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Conference

Abstracts & Biographies

Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement

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Dialogue Society

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Middle East Institute

SOAS University of London

International Conference:

Muslim World in Transition:
Contributions of the Gülen Movement

A B S T R A C T S & B I O G R A P H I E S

First published in Great Britain 2007

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PREFACE

On behalf of the Conference Organisers, Editorial Board and Organising Committee, it is my great pleasure to present to you the *Abstracts and Biographies* book of the *Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement* conference.

The underlying aim of this conference is to examine the impact of the Gülen movement on the contemporary Muslim world in transition and the relations between the West and Islam in general.

As a leading religious movement in contemporary Turkey with a universal educational and interfaith agenda, the Gülen movement aims to promote creative and positive relations between the West and the Muslim world and articulate a constructive position on issues such as democracy, multiculturalism, globalisation, and interfaith dialogue in the context of secular modernity. Gülen's re-reading of religious texts in the context of a renewal and re-interpretation in Islam that can take part in the building of a fully human society in Europe also features in the deliberations of the conference. The conference also examines the theological and intellectual contributions of Fethullah Gülen, situates him in the context of the modern intellectual history of Islam and discusses his own interpretations of the above central issues. As a religious intellectual and peace activist from Turkey, Gülen has influenced a whole generation of Muslims worldwide and inspired them to play an important role in dialogue and educational projects towards lasting peace.

The conference Call for Paper attracted 150 abstract submissions. The Conference Editorial Board, responsible for all decisions pertaining to paper review and selection, read and scored each submitted abstract. Successful authors were then invited to submit full papers three months in advance of the conference for further review by the Editorial Board. Each submitted paper was then read by at least three members of the Board. Papers were classed as either 'accepted', 'conditionally accepted pending revision' or 'declined'. Conditionally accepted papers were reviewed a second time on re-submission.

In short, our authors and Editorial Board worked extremely hard to produce 49 quality papers of high academic standard and objective critique of the title in hand. I would therefore like to acknowledge all authors for their efforts and all members of the Editorial Board for their painstaking scrutiny and review of papers.

In particular, I would like to extend my special gratitude and appreciation to Muharrem Atlig, Dr Cem Erbil, Selvinaz Erbil, Ozcan Keles, Fatih Tedik, Erkan Kaymak, Arzu Ayaz, Tugrul Olcer, Mehtap Meric and Ahmet Alver, members of the Conference Organising Committee, who were the main driving force behind this conference. I am extremely grateful to our organisers and sponsors for helping to put together, what I believe, has already become a most worthwhile and stimulating academic enterprise. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the support of all whose names I cannot list here for their contribution to the conference.

Dr Ihsan Yilmaz
Conference Coordinator

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Professor Emeritus of Sociology with Special Reference to the Study of Religion. (PhD, London School of Economics; and an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Copenhagen.) Main research: cults, sects and new religious movements, and the social reactions to which they give rise. Since 1989 she has also spent much time studying the state of religion in post-communist societies. In 1988, with the support of the Home Office and the mainstream churches, she set up INFORM, an NGO, which supplies information about alternative religions.
She has over 250 publications, translated into 27 languages. These include the award-winning The *Making of a Moonie: Brainwashing or Choice*? and *New Religious Movements: A Practical Introduction*, published in eight languages.
She has given guest lectures in over 200 universities around the world, and is a familiar commentator on religious matters on both radio and television.

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Chair of the Department of International Relations and The Bernard and Bertha Cohen Chair at Lehigh University. Dr Barkey is the foremost scholar on Turkish Politics in the US. 1998-2000: a Member of the Policy Planning Staff at the State Department. He has taught at Princeton, Columbia, the State University of New York, and at the University of Pennsylvania. He is co-author of *Turkey's Kurdish Question* (1998); editor of *Reluctant Neighbour: Turkey's Role in the Middle East* (1996); and author of *The State and the Industrialization Crisis in Turkey* (1990). His articles have appeared in *Brookings Policy Briefs, Journal of International Affairs, Middle East Policy, Middle East Journal, World Policy Journal, Journal of Democracy, Comparative Political Studies, Survival, Studies in Comparative International Development,* and *Armed Forces and Society*. His op-ed pieces have been published in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times*.

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Director of the Centre of Islamic Studies at SOAS, Chief Editor of the *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* (EUP), BA (Cairo), PhD (Cambridge), Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Linguists, participant in the Building Bridges programme, chaired by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Cambridge Interfaith Programme; Member of the Scientific Committee of the Foundation for Inter-religious/Inter-cultural Research/Dialogue (FIIRD), University of Geneva.
Recent publications: *The Qur'an: a New Translation*, (OUP 2004); *Understanding the Qur'an: Themes and Style*, (IB Tauris, 2001); 'The Politics of Peace in Islam', in *Religions and the Politics of Peace and War*, ed. Linda Hogan, Wipf and Stock, (USA, 2007); 'Islam, Religion of the Environment' in *Yearbook of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law*, Vol. 10 (2003-4), editors Eugene Cotran and Martin Lau, (Brill 2006).

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Currently a Research Fellow at Bilkent University, Ankara, and a Consultant on Eurasian and Middle East Affairs carrying out research on Turkey and the Middle East. He received his PhD in History of the Middle East from Harvard University in 1957 and then served in the Department of State, ending as Director of Analysis for Near East and South Asia at the time of his retirement in January 1996. He has published numerous articles and books on Turkey, including *Troubled Alliance*, *Turkish-American Problems in Historical Perspective 1945-1971* and most recently *The Communists and the Kadro Movement: Shaping Ideology in Ataturk's Turkey*. He is presently researching Turkish foreign policy and its practitioners in the Ataturk era.

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Currently Secretary for Interreligious Dialogue for the Society of Jesus and as Ecumenical Secretary for the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences, Professor Michel was director of the Islamic Office of the Vatican's Council for Interreligious Dialogue for 13 years. He belongs to the Indonesian Province of the Jesuits. He regularly conducts seminars on Christian–Muslim relations in Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia.

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Professor of Applied and Professional Ethics, Leeds Metropolitan University, Associate Director, Ethics Centre of Excellence, and Visiting Fellow in Theology, University of Leeds. Educated at Oxford and Edinburgh universities, Professor Robinson entered psychiatric social work before ordination in the Church of England in 1978. He served in university chaplaincy at Heriot-Watt and Leeds universities, developing research in areas of applied ethics and practical theology. Ongoing research interests: religious ethics and care; interfaith pastoral care; professional ethics; ethics in higher education; spirituality and professional practice; corporate social responsibility; and ethics in global perspective. Among his publications: *Moral Meaning and Pastoral Counselling*; (ed. with Chris Megone) *Case Histories in Business Ethics*; *Living Wills*; (with Kevin Kendrick and Alan Brown) *Spirituality and Healthcare*; *Ministry Amongst Students*; (ed. with Clement Katulushi) *Values in Higher Education*; (with Ross Dixon, Chris Preece and Kris Moodley) *Engineering, Business and Professional Ethics*.

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The Bediuzzaman Said Nursi Chair in Islamic Studies at John Carroll University in Cleveland, Ohio. PhD in Islamic theology, University of Marmara, Turkey; and several years studying the Arabic language in Cairo while researching his dissertation on 'The Antichrist (*al-Dajjal*)'. He has researched and taught a range of subjects – at Harran University (Turkey), Georgetown University, the Catholic University of America in Washington D.C. and Berry College in Rome, Georgia – Islamic theology, Introduction to Islam, World Religions, Biblical Elements in the Qur'an, Islamic Spirituality, classical and contemporary Islamic movements, and interfaith dialogue, notably courses on Islamic personalities such as al-Ghazzali and Bediuzzaman Said Nursi.

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Professor of Christianity and Islam at the University of Birmingham. His main interests: Islamic theology and philosophy, the history and theology of Christian-Muslim relations, Islam and culture, and textual studies in Arabic. Among recent publications: 'Dialogue with other Faiths as an Aspect of Islamic Theology' in T.L. Hettema and A. van der Kooij (eds.), *Religious Polemics in Context* (Assen, The Netherlands 2004); *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades*. *The letter from the People of Cyprus and Ibn Abi Talib's Response*; (ed. with R. Ebied) *The History of Christian-Muslim Relations 2* (Leiden, 2005); 'Receiving and Acquiring Wisdom in Islam', *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 33 (2006). He is currently working on 'Christian Doctrine in Islamic Theology'. He is the editor for entries on Islam in *The Encyclopaedia of the Bible and its Reception*; general editor of *Christian-Muslim Relations*: *a Bibliographical History 1*; and editor of the journal *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*.

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Associate Professor in the Department of Religion at the University of Georgia. In addition, he is the Co-Director of the UGA-Morocco Maymester program. At UGA he teaches Islamic Studies and Arabic courses as well as a survey course on the world's religions. Dr Godlas received his MA (1983) and PhD (1991) in Near Eastern Studies from the University of California at Berkeley. Dr Godlas has conducted extensive research in manuscript libraries in Egypt, Morocco, and Turkey. His professional experience includes being on the editorial board of the journal, *Sufi Illuminations*, and being a member of the steering committee of the Study of Mysticism and Study of Islam sections of the American Academy of Religion. In January 2003, Dr Godlas was chosen by the US Department of State and the Emir of Kano to give two presentations on Islam for a bilateral conference in Northern Nigeria.

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An academic from the University of Leicester. He teaches modules on Islamic civilisation. He has been writing and publishing books on Islamic fundamentalism since the early 1980s, and in the course of his research visited many fundamentalist groups in the Middle East and South Asia. Currently he is engaged in writing three studies on 'Islamic civilisation', 'Islamic fundamentalism in Britain' and 'Islamic fundamentalism in Pakistan'.

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Lecturer in Islamic Studies and Persian at the University of Durham, where he also completed his PhD on the rise of religious nomocentrism in 17th century Persia. Dr Turner is the author of the best-selling *Islam: The Basics* (Routledge) and *Islam without Allah? The Rise of Religious Externalism in Safavid Iran* (Curzon Press). His main research interests include Islamic theology and philosophy; the anthropology of Islam; Quranic exegesis; Shi'ism and Sufism. He is currently engaged in research on the issue of immortality motifs in the Quran and an annotated translation of Mulla Sadra's *Three Principles*.

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University Lecturer in Islamic Studies at the University of Cambridge, and Director of Studies in Theology at Wolfson College. He is the author of several translations of texts by al-Ghazali (d.1111), and of two books in Turkish on Islam and modernity. His edited volume 'The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology' is scheduled for publication in 2008. His main research interests are Sufism, the development of the Ottoman learned institution, computerised hadith databases and Muslim-Christian relations.

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PhD in law in 1999 from SOAS, University of London. 1999-2001: Research Fellow at the University of Oxford where he undertook two separate research projects: the Turkish diaspora in London, and the faith-based movement of Fethullah Gülen, its neo-ijtihad and renewal of Islam. Since 2001, he has been teaching comparative law, legal sociology, Islamic law and Turkish politics at the University of London. Research interests: Turkish diaspora, Turkish politics, Islamic movements, Muslim legal pluralism, neo-ijtihad and Fethullah Gülen's faith-based movement.

International Conference:

Muslim World in Transition:
Contributions of the Gülen Movement

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25.10.07
THURSDAY

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26.10.07
FRIDAY

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Thornhaugh Street,
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27.10.07
SATURDAY

LSE London School of Economics

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Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement

The conference will be launched at the House of Lords on 25 October 2007. The afternoon proceedings will include a short video clip on the Gülen movement and a series of short speeches. This will be followed by Lunch Reception. Actual presentations will take place on 26 and 27 October at the School of Oriental and African Studies and London School of Economics, respectively.

Conference Launch:
Muslim World and the Gülen Movement

Venue:
House of Lords

25.10.07 Launch	Presentations	VIP Reception
12:00-14:30		

The Muslim world has been undergoing radical social, economic, political and intellectual change since its encounter with the West. How Muslims cope with the challenges they face necessarily impacts on the wider, non-Muslim world. The underlying aim of this conference is to examine the impact of the Gülen movement on the contemporary Muslim world in transition and the relations between the West and Islam in general. As a leading transnational faith-based movement originating from Turkey with a universal educational and interfaith agenda, the Gülen movement aims to promote creative and positive relations between the West and the Muslim world and articulate a constructive position on issues such as democracy, multiculturalism, globalisation, and interfaith dialogue in the context of secular modernity. Fethullah Gülen's re-reading of religious texts in the context of a renewal and re-interpretation in Islam that can take part in the building of a fully human society in Europe will also feature in the deliberations of the conference.

