

Cosmopolitanism Perspective on the Gülen Movement

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Abstract

This article describes the development of the Gülen Movement by using the concept of cosmopolitanism as an analytical tool. The Gülen Movement itself originated from an ideology that a Turkish cleric, Fethullah Gülen, first coined. The ideology brought by Gülen includes moderate Islamic values and a progressive Islamic movement. This ideology was well received by the community so that the Gülen Movement or the Gülen Movement became a transnational-scale movement. The article method used a literature review to collect the data Harzing's Publish & Perish search engine for the article's accuracy. The Nvivo application was used to determine gaps in articles as well as to analyze previously obtained data. The Gülen movement began with Gülen's dedication to serving the community by teaching. Gülen teaches Islamic teachings while sharing his thoughts on social issues such as social inequality and tolerance between religions. This movement developed after the followers of Gülen built schools and spread his teachings through many media such as mass media. His thought began to be known in other countries, which began the transformation of the Gülen movement into a transnational cosmopolitanism movement.

Keywords

Transnational movement; gülen movement; cosmopolitanism; Turkey



I. Introduction

Fethullah Gülen became one of the most influential Islamic figures of this period. He is a contemporary scholar and philosopher from Turkey. Gülen's thoughts are not limited to religious views but also influences the fields of education, economics, and politics. He expressed his thoughts through moderate teachings without forgetting the original religious values (Mashar, 2011). He is teaching secularism to separate religious and political issues. Gülen teaches knowledge about Islam and its traditions. It is inseparable from the Holy Qur'an, hadith, and knowledge of Muslims from various ages. This forms an argument that love, compassion, and tolerance are Islamic values that are important to be applied to modern life (Maksum, 2014).

Gülen was already a lecturer in his hometown of Izmir when he was eighteen. His thoughts were well received even back in 1959. High schoolers and university students are the most dominant to support him (Zuraya, 2020). Starting from here, Gülen invited his supporters to create a campaign. This movement is also a form of support to help Turkey's unfavorable economic conditions. This movement became known as the Hizmet movement.

Gülen focuses his activity on education as an essential educational platform for young people in Turkey. The main goal is for students in areas lacking good quality schools to study outside the city. The funds used are donations from college students and private entrepreneurs. Apart from sending them to school, the program also built şık Evler (Light Houses) dormitories to live in while students study outside the city (Akhmad Rizqon Khamami, 2017). The dormitories also serve as a safe place to protect youths from

drugs and political violence. The program was successful and also managed to attract more supporters. Many students make it into top universities, so there are many opportunities for program sustainability. A university entrance examination preparation institution was created at the end of 1970.

Back in the 1980s, Gülen volunteers began building the school to follow the success of their previous program. They built schools that employed university alumni who passed through the movement's institutions as teachers. Although the followers were the ones who established the schools, the country was the one who regulated them. The schools succeeded in producing excellent and unproblematic students. Those students are Turkey's hope for the future.

Gülen's first stated goal is to raise a young generation who can combine intellectual enlightenment with pure spirituality, wisdom, and activism (Jager, 2016). The need for proper and equitable education became the main goal of the formation of the Gülen movement. After the success of the school building in the country, the Gülen movement began to attract the attention of the world's eyes. The Gülen movement was finally recognized and appreciated by the international community. Many volunteers have come to Turkey to support and continue the previous success. The followers encourage volunteers and those who agree with the idea to establish schools as they did.

Responding to the many disputes in Turkey from a political to religious perspective is inspiring Gülen to create a movement for dialogue. He held discussions with essential figures such as the police and religious leaders and officials, artists, and the public. Every corner of society reached to be able to have a conversation together. This dialogue also occurs across national borders, as what happened to the schools. Many volunteers following the Gülen movement hold gatherings for people to come together and share. Gülen is more than just a 'technically globalized Muslim intellectual' (Sunier, 2014). He transformed into a dependable local leader, and the movement was well organized. The network of schools and educational activities allowed the spread of Gülen's teachings and their meaning and translation into local conditions and circumstances. Not only spreading Islamic values, but Gülen also bridges inter-religious dialogue. It embraces every aspect of the differences that exist in society.

The Gülen or Hizmet movement has succeeded in bringing about change in Turkey and has also inspired many other countries in the world. This phenomenon gave Hizmet an influence to become a transnational movement. In this case, Hizmet is a global Islamic movement. A transnational Islamic movement is not a movement that focuses on the state but ideology for the benefit of the people (Aksa, 2017). Even Gülen's followers often held weekly meetings (sohbet) called weeping sermons (Sunier & Şahin, 2015). Gülen began to develop crying sessions when he preached back in Turkey in the 1970s. Gülen's followers often speak of his Islamic principle as 'civic Islam', indicating that morals for behavior are beyond the religious understanding of Islamic beliefs. The educational purpose of the movement has been established in other countries by producing a new generation of Muslims with the capabilities to survive in today's complicated world responsibly and reflexively. This attitude requires an understanding of connection to the world and the responsibility of morals. It leads to a more diverse world and the contents of its citizens.

