



PROJECT MUSE®

Modern Islamic Thinking and Activism

Erkan Toğuşlu, Johan Leman

Published by Leuven University Press

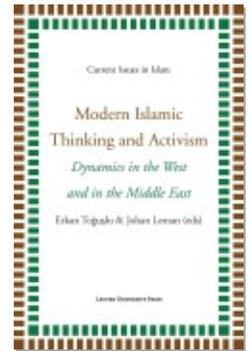
Toğuşlu, Erkan and Johan Leman.

Modern Islamic Thinking and Activism: Dynamics in the West and in the Middle East.

Leuven University Press, 2014.

Project MUSE., <a href="

<https://muse.jhu.edu/>.



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/36998>

CHAPTER 10

Fighting Poverty with *Kimse Yok Mu*

Thomas Michel, S.J.

The enemies of human societies

Almost a hundred years ago, the prominent Turkish thinker Said Nursi analysed the situation of Muslims in the modern world and came to the conclusion that, at the deepest level, the real enemies of Muslims were not one or another group of Christians, nor even one or another civilization of non-believers. In fact, the true enemies of humankind were not human at all. Rather, Nursi personified humankind's enemies as *Lord Ignorance*, *Sir Poverty*, and *Mister Disunity*.¹ These three destructive forces in human society – ignorance, poverty, and disunity – threaten not only Muslims but the followers of all religions; they are thus common enemies that must be faced together.

Although Said Nursi died in 1960, his writings, in the form of a 6600-page commentary on the Qur'an named the *Risale-i Nur* (Message of Light), continue to influence millions of Muslims, especially in Turkey. One of those whose thinking was stimulated by the writings of Nursi was Fethullah Gülen. Gülen came to know the writings of Nursi in 1958 when he was still in his teens, and he acknowledges that he reaped much benefit from studying the *Risale-i Nur*.

In fact, Gülen has sometimes been accused in Turkey of being a “Nurcu,” that is, a follower of Said Nursi. Gülen does not deny that he learned much from reading Nursi, just as he profited from reading many other Muslim thinkers, but he rejects being categorized as being a disciple of Nursi in any sectarian sense.² While admitting the influence of Nursi on his own thinking, Gülen added his

own emphases, interpretations, and directions to the original teaching of the *Risale-i Nur*.

Turkish scholars suggest various ways of relating the thought and social programme of Gülen to that of Nursi before him. According to Hakan Yavuz, Gülen was one of those who “reimagined” Nursi³; alluding to Gülen’s appropriation of Nursi’s ideas, Ihsan Yilmaz speaks of “economic, political, and educational transformations,”⁴ and Mustafa Akyol refers to “new approaches of his [Gülen’s] own.”⁵ According to Zeki Saritoprak, Gülen is simply “putting Nursi’s theories into practice.”⁶

One striking difference of emphasis between the directives given by the two men is where Nursi stressed *study*, Gülen puts the accent on *service*. There is no contradiction here, but the focus shifts from an inner, spiritual transformation brought about by the study of the *Risale-i Nur* to a transformation of society made possible through the efforts of a community of committed, generous agents of change.

Fighting humankind’s true enemies

In this light, one can understand Gülen taking seriously the triple challenge posed by Nursi early in the 20th Century and his concern to mobilize his followers to combat ignorance, poverty, and disunity. In the early years of the movement, in the 1980s, the emphasis was placed on the battle against ignorance. Much has been written about the pedagogical theory and the accomplishments of more than 1000 so-called “Gülen inspired schools”, and the dozen or so universities founded and run by members of the “Hizmet”⁷ movement. These schools, as well as the other educational efforts of the community, such as the *Zaman* newspaper, the *Samanyolu* television network and the more than 35 professional and popular journals which they produce, are all evidence of the community’s commitment to struggle against the pervasive phenomenon of ignorance.

Later on, in the 1990s, a second emphasis came to the fore with the establishment of Dialogue Centres and Institutes in many parts of the world. The “flagship” dialogue institute set up by the community was the “Writers and Journalists’ Foundation,” inaugurated in Istanbul in 1994. This foundation, which has promoted interreligious encounters such as the international Abrahamic seminars in Harran/Urfa (2000) and Mardin (2004), which brought together Jewish, Christian, and Muslim scholars to explore together monotheism’s Abrahamic roots, as well as the civil “Abant Platform” encounters to discuss

issues of concern in Turkish society, became the model for local and national dialogue initiatives in many countries.