The conference will also examine the theological and intellectual contributions of Gülen, situate him in the context of the modern intellectual history of Islam and discuss his own interpretations of the above central issues.

As a religious intellectual and peace activist from Turkey, Gülen has influenced a whole generation of Muslims worldwide and inspired them to play an important role in charitable and educational projects and foundations. His aim has always been to bring out the universal mission of Islam, which is to serve people regardless of faith, colour or national origin.

What Made the Gülen Movement Possible?

by Mustafa Akyol

Panel:
The Gülen Movement in Redefining Turkey and Anatolian Muslimness

Venue:
Lecture Theatre, Brunei Gallery, SOAS

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Turkey's most powerful and popular Islamic community, the Fethullah Gülen movement, is also a very moderate one, which embraces liberal democracy and promotes inter-faith tolerance and dialogue. This paper asks what socio-political conditions enabled this movement to emerge, get established and grow as successfully as it has.

The legacy of late Ottoman modernisation, which sought a synthesis of Islamic and modern Western values, assisted the Muslims of Republican Turkey to embrace democracy and establish good relations with the West. Post-war Turkey's peaceful interaction with the West — via free markets and international institutions — must have been a factor. So too it must be relevant that Turkey was never colonised by Western powers or even occupied for a long time (military interventions by the West in other Muslim countries have provoked quite radical, not moderate, Islamic responses).

The paper discusses the historical roots and social dynamics in Turkey that enabled the kind of 'moderate Islam' represented by the Gülen movement. That effort could provide lessons for other Muslim countries. It is all but taken for granted that the Islamic world needs some kind of 'reform'. Élitist and autocratic calls for 'top–down' efforts to reshape Islam notwithstanding, what is really needed is to build the social environment (security, freedom, democracy, economic opportunity) that will enable a new kind of Muslim, who will, eventually, search for new meanings in traditional texts.

Mustafa Akyol

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Mustafa Akyol (graduated from International Relations and Political Science Department of the Bosphorus (Boğaziçi) University; MA in modern Turkish history from the same university's Atatürk Institute): columnist and editor in the Turkish press: deputy editor and a regular columnist for *Turkish Daily News*, Turkey's foremost English-language daily. His op–ed pieces have also appeared in international publications such as *The Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post, International Herald Tribune* and many others. He has given seminars on issues relating to Turkey, Islam and modernity for various universities and think-tanks. He has also written (in Turkish) 'Rethinking The Kurdish Question: What Went Wrong? What Next' (2006), in which he offered a liberal solution to Turkey's long-standing ethnic conflict.

The Influence of the Gülen Movement in the Emergence of a Turkish Cultural Third Way

by Marie-Elisabeth Maigre

This paper aims to understand the role of Fethullah Gülen's movement in the emergence of the new Islamic culture in Turkey.
Among the Islamic dynamics that emerged in the 80s, the movement based on Gülen's ideas is unique not in that it spread through an intellectual, healthcare and media network – this is true of other Sufi communities – but in its development of an effective educational programme now comprising more than 300 schools around the world.
In the 1990s, this movement favoured a 'Turkish Islam' encompassing the principles of democracy and moderation, and so rejected the radical ideals of Necmettin Erbakan's Refah party. After the 1997 'soft coup' removed the Erbakan government, pro-Islamic businesspeople became more disinclined to support a party that could threaten their business interests. A reformist branch led by Istanbul mayor, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, began to adopt the principles of democracy and religious freedom as part of a new political argument, and eventually won the general elections of November 2002.
It seems that three actors – the Islamist reformists, the businessmen, and Gülen's followers – converged around the common concepts of Turkish Islam, Conservative Democracy, and Business to re-elaborate the cultural content of the Islamic movement with a more Western-democratic and capitalist orientation. The phrase 'Islam de marché', coined by Patrick Haenni, refers to the culture, born of globalisation, in which business success is efficiently used to translate thinking or religious beliefs into something practical and derive some cultural influence from association with the state.
Fethullah Gülen, whose movement is a paradigm of these new approaches, could be considered a far-sighted visionary since he anticipated the need for Turkish people, whether secular or Islamist, to adapt to the present times, and the strong potential of globalisation to diffuse his vision of Islam.

Panel:
The Gülen Movement in Redefining Turkey and Anatolian Muslimness

Venue:
Lecture Theatre, Brunei Gallery, SOAS

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The Fethullah Gülen Movement as a Transnational Phenomenon

by Bill Park

Panel:
The Gülen Movement in Redefining Turkey and Anatolian Muslimness

Venue:
Lecture Theatre, Brunei Gallery, SOAS

26.10.07 Panels	Parellel Session 1	Parellel Session 2
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This paper investigates the apparent paradox thrown up by the distinctively Turkish roots and contents of Fethullah Gülen's philosophy on the one hand, and the movement's educational activities beyond Turkey and its promotion of interfaith dialogue on the other. It considers how far the movement has been able to transcend its 'Turkishness'. In the Turkic world, primarily in Central Asia and Azerbaijan, the paper offers an assessment of the extent to which the movement generates an emulative or transformational response, perhaps contributing to the emergence of a non-territorial 'Turkic' nation or identity. In that context, the paper considers the degree to which the movement can be seen as 'pan-Turkic' in terms of its aspirations and effects. Turning to its activities in the non-Turkic world, the paper tries to establish whether the movement should be regarded as a primarily Turkish or primarily Muslim agency, and what kind of impact this creates in host countries. In chiefly Islamic host countries, to what degree is the movement engaged, intentionally or otherwise, in a competition with more radical interpretations of Islam? Or is the movement's approach to Islam rooted too exclusively in a Turkish context? This leads into a consideration of whether the movement is an agency for a 'Turkish model' approach to blending Islam with modernity and democratisation, and whether this suggests either competition or tacit alliance with the Turkish state in this regard. Finally, with respect to interfaith dialogue, is the movement's contribution seen as narrowly Turkish in its applicability, or as resonating in and of utility to the wider Muslim world?

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The Cultivation of Memory in the Gülen Community

by Marcia Hermansen

This paper explores the cultivation of 'memory' as reflected in the teachings of Fethullah Gülen and the practices of the community inspired by him. For example, it discusses how particular places, themes, and images are remembered within the movement, evoked and re-enacted so as to create community and inspire a sense of participation and allegiance.

Although the history of the Gülen movement is relatively brief-some forty years or less, practices of sharing memories inspires a collective sense of community and even sacrality.

In this paper memory within the Gülen movement will be presented in terms of its resonance with broader themes in Turkish collective memory such as Anatolian/Turkish Islam, the Ottoman cultural ideal, etc. In addition, the relationship of particular remembered symbols and experiences in the history of the Gülen movement to its current practices will be elaborated, for example 'the Light Houses' and 'camps'.

All of this will be set against the background of the topography of a movement that has expanded its imagination and its practice from local to national and ultimately global contexts.

Panel:
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Fethullah Gülen: Kemalist and Islamic Republicanism and Turkey's Democratic Future

by Louis Cantori

Panel:
The Gülen Movement, Secularism and Democracy

Venue:
Lecture Theatre, Brunei Gallery, SOAS

26.10.07 Panels	Parellel Session 1	Parellel Session 2
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To put it bluntly, the claim that liberal democracy is a universal concept is false. Its prerequisites of individualism, equality, secularism, pluralism etc. have a minority status in the world. On the other hand, what can be termed Islamic conservatism does apply to Islamic societies: 1) the past incorporates within it the revelations of God as expressed in the Qur'an as the spiritual centre of gravity; 2) community and family take precedence over the individual and 3) the goal of society is the enjoining of that which is good and the prohibition of that which is evil. Islamic conservatism can also be analytically attached to republicanism as an alternative to democracy. Referred to here is the republicanism of ancient Rome which argues for (a) the limitation of the powers of a strong and benevolent and moral state, (b) an elite pledged to serve the public good (*maslahah*), (c) a citizenry also pledged to serve society, and (d) an embedded law respected and upheld by all.

Kemalism in contemporary Turkey represents the principles of republicanism as formulated in the famous 'Six Arrows', which centred more on the need for a strong centralised state than on the obligations of the state to its citizens. If measured against the four criteria of the ancient Roman republican ideal, the Turkish state clearly falls far short. By contrast, this paper argues, the Gülen movement does, rather remarkably, meet those high standards. As a consequence, there are present in Turkey today, two interacting modes of republicanism that are increasingly beginning to overlap with and resemble one another.

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Performing 'Moral Opposition': Strategy and Identity in the Gülen Movement

by Mustafa E. Gurbuz

This paper investigates the Gülen movement's repertoires of action in order to determine how it differs from traditional Islamic revivalist movements and from the so-called 'New Social Movements' in the Western world.
Two propositions lead the discussion: First, unlike many Islamic revivalist movements, the Gülen movement shaped its identity against the perceived threat of a trio of enemies, as Nursi named them a century ago – ignorance, disunity, and poverty. This perception of the opposition is crucial to understanding the apolitical mind-set of the Gülen movement's followers. Second, unlike the confrontational New Social Movements, the Gülen movement has engaged in 'moral opposition', in which the movement's actors seek to empathise with the adversary by creating (what Bakhtin calls) 'dialogic' relationships. 'Moral opposition' has enabled the movement to be more alert strategically as well as more productive tactically in solving the everyday practical problems of Muslims in Turkey. A striking example of this 'moral opposition' was witnessed in the Merve Kavakci incident in 1999, when the movement tried to build bridges between the secular and Islamist camps, while criticising and educating both parties during the post-February 28 period in Turkey. In this way the Gülen movement's performance of opposition can contribute new theoretical and practical tools for our understanding of social movements.

Panel:
The Gülen Movement, Secularism and Democracy

Venue:
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Mustafa E. Gurbuz: studying for a PhD in the Department of Sociology at University of Connecticut, Storrs, U.S.A. His MA dissertation, *Politics of Headscarf as Social Drama*, discussed the mobilisation strategies of Islamic movements on the headscarf-ban protests in post-February 28th Turkey. Research interest: identity politics, social movements, and cultural sociology. Among recent publications on the Gülen movement: 'Worldly Asceticism and Secularization: A Critique of Weberian (Mis) Readings of the Gülen Movement' in Ibrahim Aburabi (ed.), *Challenges and Responses of Contemporary Islamic Thought: The Contributions of M. Fethullah Gülen* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, forthcoming).

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Patterns of Interaction between Islam and Liberalism: The Case of the Gülen Movement

by Ramazan Kilinc

Panel:
The Gülen Movement, Secularism and Democracy

Venue:
Lecture Theatre, Brunei Gallery, SOAS

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The unprecedented resurgence of religious organisations in the public sphere in recent years has given particular urgency to the old question of the compatibility of Islam and liberalism. Some scholars have argued that Islamic notions of social–political order are not hospitable to democracy and human rights. Others have argued that notions of democracy and human rights are firmly established in the Islamic political discourse but their expression depends on history, social structure and context.

Although this debate has proved fruitful in framing the role of Islam in the public sphere, both sides have generally focused on essential sources of Islam. The debate needs to be extended to the empirical realm through study of particular Islamic movements and their responses to liberalisation trends. Such study should take into account local context, the organisational capabilities of the movement, and the Islamic repertoire that it deploys in mobilising its followers.

This paper looks at the Gülen movement's response to liberalisation processes in Turkey in the 1990s and 2000s. Since liberalism has radically transformed the economic and political system of the country over the last two decades, Turkey is a good example for our purposes. Furthermore, the increased influence of the Gülen movement in Turkey provides rich empirical data of an Islamic movement engaging with liberalisation in civil society and politics. The paper concludes that, while the movement's discourse and practice are compatible with liberalism, its Islamic ethos means that at some points it must engage liberalism critically.

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Ramazan Kilinc: PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science at Arizona State University. He earned his BA and MA degrees from Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey. He served as a research fellow at Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies, Ankara, Turkey (1999-2000); an editor of a foreign policy program at Turkish public television, TRT (2000-2001); and a lecturer at Fatih University, Istanbul Turkey (2001-2003). His research interests include religion and politics, institutional development and Islamic social and political movements. He is currently working on his dissertation, which analyses how and when domestic actors appropriate international norms in the processes of domestic institutional change. In this context, he compares state-religion relations in France and Turkey. His other works focus on Islamic social movements, religious political parties and democratisation in Turkey and the Middle East. He has authored a number of journal articles and book chapters on these topics.