The Gülen movement phenomenon – also known as the Hizmet movement in other countries – is interesting to explore more widely. This movement has spread to various countries carrying a more modern plan of spreading Islam. In this article, the Gülen movement will be viewed from the perspective of cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism can be divided into two different understandings of community. The first community is a local community that includes a person's place of birth and

residence. The second community is the international community as a place to live together. They do not categorize humans based on nation, social, political, and individual (Nussbaum, 1997). Nor is it known that any group is better than the others. The absence of different concepts of race, religion, nation, culture, or community makes people obey the same norms. The values of cosmopolitanism are a condition for the progress of civilization and development. Cosmopolitanism is the foundation of moral development, economy, political relations, nation, and culture (Ulum & Jannah, 2018). Cosmopolitanism descriptively deals with certain processes of socio-cultural or behaviors of the individual, morals, or qualities to involve cultural diversity (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). Development is a systematic and continuous effort made to realize something that is aspired. Development is a change towards improvement. Changes towards improvement require the mobilization of all human resources and reason to realize what is aspired. In addition, development is also very dependent on the availability of natural resource wealth. The availability of natural resources is one of the keys to economic growth in an area. (Shah, M. et al. 2020)

Martin Griffiths divides the concept of cosmopolitanism into three (Griffiths & O'Callaghan, 2013). First, cosmopolitanism refers to socio-cultural conditions that refer to the 'cosmopolitan world'. The cosmopolitan world in question allows cultures to relate to each other and interact without boundaries. Second, cosmopolitanism as an ideology or philosophy. The world community or citizens of the world are committed to humanity to have universal human rights. Third, the cosmopolitanism political project as a political project. A new transnational political order that runs based on 'cosmopolitan democracy'. This concept forms a new hierarchy that prioritizes state sovereignty over global governance.

Islamic cosmopolitanism is one solution to abolish the power of hegemony that often appears in social and political conditions (Ulum & Jannah, 2018). Humans are a unit that is open in accepting other cultures. Thus, new cultures can be formed and a new identity that can glue differences in society. And then, there are no more dilemmas that can lead to unnecessary disputes.

Based on the explanations and concepts that have been explained, the questions that will be answered in this paper are: this article is, "What is the perspective of cosmopolitanism on the Gülen Movement?" In answering this question, the authors will use cosmopolitanism based on aspects of socio-cultural diversity that shape the cosmopolitan world, and the goal of cosmopolitanism is to maintain world peace.

II. Research Method

This article is a library research article based on previous works with related themes. The works or data taken are in the form of news, journals, articles, and books. At the same time, the form of this article is qualitative, which produces a descriptive explanation of the title that has been studied.

The data was collected using the search engine application Harzing's Publish or Perish to get accurate data. The limitations sought are journals for a period of 10 (ten) years from 2011-2021. The keywords that the writer used are the transnational Islamic movement, the Gülen movement, Hizmet, and cosmopolitanism. The search results obtained are then stored in PDF form for further transfer to the Mendeley application. The data that has been stored in Mendeley is then stored again in RIS format so that it can be analyzed using the Nvivo 12 Plus application. In the Nvivo application, case data is made and then analyzed using the tools. The results obtained are then used in the article.

III. Results and Discussion

3.1 Development of the Gülen Movement

Movement Gülen is a movement that branched off from the Nurcu Movement started by an Islamic scholar, Said Nursi (Sunier, 2014). He taught at a local madrasa school and then went to the town of Mardin near the Syrian border, where he taught much about Islamic and Western sources. Gülen has been promoting intercultural and religious conversations for more than ten years, even before the September 11, 2001 tragedy at the World Trade Center (WTC) in America occurred (Altuntas, 2015). He had many students, so he became one of the crucial figures at the time.

Gülen himself is a religious person who trained informally and is close to Nursi's teachings. The Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs appointed Gülen in the western part of Izmir to be a religious teacher. During this time that Gülen developed his thinking based on what he had learned. Growing up in a political situation that clashed between the left and the right, where ignorance and poverty were inevitable, Gülen used it all to learn and teach. Gülen usually answers problems that often arise in society. Some examples are educational disparities, tolerance between religions, and social humanity. Gülen's focus lies in serving the community, especially in education and interfaith discussions (Hidayatullah, 2021). Gülen is a figure who brought new changes in the relationship between the majority and minority religious populations. There is a Muslim majority and some minorities such as the Jewish, Catholic, Armenian Orthodox Christians, and Greek Orthodox Christians. Gülen teaches to make tolerance one of the goals of dialogue into a guide that is eventually followed by most Muslim communities in Turkey (Altuntas, 2015).