Much notice has been given in recent years to the many Dialogue Centres and Institutes around the world that are inspired and maintained by the Gülen community. There is no catalogue listing these local centres, which may exceed 200 in the United States alone. These dialogue institutes are a direct attempt to fight disunity by breaking down the barriers of misunderstanding, suspicion, and half-truths that so often characterize interreligious relations.

Following upon their commitment in the 1980s to combat ignorance through education, and that in the 1990s to combat disunity through dialogue, the first decade of the new century has seen the creation of a movement to combat the third great enemy, poverty, through benevolent works of mercy. Compared to the well-documented reporting on the schools and dialogue centres run by members of the Gülen community, relatively little has been written about the struggle against poverty, perhaps the most pervasive of the enemies of modern societies identified by Said Nursi. In this chapter, I will try to outline the efforts of the Gülen community to combat poverty through aid and relief efforts and their founding of *Kimse Yok Mu* as an institutionalization of this concern.⁸

Origins of Kimse Yok Mu

Kimse Yok Mu is a fast-growing organization that has its origins in 2002 in a television programme of the same name on Samanyolu TV. The television programme was aimed at conscientizing the audience to the plight of “unfortunate, needy, unhappy, and hopeless people.” The title of the programme, *Kimse Yok Mu*, is a Turkish phrase which means basically, “Doesn’t anybody care?” or “Isn’t there anyone out there who cares?” The television programme was a success, which led to the founding of the organization that has now become the main channel of aid and relief for the Gülen community.

The organization’s original focus was more on relief than on poverty alleviation. They directed their attention towards supplying emergency relief and assistance to the victims of natural disasters as well as towards the victims of endemic poverty. At first, the focus of their activities was mainly directed towards the victims of poverty in Turkey, and from that experience they later moved to respond to international calls for help. The magnitude of the problem was daunting for a new organization addressing the issue of poverty. As Mehmet

Z. Özkara, Chairman of the Kimse Yok Mu Executive Committee, noted, “After we had started such social solidarity and aid activity, we saw that the dimensions of poverty in our country were beyond our imagination.”

Kimse Yok Mu projects in Turkey

Nevertheless, various programmes were set up which were aimed at alleviating poverty. Kimse Yok Mu started small and gradually became more ambitious in its efforts to fight poverty.

The “Sister Family Project” seeks to “twin” middle- and upper-income families with poorer families to help the needy families confront their economic crises, support the education of children, and reach a dignified standard of living. What is interesting about this project, which has found hundreds of sister families for those in need, is the emphasis on the personal interaction of family life. The family twinning is an effort to avoid the “faceless charity” which can fail to maintain the self-respect of the recipients of aid projects.

A second project initiated by Kimse Yok Mu is that of food aid. In June, 2004, the Istanbul Food Campaign provided various staple foods for over 600 families that had applied to the association. In the same month, over 200 packages of foodstuffs were distributed to the victims of an earthquake in Doğubeyazıt on the slopes of Mt. Ararat in eastern Anatolia. In the following year, a greater number of food packages were distributed to families in Karlıova in Bingöl province, also in eastern Anatolia, after an earthquake in the midwinter of 2005. In 2006, after severe flooding struck cities in south-east Turkey such as Batman, Urfa, Mardin, Iskenderun and Diyarbakir, the equivalent of almost 2 million Euros of foodstuffs were distributed to the victims.

In August 2006, a forest fire destroyed half the village of Yaylatepe in the Cankiri district of Central Anatolia. Kimse Yok Mu helped rebuild homes and the mosque and distributed refrigerators, home furnishings, blankets, food and clothing to families who had taken refuge in tents. In May 2010 heavy rains caused flooding in the region of Ağrı in Eastern Anatolia; Kimse Yok Mu responded with blankets and clothing for over 70 families.

In addition to the emergency relief extended to victims of natural disasters, Kimse Yok Mu set up Ramadan tents in various neighborhoods of Istanbul and other big cities of Turkey which provided an open invitation every evening during the month of Ramadan to anyone who wanted to break their fast with an

evening meal. The tents were located in those parts of the city where impoverished families and individuals could have easy access. Once again, as with the Sister Family programme, a formula was found by which the needy and the comfortably placed would be brought together in human interaction, in this case the sharing of food at an *iftar* dinner, rather than relying on impersonal hand-outs.