Changing Perspectives on Islamism and Secularism in Turkey: the Gülen Movement and the AK Party

by Ahmet Kuru

Panel:
The Gülen Movement, Secularism and Democracy

Venue:
Lecture Theatre, Brunei Gallery, SOAS

26.10.07 Panels	Parellel Session 1	Parellel Session 2
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The debate between secularists and Islamic groups, a conspicuous feature of Turkish politics for decades, changed in the late 1990s when the political discourse of mainstream Islamic groups embraced secularism. The establishment elite advocate the existing French model of an 'assertive secularism', meaning that, in the public domain, the state supports only the expression of a secular worldview, and formally excludes religion and religious symbols from that domain. The pro-Islamic conservatives, on the other hand, favour the American model of 'passive secularism', in which the state permits the expression of religion in the public domain. In short, what Turkey has witnessed over the last decade is no longer a tussle between secularism and Islamism, but between two brands of secularism.

Two actors have played crucial roles in this transformation: the Gülen movement and the Justice and Development (AK) Party. Recently the Gülen movement became an international actor and a defendant of passive secularism. Similarly, although the AK Party was originated from an Islamist Milli Görüş (National Outlook) movement, it is now a keen supporter of Turkey's membership to the European Union and defends (passive) secularist, democratic regime. This paper analyses the transformation of these important social and political actors with regard to certain structural conditions, as well as the interactions between them.

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Religion as a Source of Social Capital? The Gülen Movement in the Public Sphere

by Etga Ugur

Panel:
Gülen and Islam as Social Capital

Venue:
Lecture Theatre,
Brunei Gallery, SOAS

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This paper asks: when and under what conditions does religion become a source of cooperation rather than conflict? The Gülen movement is an Islamic social movement that bases its philosophy on increasing religious consciousness at the individual level and making Islam an important social force in the public sphere. It is this intellectual and social activism that has made the movement a global phenomenon and the focus of socio-political analysis.

The Gülen community brings different sectors of society together to facilitate 'collective intellectual effort' and offer 'civil responses' to social issues, seeing this as a more subtle and legitimate way of influencing public debate and policy. To this end, the movement initiated a series of symposiums, known as Abant Workshops in Turkey. The scope of these meetings was later expanded to include a wider audience in Europe, the U.S., and the Middle East.

This paper looks specifically at the Abant Workshops and the movement's strategy of bridge building and problem-solving. It uses the press releases, transcripts and audio-visual records of the past 14 meetings to discuss their objectives and outcomes. This material is supplemented by interviews with key organisers from the Journalists and Writer Foundation and other participants. The discussion aims to understand how far religiously inspired social groups can contribute to the empowerment of civil society vis-à-vis the state and its officially secular ideology. Beyond that, it aims to explain the role of civil society organisations in democratic governance, and the possibility of creating social capital in societies lacking a clear 'overlapping consensus' on issues of citizenship, morality and national identity.

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Etga Ugur: studying for PhD in political science at the University of Utah, where as adjunct instructor he has taught classes on comparative politics, international relations, Middle East politics, and religion and politics in comparative perspective. Research interests: religion and politics, Islamic movements and comparative government; currently researching public activism among religious groups in the US and Turkey. He has published essays on religion, especially Islamic movements, in the journals *Muslim Minority Affairs and New Perspectives on Turkey* and *The Fountain* magazine.

Civility in Islamic Activism: Towards a Better Understanding of Shared Values for Civil Society Development

by Wanda Krause

Panel:
Gülen and Islam as Social Capital

Venue:
Lecture Theatre,
Brunei Gallery, SOAS

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Fethullah Gülen's works and movement have aimed to mend the tensions and fissures, specifically along racial and ideological lines on both practical and theoretical levels that are emerging in this rapidly globalising world. Within a civil society theoretical framework, this paper addresses the knowledge developed on Islamically inspired forms of activism, before proceeding to an examination of key civil society actors with focus on the Gülen movement.

Islam-based forms of organisation are conventionally presented as deficient in 'civility' or even antithetical to civil principles. The danger is that they are then simply excluded from normative definitions of civil society and their positive role in it diminished. In this respect, this paper argues for expanding the concepts through which we view and come to judge civility and citizenship. The role of shared values in building civil society is facilitated by expanding the concepts through which we measure and exclude crucial components. Recognising the value systems behind Islamic forms of organisation helps develop better tools for deciphering the shared values among various parts of civil society.

Focusing on the Gülen movement, through an investigation of its beliefs, values and practices, the paper illustrates not only its contribution in terms of expanding civil societies internationally, but also how – according to the criteria used for measuring its effect – it is positioned as a leading example of dealing with contemporary challenges. It is hoped that this work will contribute to laying the epistemological groundwork for those struggling against Islamophobia and striving to expose the values shared among all actors in a healthy and vibrant civil society.

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She has written many articles on politics in the Middle East and other developing countries and article entries in encyclopaedias. Among recent publications: 'Political Islam in the Middle East – Doing the State's Work: Women and the Parallel Sector in the Arab World' in Thomas Bateman and Roger Epp (eds.) *Braving the New World: Readings in Contemporary Politics* (Nelson, 3rd edn. 2004); 'Civil Society in the Democratization Process: A Case Study on Cairo Islamic Women's and Secular Feminist Organizations', *Global Development Studies*, (Winter/Spring) 2004; 'The Role and Example of Chilean and Argentinean Mothers in Democratisation', *Development in Practice*, 14/3 (April 2004).

'Islamic Puritanism' as a Source of Economic Development: Contributions of the Gülen Movement

by Selcuk Uygur

Panel:
Gülen and Islam as Social Capital

Venue:
Lecture Theatre,
Brunei Gallery, SOAS

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Turkey has been going through significant transformations over the last two decades, which might be studied under diverse rubrics. The focus in this paper is on the emergence of a new bourgeoisie that is overwhelmingly religious; its aim is to describe the motives behind the attitudes of religious business people and to discuss the contribution of the Gülen movement.

The paper begins by clarifying relevant concepts that appear vague – such as 'Islamic Puritanism' and 'Islamic work ethic' – following the particular interpretation by Wilhelm Hennis of Max Weber's familiar 'Protestant ethic' thesis. Rather than looking for mechanical causal relationships, this paper focuses on life goals and ways of living and discusses the Gülen movement's contribution to the way of living related to economic activities. (The movement is considered as a new interpretation of Islam – Turkish and strongly influenced by Sufism.) Next, the institutional and moral sources enabling an enterprise culture are discussed. This paper considers the transformation in Turkey to be securely founded on the moral sources and suggests that Turkish Islam might be considered as a source enabling a particular type of entrepreneurs, and that this type is helpful to Turkey's modernisation project as it anticipates membership of the European Union.

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Social and Spiritual Capital of the Gülen Movement

by Talip Kucukcan

This paper examines the Gülen movement from the perspective of social and spiritual capital theory. It argues that, in an increasingly globalised world, this movement has been distinguished by its consistent ability to convert its social network and spiritual capital into creative projects that contribute positively to the transformation of Islamic thought and practice in many different settings and socio-political contexts. In the past, traditional spiritual and religious movements remained largely indifferent to the new forms of transformative agency such as civil society organisations, the media, modern educational establishments, corporations and global networking. Social capital theory is derived from the idea that social networks have both importance and power as civil actors in modern democratic societies. The Gülen movement was able to adapt to the modern conditions and successfully turned its spiritual, intellectual and human resources into effective social capital. Three areas of that adaptive success are examined: *education* (establishment of institutions from primary school to university level, attracting students of diverse backgrounds); *the media* (a wide range of products in print and audio-visual communication, from a mass circulation daily to TV and radio channels); and *civil society organisations* (foundations and associations to promote democratic participation and dialogue among various sections of the society). The paper concludes that the Gülen movement has built up a huge social capital and turns it into a number of transformative agents informed by Islamic spirituality.

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Gülen and Islam as Social Capital

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Turkish Muslims and Islamic Turkey: Perspectives for a New European Islamic Identity?

by Shanthikumar Hettiarachchi

Panel:
Euro-Islam, Identity and Integration

Venue:
B202,
Brunei Gallery, SOAS

26.10.07 Panels	Parellel Session 1	Parellel Session 2
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The paper discusses the potential of Fethullah Gülen's thinking on the revival of core socio-ethical tenets of Islam to influence an emerging European Islamic identity. The long absence of any substantial Muslim population from the religious landscape of western Europe in the modern period began to end with the post-War immigration of Muslims from South Asia to the UK and other parts of Europe. But Muslims from other parts of the Islamic world have also established communities in Europe with their own, different expressions of Islam. The presence of Muslims represents a religio-cultural counterpoint to the projected 'post-Christian society of Europe', since they are now permanently settled within that society.

The encounter of 'Turkish Islam' (Anatolian & other) and the majority 'South Asian Islam' (with its diverse strands, Barelvi, Deobandi and others) in western Europe hints at the building of a new 'European Islamic' identity. Arguably, this twenty-first century 'European Islam' might be a synthesis of the 'Turkish' and the 'South Asian' expressions of Islam. Any disharmony, on the other hand, might kindle yet another rivalry in the heart of Europe. This paper considers whether Gülen's thought on community education based on the fundamentals of Islam could help build a positive and fresh expression of Islam that may reform the prevailing image of it as a cultural tradition that resorts to violence in order to redress grievances.

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The Emergence of a Neo-Communitarian Movement in the Turkish Diaspora in Europe: Settlement and Competition Strategies of the Gülen Movement in France and Germany

by Emre Demir

This paper examines the organisational and discursive strategies of the Gülen movement in France and Germany and its differentiation in Turkish Islam in Europe, with the primary focus on the movement's educational activities. The paper describes the characteristics of organisational activity among Turkish Muslims in Europe. Then it analyses two mainstream religious-communitarian movements and the contrasting settlement strategies of the "neo-communitarian" Gülen movement.

Despite the large Turkish population in western Europe, the movement has been active there for only about ten years – relatively late compared to other Islamic organisations. Mainly, the associational organisation of Turkish Islam in Europe is based on two axes: the construction/sponsoring of mosques and Qur'anic schools. By contrast, the Gülen movement's members in Europe, insisting on 'the great importance of secular education', do not found or sponsor mosques and Qur'anic schools. Their principal focus is to address the problems of the immigrant youth population in Europe, with reintegration of Turkish students into the educational system of the host societies as a first goal. On the one hand, as a neo-communitarian religious grouping, they strive for a larger share of the 'market' (i.e. more members from among the Turkish diaspora) by offering a fresh religious discourse and new organisational strategies, much as they have done in Turkey. On the other hand, they seek to gain legitimacy in the public sphere in Germany and France by building an educational network in these countries, just as they have done in Central Asia and the Balkans region. Accordingly, a reinvigorated and reorganised community is taking shape in western Europe.

Panel:
Euro-Islam, Identity and Integration

Venue:
B202,
Brunei Gallery, SOAS

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The Gülen Movement as a Mechanism for Integration of the Muslim Community in Europe

by Fatih Tedik

Panel:
Euro-Islam, Identity and Integration

Venue:
B202,
Brunei Gallery, SOAS

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This paper discusses the potential of the Gülen movement to serve as a mechanism for, in the medium term, the integration of the Turkish community in Europe and, in the long term, the Muslim community as a whole, taking into consideration the obstacles to this process, given the composition of different communities.

Although many of Gülen's ideas are far from conventional theologically, the real novelty of his work is that it motivates people who are at least sympathetic to his ideas to put them into practice: the ideas do not remain theory and aspiration but become a charter or action-plan implemented by members of the movement. The movement's influence on Muslim community is examined from both a theoretical perspective (i.e. the position of Gülen's ideas within Islamic understanding of *dar al-Islam* and *dar al-harb*) and a practical perspective (i.e. the activities of the movement in western Europe that have actual and potential effectiveness in bringing about integration).