Existence Gülen rose further in the 1980s as he became a prominent reformer and cleric. He maintained ties with the prime minister and the Homeland Party in 1983. Gülen supported reforms by providing public space and strengthening civil society. To create new economic, communication, and political activity opportunities. Freedom of speech is prioritized to discuss various religious diversity and political principles properly. In these years that Gülen and his followers began to build schools and institutions that helped spread Gülen's teachings. Not only schools, but Gülen also initiated dialogue forums with various parties religiously and politically to business. Gülen provides new readings about religious texts that evoke volunteerism, worldly appreciation, and universalism (Çelik, 2008). With this effort, Gülen brought Islam to the outside world.

In 1997 Gülen decided to move to the United States. He raised funds from various sources and built a reputation through multiple media. Gülen attracted new followers from the middle-class youth who were previously unfamiliar with the concept of Islam. The followers of the lower classes began to become invisible to him because of the increasing number of upper classes who became interested in his teachings. As he did in Turkey, he taught young people, answering their questions. Gülen got permission to preach and open classes. It brings school to those who want to learn from it. There is no limit for those who wish to study either in age or nationality. Many people come directly to Gülen in America – not only to learn but also to provide support.

Gait Gülen is not only spread by word of mouth and the mass media who continue to preach about him. Gülen also wrote several books, such as Islamic questions and Sufism. They were making him known as an educated scholar. In these years alone, while Gülen was in America, the movement continued to run its course.

Volunteers – one of the reasons why the Gülen movement is also known as Hizmet (service) – voluntarily pass on what they learn from Gülen. There are three first schools built-in 1982 in different cities in Turkey. The school was built complete with dormitories to have the students live comfortably in a safe environment. Hizmet manages the institutions with their funds. They also made associations for writers and journalists. That way, Hizmet can reach every level of society easily because the topics covered can vary. Not only native Turks but also people from other countries come directly to Turkey to study or volunteer there. In the late 1990s, Gülen-inspired schools began to establish in other countries.

Movement Gülen had an alliance with The Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* – AKP) in the early 2000s. They come from two different backgrounds (the AKP comes from the Movement of National Views - *Milli Görüş*), but the alliance was formed from common ground to restore Islamic life in Turkey (Dogan, 2020). This alliance began with resistance against Ataturk's reforms with the cooperation of religious movements with political parties.

Until then, Erdogan was more dominant in showing authoritarianism (Muedini, 2015). Erdogan, in recent years, has launched a sequence of measures that have turned Turkey from a democratic state to a more repressive-looking one. Following this, the Turkish government is now wary of movements that exert significant influence. The Turkish government is concerned that Gülen's popularity will threaten the current government's power. The Gülen movement has become a community social movement providing social services in Turkey and worldwide. Thus Gülen's power was sufficient to suppress the influence of the government. At that time, the Gülen Movement had excellent economic access, which was seen as a hegemonization project (Rizqon Khamami, 2020). The Gülen movement adapted well into national and international financial systems. Gülen welcomes the neoliberal economic system and other neoliberal principles such as democracy, human rights, and pluralism (Rizqon Khamami, 2020).

On July 16 2016, the upheaval between the Turkish government and Gülen culminated in a coup attempt to overthrow Erdogan. Erdogan believes that the coup was an attempt by Gülen to gain power (Al Akbar, 2017). Erdogan has blamed Gülen for the 'civil coup' that took place. Not long ago, Erdogan closed private schools in Turkey to sever the educational activities of the Gülen movement (A Rizqon Khamami, 2017). A policy to prohibit any actions related to Gülen was also issued. Meanwhile, Gülen himself has ensured that he does not have a political agenda and refers more to *da'wah* (Rizqon Khamami, 2018).

3.2 Internationalization of the Gülen Movement

Fethullah Gülen has a background as a religious person and a scholar. He uses the knowledge he has to give back to the community. In addition to Islamic sciences, Gülen also conveys many of his more moderate or neutral thinking. The ideas expressed by Gülen are not only limited to religion but also social, cultural, economic, and political. Even so, Gülen did not combine them all, especially religion and politics. There are two ways to view this.

The first view of cosmopolitanism lies in the individual character of a person in the life of the world order. What Gülen teaches is mostly about becoming a better person. A person needs to be kind, compassionate, tolerant, and so on. Gülen wants to build people's character so as not to be eroded by the modern world. In this modern world, where differences are a source of discord, their impact can be minimized. Gülen is a teacher who understands the important role of education here. Quality education or even education

itself is not something that everyone can have. Education is a luxury; that's why Gülen invites people to create a movement. The schools built by Hizmet volunteers prioritize character education for their students in addition to Islamic values. The curriculum used is a secular curriculum with a modern methodology that teaches general values such as tolerance, peace, democracy, human rights, and freedom of conscience while upholding local culture (Çelik, 2008).