During the month of Ramadan in 2006, Kimse Yok Mu took the idea of Ramadan tents to an international level, and the tents were set up not only in seven cities in Turkey but also in the Philippines, Indonesia, Pakistan, Lebanon and Ethiopia. By 2007, the number of tents increased rapidly, reaching 22 cities in Turkey and another ten countries (Mongolia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Lebanon, Sudan, Afghanistan, Kenya, Ethiopia and the Philippines). In the city of Denizli alone, over 4,000 people were fed daily during the month of Ramadan. In Ramadan 2009, in Turkey about 270,000 meals were distributed throughout the month at centres and mosques, and another 335,000 people were fed with hot meals in their homes. Elsewhere, 100,000 people took part in daily *iftars* or received gift food packages. By Ramadan 2010, 28 local branches had been set up in Turkey to organize and distribute food to the needy.

The Kimse Yok Mu programmes have an educational dimension. By means of the aid projects, in which the general population is encouraged to participate, Kimse Yok Mu tries to educate people that they have a religious, moral, and national duty to help the victims of poverty and misfortune. In recognizing Kimse Yok Mu's efforts to feed the hungry during Ramadan, Prime Minister Erdoğan of Turkey noted, "I thank [you] for the activities you accomplished as Kimse Yok Mu Association. May God be pleased." It should be noted that although the Charter of Kimse Yok Mu permits cooperation with governmental, non-governmental and private agencies, the association is explicitly forbidden to interfere in politics.⁹

The assistance extended to the needy is not limited to providing food. In 2005, pyjamas were distributed to patients in the Bakırköy Mental Hospital in Istanbul, and stoves and fuel oil were provided for the needy during the winters of 2004 and 2005. Over 1,000 students in various regions of Turkey were helped with books and other educational supplies during the school year of 2006. In September, 2004, the association participated in a literacy programme and cooperated with an agency created to find employment for street children. Visits to homes for the elderly, clothing drives, and assistance to the physically handicapped are among the projects undertaken by the 22 local branches of the association.

International aid projects

Although the Kimse Yok Mu Association began by striving to address the question of poverty in Turkey, its efforts quickly moved into the field of international aid and relief. After the underwater earthquake and resulting tsunami in the Indian Ocean that on 26 December 2006 devastated parts of Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, and Thailand, and produced a death toll of over 128,000 people in Indonesia alone, Kimse Yok Mu was one of a host of international agencies that provided emergency relief and engaged in the effort to reconstruct the region. Kimse Yok Mu undertook a campaign to raise funds for the affected regions and delivered clothing, food, and medicine to those who had taken refuge in camps, and provided chemicals to purify drinking water. The association funded repairs to houses and schools and reactivated a school destroyed by the tsunami.

After the devastating earthquake in Kashmir, Pakistan, Kimse Yok Mu erected three tent cities for the victims. The association rented a cargo plane to provide instant emergency relief and also took responsibility for supplying the food and clothing needs for 5,000 refugees for a period of six months. 29 tractor-trailers with emergency aid, including the meat of over 400 steers, were dispatched from Turkey to Pakistan. The association built and furnished ten prefabricated schools, each with a capacity of 350 students, and handed these schools over to Pakistan's Ministry of Education to administer.

After the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in July, 2006, Kimse Yok Mu responded with humanitarian aid for victims of the war, mainly women and children. Thirteen tractor-trailers filled with flour and dry food were sent overland from Turkey and delivered to the Jordanian Embassy to Palestine. The aid was distributed by the Palestine Red Crescent Society. Another three tractor-trailers with flour and dry food were sent directly to Lebanon, and a second convoy of ten tractor trailers filled with food followed shortly thereafter.

In 2007, Kimse Yok Mu began its aid programmes in Africa. Beginning with Ethiopia and Kenya, the association now assists people in Niger, Uganda, Central Africa, Cameroon, Senegal, Guinea, Congo, Burkina Faso, Chad, Togo, Ghana, Liberia, Madagascar, Benin, Mauritania and, since March 2006, the organization has conducted a special campaign for Darfur in the Sudan. In 2009-2010, 23 deep wells were dug in Niger to assist in meeting the recurrent water shortages in the country.

In Asia, the association has projects, in addition to those mentioned above, in Bangladesh and the Philippines. In Bangladesh, the association dispatched rescue and relief teams after the 2007 hurricane.