In order to assess the movement's capabilities, the current situation of Muslims in Europe and their problems in general and the Turkish experience in particular is presented. The movement's potential for enabling integration is then analysed from four complementary perspectives: (1) does the movement propose an alternative view to stimulate the integration process of the Muslim community; (2) has the movement actually operated as a mechanism for integration in western Europe so that its capability is demonstrable; (3) is the European context suitable for the movement to operate effectively; and (4) what does the Gülen movement offer to European member-states by way of a means to sustain a healthy integration process – Turkish community in the medium-run, and the whole Muslim community in the long-run.

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Modern Ideals and Muslim Identity: Harmony or Contradiction? A Text Linguistic Analysis of Gülen's Teachings and Movement

by Gurkan Celik, Katie Kirk, Yusuf Alan

At the global level there is an urgent need and increasing attention for a new sense of Muslim identity in harmony with modern realities. Fethullah Gülen, an educationalist, a religious guide and a peace maker, is one of the most persuasive and influential Turkish-Muslim voices in the contemporary world putting strong emphasis on peaceful coexistence and the synthesis of faith and reason in Western democracies through spirituality, religious diversity, dialogue and educational initiatives. This paper primarily examines how and to what extent Gülen's teachings and the world-wide volunteer movement inspired by him are contributing to the dynamic and cheerful coexistence of Muslims and non-Muslims. In order to explore and analyse this coexistence, the seven text linguistic principles (cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality) are applied to Gülen's teachings and his movement as an empirical case. Secondarily, these text linguistic standards are modelled to social sciences as a new theoretical and methodological approach for exploring and analysing social movements and phenomena. The originality of this study is specified as the correlations between a movement and a text, and the processes of cognition, production and reproduction of knowledge and its dissemination and transition in the Muslim world, multicultural societies and liberal democracies. This research's practical relevance lies in the fact that it helps understand how the Gülen movement has been formed and accomplished, both nationally and internationally. Metaphorically, in this paper Fethullah Gülen has been considered as the writer; by-him-inspired movement refers to the text; and the readers are the transnational community and the whole humanity.

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Euro-Islam, Identity and Integration

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Katherine M. Kirk (MA in political science from Leiden University; BA in social science from University College, Utrecht): studying for PhD at Queens University, Belfast. Research interest: Dutch integration policies and their implications on citizenship practices; currently studying social problems in deprived Amsterdam neighbourhoods as an intern at the Wiardi Beckman Stichting.
Yusuf Alan (MA in English translation and interpretation at the Hacettepe University in Ankara, Turkey): editor at Time Media Group in Rotterdam. Some publications: *Aktif Dusunme ve Yenilenme* [Active Thinking and Self-renewal] (Rotterdam: Libertas Media, 2001); *Sozun Gucu* [The Power of Discourse] (Rotterdam: Libertas Media, 2003).

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Robustness and Civility: Themes from Fethullah Gülen as Resource and Challenge for Government, Muslims and Civil Society in the UK

by Paul Weller

Panel:
Civility and Non-Violence in Gülen's Thought and Practice

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The 7/7 (2005) attack on London Transport by Muslims brought up in the UK shocked the Government, many Muslims, and the wider civil society. Subsequently, the UK's 'multi-culturalist' policy consensus has been subject to intensive questioning. Politicians and some parts of civil society have challenged a perceived 'separatism' among Muslims; emphasised a need for shared values and social cohesion; and advocated the promotion of 'moderate Islam' and 'moderate Muslims'.

This paper argues that, in legitimising simplistic distinctions between 'good' (understood as 'liberal' or 'modernist') and 'bad' or 'suspect' (understood as 'traditionalist', 'radical' or 'fundamentalist') Muslims and forms of Islam, there is a risk of eliding the condemnation of terrorist crimes conducted on religious grounds into the criminalisation, or at least social marginalisation, of religious conservatism and/or radicalism. This approach, it is argued, is more likely to undermine the development of inclusive approaches to the common good and that what is needed instead are authentically Islamic approaches that can offer both a resource and a challenge to Government, Muslims and the wider civil society.

Finally, it is argued that such resource and challenge can be found in themes from Fethullah Gülen's teaching. Gülen, on Islamic grounds, condemns terrorism in the name of religion. Further, being rooted in a confident Ottoman Muslim civilisational heritage and having during the period of the Turkish Republic engaged with both ideological 'secularism' and political 'Islamism', he also offers a critique of the political instrumentalisation of Islam while arguing for an active Muslim engagement with the wider (religious and secular) society based on a distinctive Islamic vision characterised by a robustness and civility that could make a positive contribution in the present UK context.

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The Work of Fethullah Gülen and the Role of Non-Violence in a Time of Terror

by T. Steve Wright

We are living in dangerous times. We can anticipate further polarisation between Islam and the West as the official line becomes more focused on achieving military solutions to what are essentially political and cultural issues.

Fethullah Gülen is unusual in adding a distinctly Islamic voice to the calls for a non-violent approach to conflict resolution. The notion of peace through peace has a rich Western tradition from Tolstoy to Martin Luther King. In the East, all of those active in peace movements today acknowledge a debt to Mahatma Gandhi. These writers continue to influence peace activists such as Gene Sharp, whose work was directly channelled to assist in the recent, relatively peaceful, revolutions in former Soviet states such as the Ukraine.

This paper examines the peace-building work of Gülen within wider concepts of non-violence in order to explore their lessons for modern Islam's transition. It is important for the conference to hear something of past voices and experiences, and the lessons learned from them, which can further inspire those in Islam who wish to move towards future peace using peaceful, non-violent activities.

This goal is particularly pertinent in a time of terror when existing counter-insurgency methods readily provoke a violent response, which justifies more violence and repression.

The paper is illustrated to ensure accessibility of the examples for those less familiar with non-violent action dedicated to achieving social change.

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Civility and Non-Violence in Gülen's Thought and Practice

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Steve Wright (PhD on 'New Police Technologies and Sub-State Conflict Control', Lancaster University): Senior Lecturer in the School of Applied Global Ethics and an Associate Director of the Praxis Centre, Leeds Metropolitan University. For almost thirty years, Dr Wright has lectured extensively across five continents on the social implications of new internal security tactics and technologies. His most recent work covers new border control technologies and the climate change crisis. Concerned that the US 'War on Terror' may be masking new and unsustainable global security agendas, his ambition is to evolve human security programmes based on mutual respect which put the well-being of people first.

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Terrorism in Britain and the Choice for Policy Makers: Gülen's Ideas

by Asaf Hussain

Panel:
Civility and Non-Violence in Gülen's Thought and Practice

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Western policies are focused on fighting terrorist groups rather than terrorist ideology and its roots causes. This paper tries to identify those root causes and the means of eradicating terrorist ideology.
A common misunderstanding is that Islam is prone to violence and extremism, if not itself the cause of terrorism. This misconception is based on ignorance of the many Muslim groups and faith-based movements that work towards peace and better relations in the world because of Islam, not despite it. The Gülen movement is one of the most successful and famous of those faith-based movements. Policy-makers need to become familiar with such movements, their motivations, methods and arguments. The extremist/terrorist ideology must be rebutted; however, of the many interpretations of Islam circulating in the world the most radical ones dominate the media and therefore the attention of younger Muslims. Media and policy-makers have not paid enough attention to the authentic interpretations of Islam embraced by the majority – the interpretations of mainstream Muslim thinkers like Fethullah Gülen. Gülen's teachings and principles and the movement's activities and projects can help inform and shape state policies. This paper explains how the views of thinkers like Gülen can be translated into policy terms to defeat terrorism.

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Asaf Hussain: an academic from the University of Leicester. He teaches modules on Islamic civilisation. He has been writing and publishing books on Islamic fundamentalism since the early 1980s, and in the course of his research visited many fundamentalist groups in the Middle East and South Asia. Currently he is engaged in writing three studies on 'Islamic civilisation', 'Islamic fundamentalism in Britain' and 'Islamic fundamentalism in Pakistan'.

A Sunni Muslim Scholar's Humanitarian and Religious Rejection of Violence Against Civilians

by Y. Alp Aslandogan, Bekir Cinar

This paper analyses the multi-faceted response of a Sunni-Hanafi scholar, Fethullah Gülen, to the phenomenon of violence against civilians under a religious rhetoric. Gülen's response involves four components: (a) humanitarian, (b) religious, (c) political or realist, and (d) practical/educational. (a) Gülen categorically condemns acts of violence against innocent non-combatants including women and children as inhuman. (b) Gülen sets out the principles of Islamic jurisprudence that invalidate any declaration of war by individuals or groups: hence, such self-declared wars under the banner of Islam cannot be regarded as legitimate. He refutes 'the end justifies the means' argument, calling it a Marxist-Communist rhetoric, with no Islamic justification whatever. (c) While discussing misunderstanding, misrepresentation and abuse of religious texts, Gülen hints at the presence of individuals, interest groups, and other entities that benefit from friction and violent conflict. He suggests that the possibility should be considered that some individuals have been manipulated, perhaps even 'hypnotised' through special drugs, to carry out actions they would otherwise not carry out. (d) Gülen offers practical approaches to rooting out the problem of hate-mongering and violent conflict. The underlying dynamic of this approach is to provide, through education, mutual understanding, respect, opportunity and hope. Only educational institutions that foster interfaith and intercultural dialogue, mutual understanding and respect, and offer hope of upward mobility, can provide lasting solutions. Concepts such as 'love of creation due to the Creator' can be located in every culture and spiritual tradition. Gülen's own emphasis on Islamic spirituality provides an example that is particularly significant for Muslims: his argument against terrorism and for peaceful interfaith relations is based upon the authoritative view of the Sunni tradition, to which 90% of the world's Muslims adhere.

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Y. Alp Aslandogan: author; editor of *The Fountain* magazine; adjunct faculty member at Prairie View A&M University. Currently serving as Vice-President of the Institute of Interfaith Dialog (IID), he develops material for universities on topics such as interfaith dialogue, Sufism, democracy and religion, and Muslim responses to globalisation. Recent publication: co-edited *Muslim Citizens of the Globalized World, Contributions of the Gülen Movement* (IID Press, 2006). Forthcoming: a book on spiritual time management, and an illustrated Qur'an commentary in English.

Bekir Cinar (PhD on 'Terrorism, Countering Terrorism, and the Security Services in Liberal Democratic Countries', University of Hull, 2006; MPhil from the Department of International Politics, University of Wales, 1995; MSc in Public Administration from the Institute of Social Sciences, Gazi University; Diploma in Business Law, Department of Law, University of Wales, 1993; BA in Public Administration, Faculty of Political Sciences, Ankara University, 1988): formerly a lecturer at the Police Academy, Turkey, now an independent scholar.

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Gülen's Contribution to a Middle Way Islam in Southeast Asia

by Muhammad Nawab Osman

Panel:
The Gülen Movement in the Muslim World 1

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This paper aims to demonstrate the relevance of the Gülen movement as a counter to extremist ideology and an encouragement to inter-religious dialogue in the Southeast Asia region. The movement presents a Middle Way Islam, which can accommodate local cultural differences and make a hospitable space for positive relations between Muslims and non-Muslims.

Following an account of Fethullah Gülen's views on extremism and inter-religious dialogue, the paper turns to case studies of Gülen-inspired organisations in Singapore and Indonesia to show how they have applied his ideas to enable inter-religious dialogue and offer an effective alternative to legalistic teaching of Islam. The case studies allow for comparison of the movement's approach to a Muslim-majority and Muslim-minority context. The paper concludes by charting the trajectory of the movement's role and contribution to the development of a Middle Way Islam in Southeast Asia.

The paper is based on a combination of fieldwork with a qualitative approach and documentary research. The fieldwork comprises data gathered through participatory observation in Singapore and interviews with key members of the two organisations and their local partners. The documentary research comprises data from the movement's publications – books, magazines (*Asya Pasifik*), newspaper articles, brochures and online materials.

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Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman (MA, Department of History, NUS): Associate Research Fellow with the Contemporary Islam Program in the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University; actively involved in various organisations and regional networks including Young Association of Muslim Professionals and Southeast Asia Islam and Democracy Workshop. Research interests: history and politics of South and Southeast Asia; Islamic movements and Islamic political thought, with fieldwork in Pakistan, India, Malaysia, Indonesia, and United Kingdom. Publications: he has contributed chapters to several books, produced working papers for academic conferences, and articles for various newspapers including *Straits Times* and *Today's Zaman* (Turkey); currently writing a book on the history of Islam in Southeast Asia.

