of Islam and its opening to engagement with Western ideas. His ideas with respect to the notions of education, dialogue and pluralism have applications on a global scale, through his civil society movement. According to the Hizmet movement, Islam and the West are complementary. It has helped to establish a connection between East and West longed for by many Muslim youths and intellectuals. Gülen argues that both Western and Islamic views are needed to develop a new generation consisting of "ideal human beings". He posits that "the West symbolizes the mind of the human, while the East postulates the heart of the human". The former is based on science, while the latter primarily refers to spirituality, metaphysical and internal values. Gülen brings the wisdom of both together in dialogue and education, which are in turn used as tools to achieve a cohesive society.

The world has become increasingly globalized and interdependent. Thus, increasing connections, complexities and interdependencies among institutions and groups around the world are the result of globalization and thus multiculturalism. Globalization and multiculturalism challenge previous loyalties and affinities; inquiry of belonging and citizenship assumes new meanings in an era of accelerated flows of people and capital across national borders and cultural boundaries. All societies are now part of a global network that is stitched together by migration flows, far-reaching trade protocols, governance covenants, and communication. Although the process of integration engenders new opportunities for cooperation and development, it is also characterized by confrontations and inequities that breed new tensions and conflicts. This study is a testament to the potential for a civic movement to have deep societal resonance and yield points on which to engage in dialogue and education. By analyzing the movement's perspectives on these issues, it shows that both dialogue and education are viable tools to build social cohesion in the globalized and interdependent world.

The movement's message represents a new expression of Islam, and cultivates an art of living together despite differences in societies. Dialogue is the key approach used by the movement to facilitate social cohesion. The movement has received recognition

¹⁸⁸ *Tajdid* is an important element of renewal in Islamic history and tradition, through which the 'Ulema' (scholar), the Muslim clerical establishment, play a crucial role to determine the needs in modern times.

from the international community for its bold defense of religious tolerance, compassionate love and mutual understanding from an Islamic perspective. Dialogical forms of understanding indeed remain the best prospects for understanding the other and creating cohesion and peace. Gülen's teaching and movement focus on intercultural dialogue as alternative instrument for dispute resolution, social mediation and peaceful coexistence within the context of different divisions, hierarchies, rivalries and conflicts that are grounded in socio-economic and political realities.

Education is the most effective long-term investment in social cohesion. For lasting social cohesion and peaceful coexistence, Gülen has encouraged his followers and sympathizers to establish educational institutions inside and outside Turkey, especially in areas where ethnic and religious conflicts are escalating. These schools play a role in decreasing conflicts. What makes these schools so remarkable in the context of Muslim societies is their engagement with secular modern learning opened to pupils of all backgrounds. Regardless their location; these schools are symbols of interfaith and intercultural relationships and successful unification of faith and reason. Instead of being isolated from society, Gülen's followers reconcile their spiritual life with their worldly one. These schools aim to instil through the good example of teachers and staff values such as honesty, cooperation, freedom, happiness, humility, love, respect, responsibility, and acceptance of the other. In this respect, the movement's schools do not differ to a large extent from the contemporary modern schools in the western countries. Furthermore, the movement uses dialogue as an intervention of informal education in the wider society.

Education, as a way for cohesive society, and dialogue, as a preventive strategy for dispute resolution, are important interventions in this age of globalization that refers to the intensification of worldwide social and intergroup relations. As a result of the movement's projects, a new generation has been raised with a good education, ethical values, empathic acceptance of others, well-versed in several languages and with prospects for good jobs and high socio-economic status. Three main global problems—terror, anarchy and conflict (caused by ignorance, poverty and disunity) can be overcome in the long run if the projects of the Hizmet movement succeed. The movement is a good start to counter radicalism and radicalization. A new self-confident generation studying in pluralist environments will not be inclined to radicalism.

The case study of the Hizmet movement in Kazakhstan is reflective of how a small group of Gülen followers have successfully affected the society they are living in. It is also reflective of the important impact Gülen's ideas have had for people around the world. Acting upon his vision of tolerance and dialogue, his followers in both countries began promoting this vision by encouraging dialogues amongst Muslims and between Muslim and non-Muslims. In the case of Kazakhstan, such dialogues are especially encouraged between Muslims and non-Muslims. The efforts of the Hizmet has proved significant, as they are able to change local people's perceptions of Islam and even gained supporters amongst the non-Muslims for their cause. In Kazakhstan, Hizmet focuses on the development of relations amongst Muslims due to the overwhelming number of Muslims in the country. In the process they are not only able to lessen tensions among Muslims, but also enhance ties between the Muslims and non-Muslims through the Turkish schools and their inter-religious and inter-cultural activities. The schools in Kazakhstan are likely to chart a new course for Islam in Kazakhstan, which is moderate and tolerant. The precedence given to universal values in these schools, inherent in all religions, is important in shaping the educated, cultured Muslim who is tolerant and progressive, as Gülen has envisaged. The common values on which the Hizmet emphasizes are also likely to reverse the shape of Islam in Central Asia that is tolerant and accommodating to other religions. In Central Asia, the ideas of Gülen on inter-religious dialogue are likely to change the shape of Muslim and non-Muslim relations in places like Europe where misconception and prejudice on both sides have led to conflict between the two groups.