More recently, the Kimse Yok Mu organization has responded to tragedies in Myanmar and China. Already in May, 2008, the first team of volunteers and aid supplies from Kimse Yok Mu arrived in Myanmar and was given permission to distribute emergency assistance – vegetables, rice, drinking water, and disinfectant materials – to victims of the cyclone. It was teachers in the schools run by members of the Hizmet community associated with the followers of Fethullah Gülen who were already in Myanmar that were able to coordinate the humanitarian relief efforts. Shortly after the volunteer effort in Myanmar, Kimse Yok Mu announced a second campaign to collect funds for victims of the earthquake in China. On 21 May 2008, the association announced the new campaign, which was personally inaugurated with a \$15,000 contribution by Fethullah Gülen.

The most recent involvement of Kimse Yok Mu in Asia came as a response to the ethnic violence that occurred in Kirgizstan in 2010. At the request of the government of Kirgizstan and the United Nations, Kimse Yok Mu distributed care packages to more than 2,300 families in the conflict-ridden Osh and Jalalabad regions of the country. The organization is sending overland ten supply trucks with food, clothes and housing supplies for the victims of the conflict.

Perhaps the greatest tragedy of recent times was the massive earthquake that struck the Caribbean island of Haiti in January, 2010. In the early days after the tragedy hit, Kimse Yok Mu sent search and rescue teams to the island, and when the full complement of aid workers arrived, the organization was daily feeding 2,500 earthquake victims. The organization now has obtained land in Haiti on which it has established a temporary tent city for the homeless and has plans to build a school and hospital.

Looking toward the future

By 2007, aid programmes administered by Kimse Yok Mu had reached 37 cities in Turkey and 42 countries around the world. Although the majority of these were in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa, Kimse Yok Mu has also carried out aid and relief programmes in six European countries, Haiti in the Caribbean and Peru in South America. The organization has achieved much in the relatively short time since it was founded in 2002. I know of few organizations that have grown so quickly or accomplished so much in such a short time.

The association has already gained a niche in international aid circles. For example, publications of works on humanitarian aid published by Kimse Yok Mu were on display at the London Book Fair held in London in April, 2009. The

association is not afraid to try innovative methods to pursue its ends. A campaign to gather funds among Turkish youths for victims of violence in Darfur was carried out by encouraging young people to make a 5 TL contribution (approximately US \$2.75) by sending an SMS message through Turkey's major mobile phone operators.

As the organization looks to the future, the association is already speaking of instituting a volunteer corps of aid workers tentatively named "Kimse Yok Mu Volunteers" who will carry on aid activities in Turkey and other countries. One wonders whether, as the association continues to grow and develop, like many other agencies, it will eventually spend a greater part of its time and efforts addressing the systemic causes of poverty, and relatively less on emergency responses of immediate relief assistance to those in need.

Kimse Yok Mu is an initiative inspired by the highest ideals of Islamic teaching and life. The model of the assistance given by Muslims from the Madina region (*Ansar*) to the Emigrants from Mecca (*Muhajirun*) during the lifetime of the prophet Muhammad roots the ideals of the association in the experience of the earliest generations of Muslims. The Islamic Feasts have become occasions for concrete expressions of concern for the poor. Ramadan is a focal moment for drawing the attention of Muslims to the poor. "Sacrifice 2007" sought to use the occasion of Id al-Adha, the Feast of the Sacrifice, to distribute meat to the needy in many countries. The initiative involved 1,500 volunteers who slaughtered and distributed meat to the poor, Muslim and non-Muslim, in 42 countries. By Id al-Adha in 2008, over one and a half million people in more than 50 countries were recipients of meat packages donated and distributed by Kimse Yok Mu.¹⁰

Although Kimse Yok Mu finds its spiritual motivation in the teachings of Islam, the aid offered to the needy is not limited to Muslims. Emergency relief efforts in Myanmar, China, Haiti, Peru, and Sri Lanka, and the distribution of meat packages on the occasion of Id al-Adha with no distinction as regards the religion of the recipients show that the association's concern is not limited to the needy within the Islamic *umma*.

Christians, Jews, and others will recognize many of the programmes of Kimse Yok Mu as being similar – in some cases, identical – to those carried out by other philanthropic agencies of religious or secular inspiration, including other Muslim agencies such as Islamic Relief. The websites of Kimse Yok Mu and Catholic Relief Services, for example, show such close similarities that the two associations could seem to be sister organizations. This convergence should not surprise anyone, for the common inspiration of one God who cares deeply about

the plight of the poor is a common element of the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim traditions. Kimse Yok Mu can be seen as the latest and very welcome expression of the followers of Abrahamic faith to put that commitment into concrete practice.