Phnom Penh's Fethullah Gülen School as an Alternative to Prevalent Forms of Education for Cambodia's Muslim Minority

by Philipp Bruckmayr

Following the end of Khmer Rouge rule (1975–79), the Cham Muslim minority of Cambodia began to rebuild community structures and religious infrastructure. It was only after 1993 that they became recipients of international Islamic aid, mostly for the establishment of mosques, schools and orphanages. Now Cambodia boasts several Muslim schools, financed and/or run by Saudi Arabian and Kuwaiti NGOs as well as by private enterprise from the Gulf region, most of which rely on a purely religious curriculum. However, Cambodian Muslim leaders are urging attendance of public Khmer schools and seeking to establish alternatives in the form of Islamic secondary schools with a mixed curriculum, modelled after similar schools in Malaysia. The generally harmonious relations between Chams and Khmers have been affected by the importation of new interpretations of Islam through international Islamic welfare organisations, and the long arm of international terrorism.

The only Cambodian non-religious and non-discriminatory educational facility operated from a Muslim country is Phnom Penh's Zaman International School. It was founded in 1997 and is associated with the Fethullah Gülen movement. Classes are taught in both Khmer and English. Its kindergarten, primary and high schools are attended by Khmers, resident foreigners and a few Chams. For them, apart from the high standard provided by the school, its explicit agenda of instruction on an inter-racial and inter-religious basis, coupled with its prestige as an institution operated from Muslim lands, serves to make the school a valuable alternative to both secular private schools and Islamic schools.

This paper raises and discusses the interesting question of the applicability of Gülen's thought on education and inter-faith relations to the periphery of Southeast Asian Islam.

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The Gülen Movement in the Muslim World 1

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Philipp Bruckmayr

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Philipp Bruckmayr: MA in Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Vienna (2007) on 'The Islamization of Champa'; now preparing PhD dissertation 'Half a Millenium of Muslim Diaspora in Khmer Lands: The Chams of Cambodia.' In recent years he has done fieldwork on Arab immigration to the Caribbean in Colombia, Venezuela and Curacão, and on the Chams in Cambodia, Vietnam and Thailand. He has published articles and book reviews in the *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, ISIM Review, Der Konak* and *DAVO Nachrichten*, as well as presented papers at international conferences in Austria, Germany and Turkey.

Contributions of the Gülen Schools in Kyrgyzstan

by Ibrahim Keles

Panel:
The Gülen Movement in the Muslim World 1

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Sebat International Education Institute has been operating for over 15 years in Sebat, Kyrgyzstan, educating and training the Kyrgyz 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. This paper studies the impact of this institution on values among Kyrgyzstan youth, and compares its educational principles, policies and effects with those of other educational institutions in the city and country.

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Ibrahim Keles

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Ibrahim Keles: Lecturer in Accounting at department of management of International Atatürk Alatoo University and PhD candidate in management at Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University of Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. Also gives lectures at American University of Central Asia and International University of Kyrgyzstan. Research interests are accounting, social-economic changes in Kyrgyzstan, foreign direct investment and higher education.

The Gülen Movement: Its Nature and Identity

by Muhammed Cetin

The Gülen movement is increasingly visible through the work of a range of institutions across the world. Its visibility has led to the beginning of formal academic inquiry into the nature and identity of the movement and its activities. Such academic study is necessary before one can offer to evaluate the short- and long-term outcomes of the movement and their desirability. While little of an academic nature has been published so far, there have been a number of politicised or journalistic accounts of the movement, characterising it variously as a sect, cult or order. This paper scrutinises a number of those accounts as a way into a more accurate, evidence-based description of the teachings of Fethullah Gülen and of the conduct of the members of the movement inspired by him.

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The Gülen Movement in the Muslim World 1

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Islamic Prospects for Inter-religious Dialogue: The Contribution of Fethullah Gülen

by Douglas Pratt

Panel:
Co-Existence and Dialogue

Venue:
Old Theatre,
LSE

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Countering extremist ideology may be a problem primarily for the Muslim world, but it has major implications for, and so the interest of, the wider world. Although it might seem that it is the strident militant voices that are gaining ground in the Muslim world, there are also strong voices from within Islam seeking to proclaim the Muslim priority for peaceful and harmonious relations with the wider world, including with religious neighbours. Such a voice is that of Fethullah Gülen.

This paper seeks to understand the prospects and appropriate contexts for dialogue: what enables, and what hinders, good interfaith relations? The paper addresses the issue of Islamic paradigms for inter-religious relations and dialogue, then analyses and critically discusses the views of Fethullah Gülen. The intention is to identify a perspective that will encourage future inter-religious dialogue and enhance the relations of Islam to other faiths, a perspective indicative of transitions within the Muslim world and one that gives cause to be hopeful for the recovery of the true way of peace.

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Gülen's Response to the 'Clash of Civilisations' Thesis

by Richard Penaskovic

Panel:
Co-Existence and Dialogue

Venue:
Old Theatre,
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Part I contains an exposition of Sam Huntington's thesis about the clash of civilisations according to Gülen. Huntington's writings are far from being realistic evaluations regarding the future. Rather, they are more like a self-fulfilling prophecy. Gülen argues that by creating new enemy fronts, Huntington actually sows the seeds for a clash of civilisations on the basis of religious and cultural differences. Part II looks at Gulen's response to Huntington's thesis and has three parts: tolerance, interfaith dialogue, and compassionate love. Tolerance means closing our minds to the faults of others, respecting ideas with which we disagree, and when attacked verbally, responding with mildness or as the Qur'an says, with 'gentle words.' Interfaith dialogue involves stressing the commonalities between the world religions, rather than past polemics and historical differences. In regard to compassionate love Gülen calls the universe a symphony of compassion because without compassion everything is in chaos. Souls filled with love are in Gülen's view, the greatest heroes in the cosmos. The way of love is the way of the prophets. Part III contains my own views on the clash of civilisations. Written in the spirit of Gülen, I argue that in contradistinction to Huntington, the Muslim world is not monolithic, that many of the past wars and clashes were within the same civilisation, and that the real clash is between extremists of all types and moderates within the same culture or civilisation. I also highlight the ecumenical message of Islam, namely, that all religion deserve respect and courtesy, that followers of different religious traditions should compete with one another in piety, and that the rope that links us to God also links us to one another (Qur'an 3:103).

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Richard Penaskovic is Professor of Religious Studies and Immediate Past Chair of the University Senate and University Faculty at Auburn University in Alabama, USA. Penaskovic possesses a B.A. in philosophy, the equivalent of a MA in theology from the University of Wuerzburg, Germany, and received the doctorate in theology *magna cum laude* from the Ludwig Maximilians University of Munich. Penaskovic has over 100 publications to his credit. His latest book, Critical Thinking and the Academic Study of Religion, is distributed by Duke University Press. His many articles and book reviews have appeared in such journals as The Journal of the American Academy of Religion, Augustinian Studies, Theological Studies, The Journal of Ecumenical Studies, Louvain Studies (Belgium), and The Heythrop Journal (London). He has appeared on radio and TV in the United States and his current research interests are the Muslim-Christian dialogue, spirituality, and ecclesiology.

Giving Precedence to Common Points: The Limits of the Otherness in Fethullah Gülen's Dialogic Methodology for Interfaith Encounters

by Irina Vainovski-Mihai

Panel:
Co-Existence and Dialogue

Venue:
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This paper examines Fethullah Gülen's teaching on interfaith encounters highlighting his dialogic methodology proposed for a globalised world in which Samuel Huntington's idea of the 'clash of civilisations' (*Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 1997) is still prominent. This idea, concludes Gülen, stems from the lack of trust in the religion of the "Other" and, rather often than not, from easily passing over the common points. According to Gülen, dialogue is not a superfluous endeavour, but an imperative ("Dialogue is a must") and it should start by "Giving precedence to common points". Gülen holds that the tendency toward factionalism exists within human nature. A meaningful and nonetheless necessary goal, he says, should be to make this tendency non-threatening and even beneficial. To fully appreciate the significance of Gülen's accomplishments, one must understand the perspective from which he approaches the subject of interfaith dialogue. Based on his thinking as noted above, the purpose of this paper is to set out in some detail the way in which this renowned Islamic thinker limits the "domain" of the Otherness (Homi Bhabha, The Location of Culture, 2004; Nation and Narration, 1990) to make dialogue possible through overcoming both Orientalism (Edward Said, Orientalism, 1978) and Occidentalism (Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, Occidentalism: the West in the Eyes of its Enemies, 2004). Challenging the discourse of conflict and focusing on common points may be an important strategy when mutual suspicions are still prevalent and when the field of postcolonial studies stand witness to conflicting processes of refraction (Patricia Crone, Medieval Islamic Political Thought, 2005; Amin Maalouf, Les Croisades vues par les Arabes, 1986).

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Irina Vainovski-Mihai: Associate Professor in Arabic Literature at 'Dimitrie Cantemir' Christian University in Bucharest, Romania. After graduating from the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures (Arabic and English) at the University of Bucharest, she spent several years in various Arab countries, publishing travel notes, essays and research on literature and cultural studies, course books and other academic instruction aids, as well as translating works from Arabic, English and Hungarian. Recent publications include '*A Food of Their Kind' The Gastronomic Image of the Eastern Other in a Time of Tensioned Self-Identification* (2006, in English), *The Wandering European and His Egyptian Guide: On Arabic Story- and History-Telling* (2005, in English). She is a founding member of the Center for Arab Studies in Bucharest and of the Romanian Association for Religious Studies.

Tolerance in the Theology and Thought of A. J. Conyers and F. Gülen

by David B. Capes

Panel:
Co-Existence and Dialogue

Venue:
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In *The Long Truce* (Spence Publishing, 2001) the late A. J. Conyers argues that tolerance, as practiced in Western democracies, is not a public virtue; it is a political strategy employed to establish power and guarantee profits. Tolerance, of course, seemed to be a reasonable response to the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but tolerance based upon indifference to all values except political power and materialism relegated ultimate questions of meaning to private life. Conyers offers another model for tolerance based upon values and resources already resident in pre-Reformation Christianity.

In this paper, we consider Conyers' case against the modern, secular form of tolerance and its current practice. We examine his attempt to reclaim the practice of Christian tolerance based upon humility, hospitality and the 'powerful fact' of the incarnation. Furthermore, we bring the late Conyers into dialogue with Fethullah Gülen, a Muslim scholar, prolific writer and the source of inspiration for a transnational movement. We explore how both Conyers and Gülen interpret their scriptures in order to fashion a theology and social paradigm conducive to peaceful co-existence. Finally, because Gülen's identity has been formed within the Sufi tradition, we reflect on the resources within Sufi spirituality that make dialogue and tolerance key values for him. In the end we argue that strong resonances are found in the notion of authentic tolerance based on humility advocated by Conyers and the notion of '*hoshgoru*', roughly translated as 'empathic acceptance', in the writings of Gülen.

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David B. Capes (PhD, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Texas, 1990; following Master of Divinity at same Seminary, 1982; BA, Mercer University, Atlanta, 1978): serves as Chair of the Department of Christianity and Philosophy at Houston Baptist University. In 2000 he was appointed Visiting Fellow of the Faculty of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh where he carried out research on early Christian worship practices. In 1992 he published *Old Testament Yahweh Texts in Paul's Christology* (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr). Since then he teamed up with Etty Boochny of Tel Aviv to write *The Footsteps of Jesus in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Steimatsky, 1999). He serves as the theological review director of a new Bible paraphrase called *the Voice* (with Thomas Nelson). His research interests include Christian origins, Biblical interpretation, Christology and worship. For years he has been active in Jewish-Christian dialogue in Houston and around the nation.