At least about 1000 schools have relations with the Gülen movement in Turkey and 200 schools in various countries worldwide (Norton & Kasapoglu, 2016). The schools they built became a separate network for Gülen's followers to keep in touch. This network expanded rapidly because other countries easily accepted it. In helping the movement of the economy, use the form of *zakat*, which they manage together. The result improves economic conditions and impacts public education by establishing publishing and printing books, newspapers, and television stations. Gülen's economic movement contributed to the founding of banks, insurance, and small shops (Mashar, 2011).

Gülen has also gained credibility as the honorary president of The Journalists' and Writers' Foundation (JWF) by the media (Bilici, 2006). They facilitate social communication that defuses conflict. They encourage social communication that defuses conflict. They continue to organize meetings where many exclusive people from diverse political, ideological, and religious backgrounds can participate. Gülen's supporters also control various mass media, some of which are *Asya Finans* (financial institution), Burc FM, Samanyolu TV, The Fountain (magazine in English), *Zaman* (daily newspaper), *Aksiyon* (weekly magazine), *Yeni Umit* (religious journal), *Ekoloji* (ecological magazine), and *Sizinti* (monthly science magazine). The Gülen movement itself has an ISHAD entrepreneur association (Is Hayati Dayanisma Dernegi) with more than 2000 business members who also act as donors to support Gülen's *da'wah* activities (A Rizqon Khamami, 2017).

3.3 Gülen Movement as Cosmopolitanism Movement

Based on the development and internationalization of the Gülen movement described above, the Gülen movement can at least be seen as a cosmopolitanism movement. From the beginning, Gülen taught that religious values and human values are two things that do not need to combine with life in the modern world. The movement that Gülen created is not a political-based movement with an agenda, but another way to provide a way that even though they are not one, the two can still coexist. Modernism and Islam are not two opposite things that lead to conflict between the two. Gülen argues that state secularism and Islam can go hand in hand because Islam, according to him, is also not a political project to be implemented (Yilmaz, 2005).

Gülen places himself at the center of conservatism, which is in the middle ground between Islam and nationalism (Bilici, 2006). It offers a readily accepted concept – not least as a government reference. One of the countries that just won its independence in 1991, Azerbaijan (Aliyev, 1991). Many Islamic movements spread their teachings from different sects, including Sunnis. One of the leading Sunni Islamic movements is the Gülen movement. The Gülen movement was easier to accept because it was not an open propaganda activity directly in front of the general public. This movement is simpler because it passes through the social networks they have formed. These networks are not exposed when viewed from the outside but are everywhere. Some networks are included as part of educational institutions, and

some are from trade; some are created from social media. This network is also another form of contribution for those who do not have the financial capital to use their social network as human capital (Çelik, 2008).

Although not a form of state, Gülen's teachings experienced what is called the Clash of Civilization which Samuel P Huntington first popularized. The clash in question is between the West (Western) and the East (Eastern or Islam). The West believes that Islam is a threat that destroys their civilization. While Islam considers the West will wipe out Islamic culture. Islam is regarded as a religion that is scary, violent, cruel, unfit for women, closely related to terrorism, and there are many other sets of assumptions about Islam (A R Khamami, 2012). Gülen argues that one way to resolve this dispute is through dialogue. Dialogue provides a space for communication and opens up new perspectives. There is no other reason why the West and Islam should clash. Differences are not a bad thing, so divisions must not be created. Both can still coexist in a pluralistic world.

A world that can coexist is achieved by peacebuilding, which is an effort to prevent conflict by establishing peace. Peacebuilding efforts can be carried out by prioritizing education, conducting inter-faith dialogue, advocacy, mediation, etc. Social movements can be important actors in the process. Social movements can build trust and cooperation on differences in ethnicity, religion, etc. Especially religion-based and transnational social movements can make peace by motivating belief, commitment, spirituality, morals, and facilitating social relations (Esposito & Yilmaz, 2010). In this case, the Gülen movement is a religion-based transnational social movement that advocates peace.

IV. Conclusion

The Gülen movement is a tangible form of the world of cosmopolitanism in social and cultural life. This is reflected in its activities to promote dialogue for the broader community with various backgrounds. Gülen formed the movement from people to people. There is a constitution of education, communication, economy, and religion formed from the desire to unite differences. These differences are evidenced to keep living peacefully.

Peace builds on belief, trust not to fight teachings Gülen gives confidence by emphasizing religious values and morality. Human values are the basis for achieving peace. Communication to understand each other and the desire to live together in the world. The Gülen movement was built in this way. Thus the community of cosmopolitanism without boundaries is formed.

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