Kimse Yok Mu today

The needs of our world keep changing, and the priorities for the most effective use of the limited capabilities of aid organizations keep changing as well. Organizations like Kimse Yok Mu are learning from their experience how better to integrate their efforts at fighting poverty with their educational efforts and those aimed at building greater unity and understanding among peoples.

At the present time Kimse Yok Mu have seven international campaigns in progress.

1. The Syrian Refugees Campaign. The one closest to home involves emergency care for tens of thousands of Syrians who have fled their homes due to the fighting between the rebels and the Syrian regime of Bashar Al-Assad. In general, those refugees who have fled to Turkey are adequately cared for by the efforts of the Turkish government, hence Kimse Yok Mu's attention is mainly focused on serving those who have fled to Lebanon and Jordan. The great majority of refugees in these countries are women whose needs run to foodstuffs, child and infant necessities, blankets, and cleaning supplies. Kimse Yok Mu has provided 5.5 tons of relief supplies, including portable toilets, bathrooms, garbage containers, and kitchen facilities, to over 14,000 refugees from Syria in Lebanon and Jordan. They serve a hot meal to 1,000 people every day, and in September, 2012, the organization opened a healthcare centre with a staff that includes two full-time Syrian doctors, two nurses, and two pharmacists on duty. Approximately 150 refugees are treated daily in the polyclinic and small-scale surgical operations are performed.

The slogan for the Syrian Refugees Campaign is: "It doesn't suit you when you are full and your neighbor is hungry." Metin Çetiner, vice-president of Kimse Yok Mu, described the situation of the refugees as follows: "People suffer at an extreme level. The needs of people for shelter and goods have increased with decreasing weather temperatures in the region. They need many supplies, especially household tools, kitchen utensils, stationery for children, winter clothes and blankets. People suffer a great deal with the approaching winter."

2. **The Rohingya Refugee Campaign.** A human tragedy on an even greater scale is the plight of the Rohingya refugees who have fled from Myanmar and settled in makeshift camps on the Myanmar-Bangladesh border. Their numbers are said to be in the hundreds of thousands. Over 90,000 of these Muslim refugees are being served by Kimse Yok Mu's Rohingya Campaign. Having earned the trust of the Myanmar government through its relief efforts for the victims of the 2008 cyclone, Kimse Yok Mu is permitted to provide foodstuffs and medical supplies to the unaccredited border camps which are reluctantly tolerated by the two countries.
3. **East Africa Campaigns.** A third project of Kimse Yok Mu covers four countries of East Africa: Somalia, Uganda, Kenya, and Ethiopia and focuses on emergency assistance to those faced with hunger and thirst. The hardest hit of these countries by decades of civil unrest was Somalia. In August, 2011, 160 tons of food were sent to Somalia in container ships from the Turkish port of Mersin. During Ramadan of that year, 12,000 Somali families were given two hot meals a day at five centres and baby formula was distributed to 4,000 infants. By September of that year, the number of those receiving daily hot meals had increased to 90,000 in six camps.

Medical teams set up clinics to treat children's malnutrition and infectious diseases and the Banadir Maternity Hospital in Mogadishu was completely restored, with both operating theatres and outpatient services being brought up to modern standards. Medical aid offered by Kimse Yok Mu doctors has been treating broken bones, bomb explosion injuries, orthopedic and kidney operations, gynecological treatments and pre- and post-natal care. Since August, 2011, approximately 70,000 patients have been treated. Malaria tests and anti-malarial medicines are being widely distributed and a campaign of sterile circumcision procedures is being carried out.

The lack of clean water has been a critical problem in the camps, which are often located in arid regions. To provide clean drinking water, a reservoir and two large springs have been drilled at Mogadishu with a daily flow of 22 tons of water. To combat the numerous cases of enteritis caused by dirty water, Kimse Yok Mu is bringing clean water to all the camps, building toilets and baths, and delivering detergent, liquid soap, and toilet paper to the camp residents.

While the need is not so dire in other East African countries, aid programmes are also being carried out in Kenya, Ethiopia, and Uganda. In Kenya, thousands of care packages have been distributed to meet emergency needs, but more permanent solutions are beginning to take priority. Plans

are in process for Kimse Yok Mu to dig more water wells, organize courses in landscaping, farming, and bee-keeping, build orphanages, and upgrade medical facilities.