Gülen and Sources in Islam for Interfaith Dialogue

by Alan Godlas

Panel:
Co-Existence and Dialogue

Venue:
Old Theatre,
LSE

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The central argument of this paper is that although Gülen is clearly an original thinker about interfaith dialogue, his writings on this subject are nonetheless rooted in the Qur'an and *Sunnah*, and in the thought of prominent Turkish-Muslim writers such as Ahmet Yesevi, Jalaluddin Rumi, Yunus Emre, Niyazi Misri, and Bediüzzaman Said Nursi. This combination of original thought that nevertheless relies on fundamental Islamic principles and sources is crucial to the Islamic process of 'creative renewal' (*tajdid*). One original contribution of Gülen's to Islamic thought on interfaith dialogue is his formulation of the four-fold principles of interfaith dialogue in Islam: love, compassion, tolerance, and forgiveness, which he supplements by his urging of 'self-reform' (Gülen: 'The Necessity of Interfaith Dialogue: A Muslim Perspective'). This paper (1) surveys Gülen's writings available in English (focusing on *Toward a Global Civilization of Love and Tolerance, An Analysis of the Prophet's Life*, the article mentioned above, and some secondary materials, notably Ünal and Williams, *Advocate of Dialogue*) and locates Gülen's direct sources for dialogue in Islam in the Qur'an, *Sunnah*, and in the Turkish-Muslim writers mentioned. Then (2) it marshals additional quotations from the Qur'an, hadith, and the Turkish-Muslim writers as further evidence for Gülen's contentions. The paper (3) adopts Gülen's four principles plus 'self-reform' as a method of organisation. And (4) it explains the relationship of his sources to Gülen's own philosophy of Islamic interfaith dialogue to support the claim that Gülen is participating in the Islamic tradition of *tajdid* in the area of inter-faith dialogue.

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Alan Godlas: Associate Professor in the Department of Religion at the University of Georgia. In addition, he is the Co-Director of the UGA-Morocco Maymester program. At UGA he teaches Islamic Studies and Arabic courses as well as a survey course on the world's religions. Dr Godlas received his MA (1983) and PhD (1991) in Near Eastern Studies from the University of California at Berkeley. Dr Godlas has conducted extensive research in manuscript libraries in Egypt, Morocco, and Turkey. His professional experience includes being on the editorial board of the journal, *Sufi Illuminations*, and being a member of the steering committee of the Study of Mysticism and Study of Islam sections of the American Academy of Religion. In January 2003, Dr Godlas was chosen by the US Department of State and the Emir of Kano to give two presentations on Islam for a bilateral conference in Northern Nigeria.

Gülen's Rethinking of Islamic Patterns and its Socio-Political Effects

by Fabio Vicini

Over recent decades Islamic traditions have emerged in new forms in different parts of the Muslim world, interacting differently with secular and neo-liberal patterns of thought and action. In Turkey Fethullah Gülen's community has been a powerful player in the national debate about the place of Islam in individual and collective life. Through emphasis on the importance of 'secular education' and a commitment to the defence of both democratic principles and international human rights, Gülen has diffused a new and appealing version of how a 'good Muslim' should act in contemporary society. In particular he has defended the role of Islam in the formation of individuals as ethically-responsible moral subjects, a project that overlaps significantly with the 'secular' one of forming responsible citizens. Concomitantly, he has shifted the Sufi emphasis on self-discipline/self-denial towards an active, socially-oriented service of others – a form of religious effort that implies a strongly 'secular' faith in the human ability to make this world better. This paper looks at the lives of some members of the community to show how this pattern of conduct has affected them. They say that teaching and learning 'secular' scientific subjects, combined with total dedication to the project of the movement, constitute, for them, ways to accomplish Islamic deeds and come closer to God. This leads to a consideration of how such a rethinking of Islamic activism has influenced political and sociological transition in Turkey, and a discussion of the potential contribution of the movement towards the development of a more human society in contemporary Europe.

Panel:
Ethics, Universal Values and Pluralism in Gülen's Thought

Venue:
Old Theatre, LSE

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Fabio Vicini (MA in anthropology, University of Milano-Bicocca, Milan, 2006 on the Gülen movement; BA in social sciences, University of Modena e Reggio Emilia, Modena, 2003): On the editorial board of *ACHAB, Rivista Italiana di Antropologia*. Research interests: anthropology of Islam, with a focus on human agency, ethics and emotions; and, secondarily, anthropology of secularism in Ottoman and Turkish history.

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Gülen's Theory of '*Adab*' and Ethical Values of the Gülen Movement

by Erkan Toguslu

Panel:
Ethics, Universal Values and Pluralism in Gülen's Thought

Venue:
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This paper seeks to explore and explain the prominent place of '*adab*' (roughly, good manners) in the description and building of Muslim identity and personality, and the implications for Muslim individual and collective behaviour in contemporary societies. In particular, the paper examines the role of ethical values in the formation of character, through Fethullah Gülen's discourses addressed to, and successful in inspiring, Muslim youth: the definition of moral character on the basis of religion provides the movement's members with the ideal and a roadmap to the ideal of the 'perfected human being' (*insan-ı kamil*). Gülen seeks to reshape modernity through the concept of moral character informed and made stable by religious consciousness. As a result, attitudes to the 'other' and the frontiers between 'outward' and 'inward' are reconfigured. The concept of *insan-ı kamil* encourages self-transcendence through service of others (*hizmet*), and the patient, peaceful resolution of tensions between different ideologies such as 'Islamic' and 'secular'. The Gülen movement conceives of and, through the practice of its members, presents the ethical domain as the common ground of shared values.

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Erkan Toguslu: studying for PhD in sociology at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris. Research interests: the production of Islamic actors in the public sphere, pietist movements such as the Fethullah Gülen movement, interactions between Muslim and Christians in a secular context.

Reviving the *Suffa* Tradition

by Rifat Atay

In Islamic history, one of the most intriguing questions has been the termination of the *Suffa* School immediately following the Prophet's demise. As is well known, the *Suffa* Companions were comprised of mostly single young men who did not have anywhere else to go to. They were provided with shelter and food in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. Their sole occupation was to spend all their time with the Prophet, learning and studying. They became so well versed in Islam that most of them were sent as teachers and/or governors to new provinces.

The paper claims that today Gülen is seeking to revive the *Suffa* tradition in two ways. First, by resembling the first *Suffa* Companions himself. The four guiding principles traced in the lives of the *Suffa* Companions (single, simple, humble and pious) can be found in the daily life of Gülen. Thus, this paper suggests that Gülen is often mistaken as a Sufi when in fact he can be considered a member of the *Suffa*. Secondly, Gülen has been consistently providing personal tutelage over the last two decades to hundreds of theology graduate students. Students gain admission to Gülen's informal school by passing a rigorous exam in Islamic sciences and Arabic. Thereafter awaits them extensive study and an ascetic lifestyle. Students can remain as long as they wish, some for even as long as ten years. Gülen has been known to have had up to 40 students at times, although given his ill-health this number has dropped to 15 in recent years. In their lifestyle, daily programme and efforts post 'graduation' these students resemble the first *Suffa* Companions.

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Ethics, Universal Values and Pluralism in Gülen's Thought

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In Defence of Universal Ethical Values and Principles

by Ali Paya

Panel:
Ethics, Universal Values and Pluralism in Gülen's Thought

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Old Theatre, LSE

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In the past few decades a new approach to ethical principles known as 'particularism' has become fashionable among moral philosophers. According to the particularist the progress in the field of ethics, is from monism (the view that there is only one moral principle), through pluralism (the view that there are many), to particularism (the view that there are none). Jonathan Dancy advocates a radical particularist theory: arguing against a variety of universalist–pluralist doctrines, he maintains that there are no moral principles; and, even if there are, our ethical decisions are highly context-dependent, made case by case, without the support of such principles.

In this paper, drawing on a number of theoretical concepts used in science as well as the philosophy of science, and making use of Fethullah Gülen's insights, I try to develop a moderate universalist–pluralist model in defence of universal ethical values and principles. This model, I argue, is less vulnerable to Dancy's criticisms and better equipped, in comparison to Dancy's own model, to deal with particular moral cases. While particularism in ethics leads to relativism and leaves moral agents with no clear guidelines, the model developed here could serve all moral agents, regardless of credal or cultural association and socio-political outlook, in making sound and commendable moral judgements.

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Ali Paya (PhD in philosophy of science and maths, University College, London; following MSc at King's College, London; MA in philosophy at Tehran University, BSc in electronic engineering at Sharif University): Associate Professor of Philosophy and Head of the Department of Futures Studies at the National Research Institute for Science Policy (NRISP) in Iran, Visiting Professor and Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Democracy (CSD), University of Westminster (UK).

Among recent/forthcoming papers: *Two Treatises on Culture, Technology and Ethics* (Tehran: National Research Institute for Science Policy, 2007); *Iraq, Democracy, and the Future of Muslim World*, (eds.) Ali Paya & John Esposito, (Oxford University Press) (forthcoming, 2007); 'Popper in Iran' in Ian Jarvie et al. (eds.) *Karl Popper: A Centenary Assessment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

Striving in the Path of God: Fethullah Gülen's Views on Jihad

by Asma Afsaruddin

Jihad ('struggle', 'striving') in the Qur'an and *Sunnah* is a term with multiple inflections. The reiterated Qur'anic phrase *al-jihad fi sabil Allah* ('striving in the path of God') allows for that striving to be accomplished in myriad ways. After surveying a range of exegeses of relevant Qur'anic verses and early hadith works, the paper shows how fully Fethullah Gülen's emphasis on jihad as a means of personal, moral, spiritual and social renewal and transformation is in line with the earliest meanings found in exegetical and hadith works. Such a traditional, historical understanding runs counter to recent, polemical assertions that jihad is a monovalent term requiring unremitting armed combat against non-Muslims. The paper demonstrates that contemporary Muslim thinkers like Gülen, who offer a more expansive and multi-faceted reading of what it means to 'strive in the path of God', are harking back to earlier, and thus more historically authentic, understandings of jihad and its moral purview.

Panel:
Evaluation of Gülen's Thought and Methodology

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Asma Afsaruddin

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Towards an understanding of Gülen's methodology

by Oliver Leaman

Panel:
Evaluation of Gülen's Thought and Methodology

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There is an apparent paradox at the heart of the Gülen approach. On the one hand there is a determination to present a version of Islam that is rational, inclusive, progressive and tolerant. The broad aim is to show Islam to be a universal faith, one that has no difficulties in coexisting with other religions and indeed with those who have no religion at all. On the other hand, Islam is definitely portrayed as the superior form of belief, often because it is seen as incorporating in the best possible ways rational and spiritual virtues present in many other approaches to understanding the nature of the world. Yet how can Islam be represented as one among many and also as the first among many?
This interesting feature of the Gülen methodology is shown to rest on a basic aspect of the *Hanifi/Murji'i* theological approach, which can also be seen as paradoxical. The inability to define precisely the nature of belief and who is a believer suggests an uncertainty about what the Muslim actually believes in. It also implies a difficulty in identifying who is a Muslim and who is not, and that might be regarded as a basic issue in religion.
The lack of definition in the *Hanafiyya* is precisely its strength. This is something taken up well by the Gülen movement. Religious boundaries are often blurred, and believers may wish to hold onto a variety of beliefs not all of which fit neatly into a particular traditional faith. In prioritising Islam the Gülen movement expresses clearly its opinion that within the parameters of Islam is likely to be found the most truth and the best regimen as to how to live. Yet those parameters are not themselves strictly defined and allow for much change and development.

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Oliver Leaman: has written widely on Islamic and Jewish philosophy, and has taught at a number of universities, including the University of Khartoum. He is the author of *An Introduction to Medieval Islamic Philosophy* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), *Evil and Suffering in Jewish Philosophy*, (Cambridge University, 1995), *Moses Maimonides* (Curzon, 1997) and *Averroes and his Philosophy* (Curzon, 1997). He is the editor of *Friendship East and West* (Curzon, 1996), *The Future of Philosophy* (Routledge, 1998) and co-editor of the *History of Islamic Philosophy* (Routledge, 1996) and the *History of Jewish Philosophy* (Routledge, 1997).

Preachers of Dialogue: International Relations and Interfaith Theology

by Turan Kayaoglu

Panel:
Evaluation of Gülen's Thought and Methodology

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Old Theatre, LSE

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While the appeal of 'civilisational dialogue' is on the rise, its sources, functions, and consequences arouse controversy within and between faith communities. Some religious leaders have attempted to clarify the religious foundations for such dialogue. Among them are Jonathan Sacks, the Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of Britain and the Commonwealth, Edward Idris, Cardinal Cassidy of the Catholic Church, and Fethullah Gülen.