Gülen's followers have succeeded in creating good conditions to develop their activities and making in Kazakhstan an attractive showcase of both Turkey and their own movement. Relative religious freedom in Kazakhstan has encouraged Hizmet to settle and take root. At the outset, the movement's intention was religious in the sense that its followers sought to diffuse an Islamic discourse and behavior through the *temsil* (represent) method. Its ambition has evolved to embrace the formation of new elites: influential, probably conservative yet not necessarily religious, and providing a living bridge between Kazakhstan and Turkey. The actual Islamic teaching can only be carried out in private forms of discourse, reading and discussion circles, mostly performed in the

student's dormitories. The Kazakhs-Turkish Schools have opened the way for a large-scale accommodation of Turks as well as for a vibrant business interaction between Turkey and Kazakhstan. And, the schools add value to Kazakhs education system with its quality education and creating a diversification in the system.

In sum, while the Gülen educational model is exceptional, and has the potential to profoundly influence both Eastern and Western cultures. The Gülen model focuses on the communal aspect of education, deriving its ethics and practices from Islam. The Gülen movement is highly communal, both in structure and intent. Examining Hizmet through the lens of transnationalism allows us to observe its religious motivations and mission on a global-scale that operates beyond the territorial boundaries of nation-states, while its activities simultaneously remain contextualized and immersed at local levels. Muslim transnationalism, reflected in the case of the Gülen and the Hizmet movement's worldwide educational projects, may represent the possibility of Islamic modes of globalization that emerge alongside and in agonistic yet constructive interaction with ongoing processes of economic integration—constituting perhaps a postmodern “dialogic” rather than modern “dialectic” Islamic movement within an increasingly interconnected world. The future of the movement in Kazakhstan seems promising as not only do the authorities support these schools, but educated elites are on the verge of emerging from them, and will have significant opportunities to access high positions in the state administration in the near future. It has been discussed the educational philosophy of Fethullah Gülen, and showed how both the academic and moral aspects of his thought have been applied in Kazakhstan context, with special reference to Katev schools in Kazakhstan. It has been described the schools' achievements, shortcomings, and future prospects.

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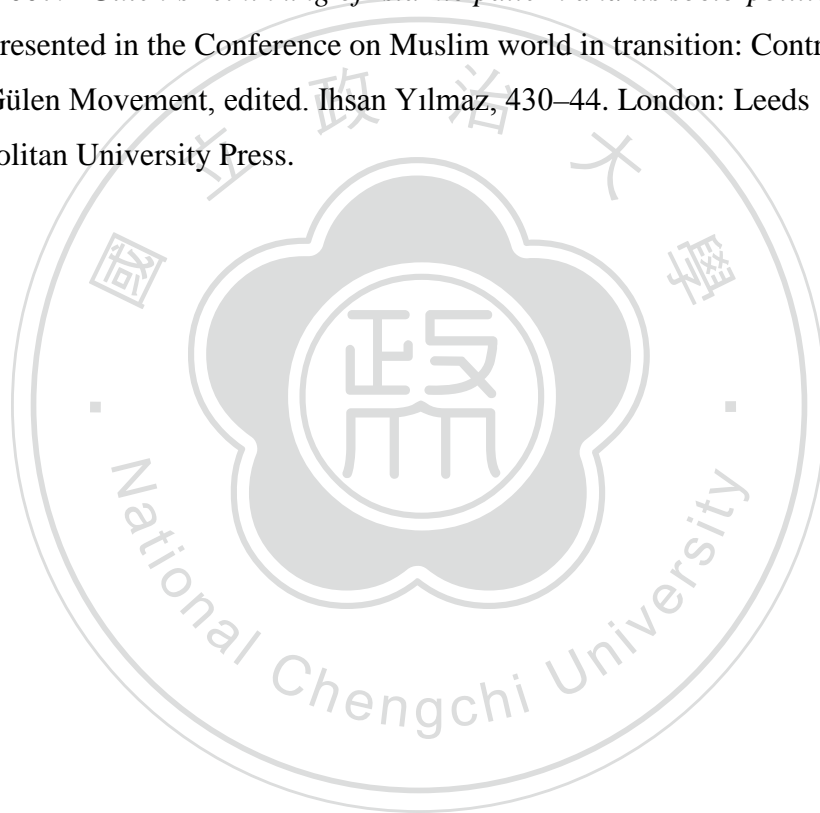
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Glossary of Terms

Abi: Big or elder brother.