Similar projects of relief and development are being carried out in Ethiopia and Uganda. The author of this chapter has personally visited two medical clinics in Uganda run by volunteer medical staff from Turkey and can testify to the effective humanitarian service provided in these Kimse Yok Mu projects. In Jinja, Uganda, the present clinic will give way soon to a new hospital/medical centre complex. Construction of the new complex is already underway.

4. **Ikbaliye village in Pakistan.** As mentioned above, Kimse Yok Mu erected three tent cities to house the victims of the 2010 earthquake in Pakistan. The organization has now committed itself to transforming the temporary emergency housing erected after the quake into a permanent housing complex with homes, deep water wells, primary and high schools, shops, a playground and a health care centre for the earthquake victims. These plans are taking shape in the new Ikbaliye village which is already under construction; the cost of the whole project is expected to come to six million US dollars.
5. **Other campaigns.** The Water Wells Project, mentioned above, is using high-tech digging technologies to bring clean drinking water to residents of Niger and Palestine. It is estimated that each well serve approximately 3,000 people with the clean water so essential to health.

Finally, Kimse Yok Mu has two orphanage campaigns, one in Palestine and the other in Sudan. It is estimated that there are 20,000 orphaned children in Palestine's Gaza Strip. Kimse Yok Mu has set up a "Scholarship for Orphaned Palestinian Children Project," which seeks donors in Turkey and elsewhere to sponsor an orphan's living expenses and tuition for a year's education.

Similarly, Sudan's Darfur region has approximately 7,000 orphans, many of whom lost their families in the armed conflict between the Sudanese government forces and the Darfur rebels. The children reside in primitive *halves* where food and other basic necessities are rare. As it does in the case of the Palestinian orphans, Kimse Yok Mu seeks sponsors in Turkey to adopt the living and educational expenses of these children.

This overview of the work of Kimse Yok Mu shows the concrete ways in which the organization is seeking to live out its mission. This vision is expressed in the Kimse Yok Mu Mission Statement itself:

- To build a more comfortable, serene and peaceful world while fighting poverty and attempting to eliminate social inequalities;

- To encourage society to be more understanding and engaging with the notion of ‘Humanitarian Aid’;
- To protect innocent people in war-torn areas;
- And to accept and help people from all races, ages, religions, and social statuses in order to spread kindness around the world and to create and follow social support models.¹¹

Notes

- 1 Said Nursi, *Münâzarat*, p. 433, cited in Şükran Vahide, *Bediuzzaman Said Nursi*, Istanbul, 1992, p. 95.
- 2 Emily Lynne Webb, *Fethullah Gülen: Is There More to Him Than Meets the Eye?*, Patterson, NJ: n.d., p. 96. Cited in Thomas Michel, “Fethullah Gülen as Educator,” in *Turkish Islam and the Secular State*, Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2003, p. 81.
- 3 M. Hakan Yavuz, “Islam in the Public Square: The Case of the Nur Movement,” *Turkish Islam and the Secular State* (ed. By M. Hakan Yavuz and John L. Esposito) Syracuse: Syracuse U.P.
- 4 Ihsan Yılmaz, “Changing Turkish-Muslim Discourses on Modernity, West and Dialogue,” paper delivered at the International Association of Middle East Studies (IAMES), Berlin, 5-7 October 2000, footnote 33.
- 5 Mustafa Akyol, “What Made the Gülen Movement Possible?” *Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement*, London: Leeds Metropolitan UP, 2007, p. 28.
- 6 Zeki Saritoprak, “Fethullah Gülen and His Theology of Social Responsibility,” *Mastering Knowledge in Modern Times: Fethullah Gülen as an Islamic Scholar*, New York: Blue Dome Press, 2011, p. 91.
- 7 Those influenced by the teachings of Gülen prefer to refer to their community collectively as the *Hizmet* or the “Service” community, rather than the “followers of Gülen,” which could imply a personality cult.
- 8 The official title in English is “Kimse Yok Mu Aid and Solidarity Association.” The association website can be found at <http://www.kimseyokmu.org.tr/en/>
- 9 “Charter of Kimse Yok Mu Solidarity and Aid Association,” art. 3.
- 10 “Eid Helps Boost Unity in Turkey,” *Today’s Zaman*, 1 July 2008.
- 11 Kimse Yok Mu, “Our Mission and Vision,” <http://global.kimseyokmu.org.tr/?p=content&cl=hakkimizda&i=1589>