The paper compares the approach of these three religious leaders from the Abrahamic tradition as presented in their scholarly works – Sacks' *The Dignity of Difference*, Cardinal Cassidy's *Ecumenism and Interreligious Dialogue*, and Gülen's *Advocate of Dialogue*. The discussion attempts to answer the following questions: Can monotheistic traditions accommodate the dignity of followers of other monotheistic and polytheistic religions as well as non-theistic religions and philosophies? Is a belief in the unity of God compatible with an acceptance of the religious dignity of others? The paper also explores their arguments for why civilisational and interfaith dialogue is necessary, the parameters of such dialogue and its anticipated consequences: how and how far can dialogue bridge the claims of unity of God and diversity of faiths? Islam's emphasis on diversity and the Quran's accommodation of earlier religious traditions put Islam and Fethullah Gülen in the best position to offer a religious justification for valuing and cherishing the dignity of followers of other religions.

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Turan Kayaoglu (PhD, University of Washington, Seattle): Assistant Professor of International Relations, University of Washington, Tacoma, Department of Interdisciplinary Arts and Sciences. He teaches international relations, international human rights, and religion and politics. His recent article 'The Extension of Westphalian Sovereignty: State Building and the Abolition of Extraterritoriality' appeared in *International Studies Quarterly* (September, 2007). Currently he is working on a book manuscript on the emergence of sovereign state system.

The Place of the Gülen Movement in the Intellectual History of Islam, Particularly in Relation to Islam's Confrontation with Postmodernism

by Bruce Eldridge

Panel:
Evaluation of Gülen's Thought and Methodology

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The world is changing at an unprecedented rate. Established religions are struggling to come to terms with societies that are increasingly secular and sceptical about the certainties of the past. They are struggling to come to terms with the new modes and speeds of communication and the moods and ideas that can now be spread so fast. How Islam will eventually respond to the post-modern world is still to be determined. Some want nothing to do with that world, others understand the need to take the opportunities and rise to the challenges. Fethullah Gülen is one of the latter.

This paper places the Gülen movement and Fethullah Gülen himself in particular, within the context of Islam's confrontation with modernity and post-modernity. It demonstrates Gülen's awareness of Islam's intellectual legacy and the extent to which he utilises the methodologies of earlier scholars. Gülen interprets Islam's foundational texts in a way that picks out their relevance to today's world. He is unafraid to engage with other philosophies and faith communities. The schools established by his followers have developed curricula designed to produce the next generation of leaders. Gülen envisions a world where people are deeply grounded in a moral and ethical tradition, where humility and service are highly valued and where reason, science and technology are fully utilised for the benefit of all. This paper shows that when confronted by the uncertainties and relativities of postmodernism, Gülen has located a middle way able to sustain itself in a globalised, postmodern world while remaining true to its Islamic heritage.

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Bruce Eldridge: (graduated in social work at University of South Australia, 1984; some years of social work; then aged care chaplaincy and pastoral ministry with the Uniting Church in Australia) Coordinator of Pastoral Care with Ballarat Health Services in rural Victoria, Australia. He carries responsibility for ensuring that all patients and residents, regardless of religious background, have access to relevant, effective spiritual support. To that end he successfully petitioned for a prayer room at the Ballarat Base Hospital for the use of Muslims – staff as well as patients and their families.

Eldridge has recently completed a course in theology at the Australian Catholic University and is currently doing a Masters programme there. His current area of interest is comparative religion, in particular the three 'Abrahamic' religions.

Funding Gülen-inspired Good Works: Demonstrating and Generating Commitment to the Movement

by Helen Rose Ebaugh, Dogan Koc

The projects sponsored by the Gülen-inspired movement are numerous, international and costly in terms of human and financial capital. Critics of the movement often question the financing of these initiatives – with some convinced of collusion with Middle Eastern governments, others (within Turkey) suspicious that Western governments are financially backing the projects. Aware of these criticisms, in a recent comment to a group of visiting followers, Fethullah Gülen indicated greater financial transparency must become a priority for the movement.

This paper addresses the financing of Gülen-inspired projects, based on interviews with business leaders in Turkey, as well as local businessmen throughout Turkey who constitute the financial infrastructure of the movement. In addition, the paper presents data from one local Gülen movement organisation in Houston, Texas, that collects thousands of dollars annually from local members, mostly students on small educational stipends.

The paper is framed sociologically in terms of organisational theories of commitment. Beginning with Kanter (1972;1977) and including subsequent major figures in the organisational field (e.g. Reichers 1985; Meyer and Allen 1991; Hall 2002; Scott 2003), scholars have demonstrated a positive correlation between sacrifices asked of members and degree of commitment to the goals of the organisation. Using this perspective, the paper argues that the financial contributions made by members in the Gülen movement both demonstrate commitment to the ideals espoused by Fethullah Gülen and generate commitment to the movement. The paper presents empirical evidence, based on interviews with financial supporters both in Turkey and the U.S., of how financial resources are generated, the initiatives being supported and the impact of financial giving on the commitment of supporters.

Panel:
Education and Common Values in Practice

Venue:
D202,
Clement House, LSE

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Helen Rose Ebaugh (PhD in sociology, Columbia University, 1975): Professor, University of Houston, teaching graduate and undergraduate courses in the Sociology of World Religions. She has served as President of the National Association for the Sociology of Religion and the International Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. She helped organise and served as the first chair of the American Sociological Association's Section on Sociology of Religion. Publications: author of five books, and numerous articles in scholarly journals.

Dogan Koc (BSc in chemistry at Marmara University, Istanbul; MA in education; a second MA in sociology at University of Houston): studying for PhD in political science at University of Texas at Dallas, focusing on international relations and social movements, the Gülen movement in particular. Co-founder, and currently Secretary, of the Institute of Interfaith Dialog. He is currently teaching a course on Islam and Middle East Politics at Austin College, Sherman, Texas.

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The Educational Theory of Fethullah Gülen and its Practice in South Africa

by Yasien Mohamed

Panel:
Education and Common Values in Practice

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D202,
Clement House, LSE

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This paper deals with the educational thought of Fethullah Gülen and its application in a school in South Africa. It will attempt to demonstrate the effectiveness of the school, both academically and in the promotion of universal moral values. The Gülen school provides an alternative both to the Muslim private school and the general private school. Unlike the latter, it gives more attention to moral values, and unlike the former, it is open to all learners irrespective of religious persuasion. It provides a service to society in the transmission of knowledge to humanity, and in cultivating moral values such as responsibility, tolerance, respect, reliability and compassion.
The paper is divided into three parts: First, it introduces the problem of educational dichotomy within the Turkish context since 1924, and how Fethullah Gülen attempted to reconcile science and religion, at least theoretically. Second, it presents the educational philosophy of Fethullah Gülen, especially his moral philosophy as inspired by Miskawayh's (d. 1030) psychology of the soul and his view of the role of the teacher, both in the transmission of knowledge and moral values. Third, it discusses the practice of Gülen's educational philosophy in South Africa, with special reference to Star International School, Cape Town, covering the religious motivations of the teachers, the moral ethos of the school, and educational problems and challenges.

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Yasien Mohamed (MA in Islamic Psychology, University of Cape Town; PhD in Islamic Ethics from Johann-Wolfang Goethe University, Frankfurt): Professor of Arabic Language and Islamic Philosophy at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. He is the author of the well-known book, *Fitrah: The Islamic Concept of Human Nature* (London, 1996) and the pioneering study, *The Path to Virtue: The Ethical Philosophy of al-Raghib al-Isfahani* (Kuala Lumpur, 2006).

Turkmenistan's New Challenges: Can Stability Coexist with Reform? A Study of Gülen Schools in Central Asia, 1997–2007

by Victoria Clement

In the 1990s, Turkmenistan's government dismantled Soviet educational provision, replacing it with lower quality schooling. The Başkent Foundation schools represent the concerted efforts of teachers and sponsors to offer socially conscious education grounded in science and math with an international focus.

This case study of the Başkent Foundation schools in Turkmenistan establishes the vitality of Gülen schools outside of the Turkish Republic and their key role in offering Central Asian families an important choice in secular, general education. The paper discusses the appeal of the schools' curriculum to parents and students, and records a decade-long success both in educating students and in laying the foundations of civil society: in Turkmenistan the Gülen movement offers the only general education outside of state provision and control. This is particularly significant as most scholars deny that there is any semblance of civil society in Turkmenistan.

Notes: The author has been conducting interviews and recording the influence of Başkent schools in Turkmenistan since working as Instructor at the International Turkmen-Turk University in 1997. In May 2007 she visited the schools in the capital Ashgabat, and the northern province of Daşoguz, to explore further the contribution Gülen schools are making. The recent death of Turkmenistan's president will most likely result in major reforms in education. Documentation of how a shift at the centre of state power affects provincial Gülen schools will enrich this conference's broader discussion of the movement's social impact.

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Education and Common Values in Practice

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Victoria Clement (PhD, The Ohio State University, 2005, on 'Rewriting the Turkmen "Nation": Literacy, Education, and Power in Central Asia, 1904–2004'): Assistant Professor of History, Western Carolina University, with major research interest in Islamic World history, esp. Central Asia and Russia. She has lived in, and studied the languages of, Turkmenistan, Turkey and Russia.

Among recent papers: 'Alphabet Changes in Turkmenistan: State, Society, and the Everyday' in Jeff Sahadeo and Russell Zanca (eds.) *Daily Life in Central Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); 'Post-Niyazov Turkmenistan' for the SOAS Roundtable, January 2007; 'al-Zamakhshari (1075–1144): a Medieval Khwarazmian Philologist' for the MIRAS Institute conference in Ashgabat, July 2007.

'A station above that of angels': the Vision of Islamic Education within Pluralistic Societies in the Thought of Fethullah Gülen. A Study of Contrasts between Turkey and the UK

by Ian G. Williams

Panel:
Education and Common Values in Practice

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Gülen cites 'Ali ibn Abi Talib as saying, '... if a person's intellect dominates his or her desire and ferocity, he or she rises to a station above that of angels ...'.
Both historically as well as in modern contexts Muslim education is not characterised by uniformity but rather by a plurality of actors, institutions, ideas and political milieus. The two central questions are: What is required to live as a Muslim in the present world? Who is qualified to teach in this time? The debate over the nature and purpose of Islamic education is no recent phenomenon. It has been conducted for the past two centuries throughout the Islamic world: the transmission of both spiritual and empirical knowledge has always been dependent upon the support of religious, social and political authorities.
Based on fieldwork in Turkey and the UK amongst schools associated with the Gülen movement, examination of national government policies and on readings of contemporary Muslim educationalists, this paper seeks to examine the ideals of Fethullah Gülen on contemporary Islamic and religious education. It reports critically on the contribution of these schools to social cohesion, inter-religious dialogue and common ambitions for every child and student.

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Building Civil Society in Ethno-Religiously Fractured Communities: the Case of the Gülen Movement in Turkey and Abroad

by Mehmet Kalyoncu

Panel:
Gülen Movement in Peace Building and Conflict Resolution

Venue:
D202,
Clement House, LSE

27.10.07 Panels	Parellel Session 1	Parellel Session 2
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Civil society is generally associated with the presence of voluntary, non-governmental civic and social organisations, which are run by informed citizens and assume responsibility for monitoring state bodies and operations and mobilising available resources to maintain order and efficiency in the functioning of both state and society. Early civil society theorists argued the relevance of such voluntary associations to achieving a stable and functioning democracy. But what if the local conditions prevent the formation of such associations – if the social landscape is characterised by communal conflicts stemming from deeply entrenched ethno-religious differences? The reality of such conditions makes it imperative that strategies are re-formulated in ethno-religiously fractured societies, where what divides different segments of the population is more than what unites them.

This paper argues that it is possible to develop such strategies. The argument is based on field research in Mardin on the activities of the faith-based Gülen movement. This group 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 mobilised and channelled to achieve shared goals which enrich the society as a whole.

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Mehmet Kalyoncu: (MS in Management & Administrative Sciences, University of Texas at Dallas; MA in Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies, Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh Schools of Foreign Service) political analyst and reporter for *Zaman US Daily*. He has published scholarly articles in academic journals, and op-ed pieces in newspapers and online publications. His writing has appeared in *Balkanalysis*, *Caspian Business News, Zaman US Daily, Today's Zaman, Zinda Magazine, PINR, American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, Journal of Central Asia and the Caucasus, and Centro Argentino de Estudios Internacionales*. Research interests: Turkish foreign policy; ethno-religious politics; civil society; social development in countries rich in natural resources.