Adab: Respect and politeness.

Adanmış Ruhlar: Sacrificed souls or spirit of devotion.

Aksiyon İnsanı: “Man of action” who abandons asceticism and its preoccupation with the inner spiritual quest to actively work and engage with society.

Ahl al-Suffah: Refers to those in the early days of Islam, who after migration to Madinah, was not hosted by anyone, and so took residence on madinah mosque.

Altın Nesil: Golden Generation.

Alevi: Which means “follower of Ali”, frequently categorized under the Shia denomination of Islam.

Belletmen: Tutors.

Cemaat: A religious community in Turkish.

Dershane: Private preparatory course.

Dhimmi: An Arabic word meaning "protected" who is a non-Muslim living in an Islamic country.

Evkaf: Charitable foundation or trust.

Fiqh: Jurisprudence.

Furuat: A secondary method of jurisprudence.

Halqa: “A study circle” usually held in a scholar's home or in a mosque.

Hanafi Madhhab: Within the Sunni Muslim tradition, Hanafi is one of four "schools of law" and considered the oldest and most liberal school of law.

Hizmet: Literally means “service” It is often used by followers of Fethullah Gülen for his movement that Turkish-based but global movement dedicated to human service.

Hicret: It means “migration” is to move for religious purpose from one place to the other and take up residence there.

Irtica: The word irtica means returning to the past or carrying the past to the present.

Işık Evleri: Light Houses, The Hizmet’s Movement student houses.

Itikaf: Solitude and retreat to purify one’s soul.

Ikhlâs: Sincerity.

Iqra: Recite or read.

Ijazah: Certificate to teach law and issue legal opinions.

Ilm: Knowledge.

Imam Hatip School: Religious vocational school which focus on a curriculum with theological lessons.

Ijtihad: Re-interpretation of religion sources.

Islah: Repairing and reforming.

Jahiliyyah: The pre-Islamic period, Ignorance period.

Kimse Yok Mu: The Hizmet's Movement Charity Association.

Khilaf: Refers to the divergent legal opinions.

Khan: Hostel.

Laiklik: The Turkish term laiklik means state control over religion and a strong state role in keeping religion out of the public sphere.

Madrasah: Educational religious institute.

Ma'rifat: Knowledge.

Maktab: Means "library", "place of study", or elementary school.

Majlis: A consultative body or study circle.

Millet System: The term millet in the Ottoman Empire was used to determine a non-Muslim religious community.

Mullas: A male teacher of religious texts and Arabic.

Munazarah: Argumentation or disputation.

Muslihun: Reformer

Naqshbandiyya: is a major Sunni spiritual order of Sufism.

Nurcu: Who follower of Said Nursi in Turkey.

Qurban-Ait: One of the most important feast festivals in Islam.

Risale-i Nur: The Risale is a six-thousand-page commentary on the Quran written by Said Nursi.

Sabr: Patience.

Sadaqa: Voluntary charity.

Salafi: An ultra-conservative Movement within Sunni Islam that references the doctrine known as Salafism (early Muslim).

Sızıntı: The Hizmet's Movement monthly scientific spiritual Magazine

Sunni: is a largest sect in the religion of Islam.

Sunnah: Refers to the practices, customs and traditions of the Prophet Muhammad.

Shariah: is the Islamic legal system.

Shia: is a minority sect in the religion of Islam.

Tanzimat: The Ottoman Reformation Period.

Tariqa: is the term for a school or order of Sufism or dervish orders.

Takka and Zaviya: Sufi lodges or dervish place of worship.

Taqwa: Piety.

Talqin: Learning by heart.

Tamsil, it means representation, Action, example.

Tajdid: Renewal.

Terbiya: Upbringing, development and the training of people in various aspects.

Ubudiyyah: Servanthood.

Ubudah: Devotion.

Ummah: Community of Islam.

Ulama: Religious intellectuals-scholars.

Usul: Origin and root of Islam.

Vefa Borcu: Moral debt.

Wahhabism: Wahhabism in the strict sense practice puritan religious doctrine preached in Saudi Arabia.

Wahy: it means: "revelation" In Islamic belief, revelations are God's Word delivered by His chosen individuals-known as Messengers prophets – to mankind.

Zaman: The Hizmet's Movement daily newspaper.

Zakat: "Purification and growth" which is the compulsory giving of a set proportion of one's wealth to charity.

Zümre Başkanları: In charge of each discipline or subject in school.