Dialogue Work Through NI-TECA, a Gülen-inspired Organisation Based in Northern Ireland

by Jonathan Lacey

Panel:
Gülen Movement in Peace Building and Conflict Resolution

Venue:
D202,
Clement House, LSE

26.10.07 Panels	Parellel Session 1	Parellel Session 2
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Until the peace agreement of 1998 the Catholics and Protestants of Northern Ireland were pedantically focused on what separates these two identities. Following the end of the decades-long 'civil war', reconciliation has led to increased migration to the region, which now hosts more than 20,000 people from ethnic minority backgrounds. This means that there are now more than just two identity communities in Northern Ireland.

This paper focuses on an unlikely actor in this peace-building endeavour, a Turkic religio-cultural organisation, the Northern Ireland–Tolerance, Educational and Cultural Association (NI-TECA), inspired by the Turkish Islamic scholar Fethullah Gülen. The paper relies on ethnographic work and qualitative interviews conducted with members of NI–TECA, and draws on the writings of Fethullah Gülen and others to explain the organisation's principles and policies as implemented by NI–TECA. The paper also reflects on the global influence of Fethullah Gülen's ideas, of which the existence and work of NI–TECA is an illustration.

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Jonathan Lacey: studying for a PhD in the Department of Sociology in Trinity College Dublin, where he completed an MPhil in Ethnic and Racial Studies. Part-time research assistant with one of Intel's Senior Ethnographic Researchers, focusing on Independent Living for older people. Current interests: the sociology of religion, social movements and global networks.

A Bridge to Inter-Religious Co-operation: the Gülen–Jesuit Educational Nexus

by Michael David Graskemper

The Gülen movement's educational mission is, at its core and in its praxis, remarkably similar to the centuries-old Jesuit educational tradition. It can be argued that both educational movements are united in a *shared* mission today –a deep concern for the spiritual freedom of the individual and a commitment to the betterment of the world. Both movements seek to instil values such as honesty, dedication, compassion and tolerance. To achieve this goal, students are offered a narrative of the past as a foundation on which to build an understanding of the modern world. Furthermore, they are educated holistically – in ethics and social justice as well as the sciences – what Gülen calls a 'marriage of mind and heart'.

This paper focuses on four shared values of education: commitment, responsibility, virtue and service. Within this framework, themes found in the Gülen educational movement, such as the Golden Generation and the concept of *hizmet*, are compared to similar Jesuit notions such as A.M.D.G., *cura personalis*, and 'Men and Women for Others'. Differences and nuances are also addressed in the paper. The discussion aims to highlight the importance of values-oriented education in the modern world. The Gülen–Jesuit educational nexus is one positive bridge to inter-religious understanding and, importantly, collaborative action.

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Gülen Movement in Peace Building and Conflict Resolution

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Fethullah Gülen and His Global Contribution to Peace Building

by Zeki Saritoprak

Panel:
Gülen Movement in Peace Building and Conflict Resolution

Venue:
D202,
Clement House, LSE

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Fethullah Gülen is one of the most influential scholars and thinkers in the contemporary Islamic world, particularly in Turkey. Although recent studies have put forward Gülen's ideas on various topics, Gülen's approach to peace building is one of the less studied. Given the contemporary reality of wars and ethnic/religious strife, this is a neglect that needs to be corrected. Fethullah Gülen stands up for peace and for the prevention of any clash of civilisations, not only through his speeches and writing, but through his actions as well. This paper examines the concept of peace building through Gülen's writings and activities with reference to the main sources of Islam and Gülen's commentary on them. In focusing on Gülen's activities, the paper emphasises certain American institutions, notably the Washington D.C. based Rumi Forum for Interfaith Dialogue (of which Gülen is the honorary president), and its contribution to peace-building through interfaith activities.

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Hira Magazine: Turkish in the Language of the Qur'an

by Paul L. Heck

When it comes to the Gülen movement, scholarly attention is often given to its attitudes towards non-Muslims, its willingness to operate within secular environments, and its rapprochement with the material achievements of the West, as well as its own network of educational institutions. As a result, less attention is given to its interest in connecting with the larger Muslim community beyond its own internal associations. The Gülen movement is, however, aware of the need to situate itself and publish its ideas within the wider *ummah*.

Hira magazine, a relatively new venture of the Gülen movement (first issue Dec. 2005), is chiefly intra-Muslim in its aims and aspirations. The magazine is published in Arabic and features articles written by both Turkish and Arabic writers; a lead article by Fethullah Gülen opens and sets the tone of each issue. The magazine acts to bring the intellectual outlook of the Gülen movement to the Arab world, serving as a cultural bridge between Turks and Arabs, as a forum in which pressing issues in contemporary Islam can be aired and treated by leading Muslim thinkers, and as a tool for the global Muslim community to consolidate a renewed vision of its relation to the intellectual and socio-political realities of the modern world.

This paper recounts the establishment and development of *Hira* magazine, focusing on the calibre of its themes and contributors, and also its reception in the Arab world as evidenced in local Arab media as well as by the comments of those in charge of the magazine. Finally, a critical assessment is offered of the overall vision of the magazine, its presentation style, material content, and religious perspective, as well as its potential to speak effectively to the global *ummah* as a leading voice for the future of Islam.

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The Gülen Movement in the Muslim World 2

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Preaching by Example: Understanding the Gülen *Hizmet* in the Global Context of Religious Philanthropy and Civil Religion

by Greg Barton

Panel:
Gülen Movement in Peace Building and Conflict Resolution

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The Gülen movement, or *hizmet*, is often misunderstood, and this is in large measure because it is unlike anything else in the Muslim world, though the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama mass-based organisations of Indonesia do bear some resemblance. However, there is no good reason to limit comparisons to the Muslim world. As a social movement motivated by religious values and the ideals of selfless service, engaged in philanthropic endeavour and active in the civil sphere, the Gülen *hizmet* deserves comparison with other such movements around the globe.

This paper looks outside the geographic and cultural context of the Muslim world to demonstrate that the Gülen *hizmet* shares much in common with many Western, Christian, philanthropic initiatives in education and public discourse of the past three centuries, particularly in North America. The utility of this comparison is that it helps us to understand better aspects of the Gülen *hizmet* that cannot be easily understood in the limited context of the Muslim world. It also helps break down some of the 'us and them' barriers that divide Christians and Muslims, and east and west, by allowing us to recognise common concerns, values and shared experiences.

The paper also explores the concept of civil religion in the twenty-first century, examines ways in which religious philanthropic activity can contribute to the development of non-exclusivist civil religion and apply these insights to the Gülen *hizmet* to argue that the *hizmet* models an interesting modern Islamic alternative to Islamism.

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Greg Barton: from January 2007, Herb Feith Research Professor for the Study of Indonesia, Monash University. In 2006 he was Associate Professor at the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu, Hawaii, where he continues to be an Adjunct Professor. 1993 to 2005 he taught comparative religion, Islamic studies and politics at Deakin University. Research interests and publications: Professor Barton has written about Jemaah Islamiyah and other radical Islamist groups in Southeast Asia; his central research interest is progressive Islamic thought and its contribution to civil society and politics, to which he has added a focus on comparative study of progressive Islamic thought in Turkey and Indonesia. He has widely published in this field. Currently working on two book projects: *Islam's Other Nation: a Fresh Look at Indonesia* and *Progressive Islamic Thought and Social Movements in Indonesia and Turkey*.

Present and Potential Impact of the Spiritual Tradition of Islam on Contemporary Muslims: From Ghazali to Gülen

by Y. Alp Aslandogan

Western analysts of trends in the contemporary Islamic world often overestimate the impact of contemporary Sufi orders and/or underestimate the impact of the spiritual tradition of Islam. Among the elements of the spiritual tradition conducive to religious pluralism is the 'mirror' concept: every human is seen as a mirror of God in three aspects: reflecting the attributes and names of God as His work of art, reflection through dependence on God, and reflection through actions God commands or commends. Since only the last aspect is voluntary, every human, regardless of creed, is a mirror of God in at least the first two aspects. This is a potent argument for peaceful coexistence in religious diversity. The perspective of the spiritual tradition is emphatically inclusive and compassionate and naturally lends itself to non-violence, going beyond mere tolerance to hospitality and friendship. There are important impediments that prevent this perspective from having a greater impact: (1) the literalist opposition to flexible interpretation of concepts from the Qur'an and the Prophetic tradition, and the wide definition of innovation or heresy ('*bid`a*'); (2) deviations of some Sufi orders and subsequent criticisms by orthodox Muslims; and (3) the impact of the politicisation of religion by some groups and political moves by certain Sufi orders.

This paper argues that the only approach that has a chance of influencing the majority of contemporary Muslims in positive ways without being open to criticism is the 'balanced' spiritual tradition, after the style of the Companions, sometimes called tasawwuf, which strives to harmonise the outer dimensions of Islamic law and worship with the inner dimension of spiritual disciplines firmly rooted in the Qur'an and Prophetic tradition. This paper will present an analysis of this 'balanced' spiritual tradition in Islam, from Ghazali, through Rumi, to Gülen.

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The Gülen Movement in the Muslim World 2

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Y. Alp Aslandogan: author; editor of *The Fountain* magazine; adjunct faculty member at Prairie View A&M University. Currently serving as Vice-President of the Institute of Interfaith Dialog (IID), he develops modules and instructional material for universities on topics such as interfaith dialogue, Sufism, democracy and religion, and Muslim responses to globalisation. He has published articles and gives seminars on several topics, including the relationship of science and religion, lesser-known aspects of the life of the Prophet Muhammad (upon him be peace) such as his educational methods, and common cultural values among the world's major religions. Among recent publications: co-edited *Muslim Citizens of the Globalized World, Contributions of the Gülen Movement* (IID Press). Current projects: a book on spiritual time management, and an illustrated Qur'an commentary in English.

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Promoting Human Rights Values in the Muslim World: the Case of the Gülen Movement

by Ozcan Keles

Panel:
Gülen Movement in Peace Building and Conflict Resolution

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The premise of this paper is that human rights values are a persistent theme of Fethullah Gülen's thought and *tajdid* and expressed by the Gülen movement through example. That *tajdid* is collectively constructed and communicated by allowing for adaptation and indigenisation in flexible response to different socio-cultural contexts. What is more, Gülen's views on democracy, pluralism, human rights and freedom of belief directly promote human rights values and norms. The paper argues that the Muslim world is very important to Gülen's overall aspiration for an inclusive civilisation and thus the movement is now active in most parts of that world. In time, as in Turkey, Gülen's ideas will enable and empower the periphery in Muslim societies to influence the centre ground and open the way for wider enjoyment of freedom and human rights.
The paper is in three sections. The first looks at the underlying dynamics of Gülen's influence and the nature of his *tajdid*, to assess whether his influence is transferable elsewhere. The second appraises the content of Gülen's *tajdid* arguing that human rights values are an inherent theme of his discourse on Islam. Here, the paper analyses Gülen's views on Anatolian Muslimness, democracy and politics, human rights and freedom of belief, illustrating Gülen's incremental *ijtihad* on temporal punishment for apostasy in Islamic law. The third part traces the movement's activities in the Muslim world, arguing that the movement has now entered a phase of adolescence, and asks whether Gulen's *tajdid* and discourse, through the practice of the movement, can indeed promote human rights values in this world.

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international
Conference

Abstracts & Biographies

Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement

The Muslim world has been undergoing radical social, economic, political and intellectual change since its encounter with the West. How Muslims cope with the challenges they face necessarily impacts on the wider, non-Muslim world. The underlying aim of this conference is to examine the impact of the Gülen movement on the contemporary Muslim world in transition and the relations between the West and Islam in general. As a leading transnational faith-based movement originating from Turkey with a universal educational and interfaith agenda, the Gülen movement aims to promote creative and positive relations between the West and the Muslim world and articulate a constructive position on issues such as democracy, multiculturalism, globalisation, and interfaith dialogue in the context of secular modernity. Fethullah Gülen's re-reading of religious texts in the context of a renewal and re-interpretation in Islam that can take part in the building of a fully human society in Europe will also feature in the deliberations of the conference. The conference will also examine the theological and intellectual contributions of Gülen, situate him in the context of the modern intellectual history of Islam and discuss his own interpretations of the above central issues. As a religious intellectual and peace activist from Turkey, Gülen has influenced a whole generation of Muslims worldwide and inspired them to play an important role in charitable and educational projects and foundations. His aim has always been to bring out the universal mission of Islam, which is to serve people regardless of faith, colour or national origin.

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