Abbreviations

KATIAD: Kazakh-Turkish Business Association

KATEV: Kazakh Turkish Education Foundation

MÜSIAD: The “Independent Association of Industrialists and Businessmen

İŞHAD: Business Life Solidarity Association

PKK: Kurdistan Workers Party

KTHS: Kazakh-Turkish High Schools

TIKA: Agency of Turkic Cooperation and Development

ITLO: International Turkish Language Olympiad



Interview Questions

In order to address the research questions, the following questions were compiled for the interviews during my visits. Not all of them were addressed to all interviewees, but selectively depending on the context and scope. Interviews with school administrators, students, parents, and leaders of some organizations lasted between 30-45 minutes.

- 1-** When did educational enterprises arrive at Kazakhstan?
- 2-** When and how Islam did enter Kazakhstan?
- 3-** How many schools there are in Kazakhstan now?
- 4-** How does the school select students?
- 5-** How does the school select teachers?
- 6-** How many percentages of students pass the university exam?
- 7-** How is Turkish schools reputation among the local populations?
- 8-** How is the structure of Turkish Schools or movement In Kazakhstan?
- 9-** What is the difference between the Turkish and Kazakh schools?
- 10-** What is the reason for your preference of those Turkish schools?
- 11-** What is the reason for your preference in working at the Turkish schools?
- 12-** How do Turkish schools impact on your future life?
- 13-** Is there any adaptation problem of student in the Turkish schools?
- 14-** How is the contribution of Turkish school to world peace?
- 15-** How many gold and silver medals have been awarded in International Competitions (Olympiads) until now?
- 16-** How are Turkish ambassadors' attitudes towards Turkish educational enterprises?
- 17-** How is the impact of the Turkish Schools on Turkey-Kazakhstan Relations?
- 18-** What is the contribution of Turkish school to Kazakhstan culture?
- 19-** What is the Role of the Turkish Schools in the Educational reform in Kazakhstan?
- 20-** What is the impact of the Turkish schools on the Kazakhstan social change process?
- 21-** How is effect of Erdogan war on the movement in Kazakhstan?
- 22-** What is the future of the movement in Kazakhstan?

List of Interviews

	Name/Surname	Title	Date	Duration
1	Mesut Akgul	President of SD University	2015/1/28	45 min
2	Enes Kurtay	Director of international Relations of SD University	2015/1/28	40 min
3	Yakup Doganay	Chair of Language Department SD University	2015/1/28	25 min
4	Mehmet Guler	Director of Turkish language department SD University	2015/1/28	30 min
5	Davronzhon Gaipov	Dean of philology SD University	2015/1/29	40 min
6	Galym Zhussipbek	Professor of international relation SD University	2015/1/29	30 min
7	Ahmet Alyaz	Genral sekretary of KATIAD	2015/2/2	60 min
8	Adnan Celenk	Businessman	2015/2/2	50 min
9	Selman Simsek	Vice principal of Galaxy international school	2015/2/3	30 min
10	Aslan Sel	Vice chairman of KATEV	2015/2/4	90 min
11	Hamza Bey	Businessman	2015/2/3	60 min
12	Yahya Bey	Businessman	2015/2/3	45 min
13	Kerimov	Student	2015/2/5	20 min
14	Nurbek	Student	2015/2/5	20 min
15	Muhtar	Student	2015/2/5	20 min
16	Ataman	Student	2015/2/5	20 min
17	Avezov	Student	2015/2/5	20 min
18	Atalay	Student	2015/2/6	20 min

	Name/Surname	Title	Date	Duration
19	Altinbek	Student	2015/2/6	15 min
20	Nurlan	Student	2015/2/6	20 min
21	Yernur	Student	2015/2/6	15 min
22	Aybek	Parent	2015/2/8	25 min
23	Saltanat	Parent	2015/2/8	25 min
24	Nurlybek	Parent	2015/2/8	25 min
25	Zhekenova	Parent	2015/2/6	25 min
26	Dildabekova	Parent	2015/2/8	25 min
27	Imangaliyev	Parent	2015/2/6	25 min
28	Gonzalo	Teacher	2015/2/7	30 min
29	Damire	Teacher	2015/2/7	30 min
30	Yerlan	Teacher	2015/2/7	30 min
31	Zhanat	Teacher	2015/2/8	30 min
32	Anara	Teacher	2015/2/8	30 min
33	Galym	Principal	2015/2/8	20 min
34	Shirali	Principal	2015/2/8	20 min
35	Orhan bey	Teacher	2015/2/10	20 min
36	Engin bey	Teacher	2015/2/10	30 min
37	Yasin bey	Teacher	2015/2/10	30 min
38	Eyup bey	Vice Principal	2015/2/10	30 min
39	Omer bey	Vice Principal	2015/2/11	30 min
40	Burhan bey	Vice Principal	2015/2/11	30 min