British Hizmet on Identity-Based Transparency

Green Paper 01

July 2018
The member organisations of Voices in Britain unanimously agree that this green paper accurately reflects the nature of their ongoing discussions on identity-based transparency and that they agree to it being released to the general public.
Contents

Preface ........................................................................................................................................2
Preliminaries ................................................................................................................................4
Introductory Points .....................................................................................................................5
Issues .......................................................................................................................................6
Advantages .................................................................................................................................7
Challenges .................................................................................................................................7
Achieved So Far ..........................................................................................................................9
Possible Next Steps and Points of Discussion ...........................................................................11
Preface

Voices in Britain is a consortium network of thirteen Hizmet-inspired voluntary organisations who have been coming together to discuss common issues since 2010. In 2012, we launched formally as Voices in Britain (which will hereafter be referred to simply as ‘Voices’). The factor that unifies all of our member organisations is that they were founded by people inspired by the Hizmet movement (interchangeably referred to as ‘Hizmet’ in this paper). For those who may be unfamiliar with the movement, the word ‘Hizmet’ means ‘service’ in Turkish. Hizmet is a social movement primarily focused on education, dialogue and relief work. It came about as a result of the teachings and practice of Fethullah Gülen; thus Hizmet is also known as the ‘Gülen movement’ (more information on Hizmet can be found here.) Voices exists in order to provide a framework upon which the Hizmet movement in Britain can coordinate their support for those individuals and organisations who subscribe to the philosophy of Hizmet, and to share best practice amongst one another. As such, we consider Voices to embody and represent British Hizmet. Voices is not a legal entity and does not replace the decision-making processes of its member organisations (more information on Voices, and its full list of member organisations can be found here.)

The collective members of Voices have decided to publish a series of ‘Green Papers’. In the British context, a green paper traditionally refers to a preparatory document that aims to provoke discussion and elicit feedback. Our green papers are preparatory in the sense that they aim to provide an accurate account of our ongoing and evolving internal discussions and positions on a range of contested issues to which we most certainly welcome feedback, and to open the door to further discussion of this nature. In contrast to opinion pieces or policy documents, the focus of our green papers is on ‘process’ rather than to reach a polished conclusion or ‘end point’. In order to achieve this, these papers will posit that which we believe to be the salient issues of each topic, followed by our respective reflections and responses. Where relevant, these papers will also state our strengths and challenges as we understand them, that which we have achieved so far and that which we are yet to do in relation to the topic at hand. We will be particularly mindful of sharing any minority view of and/or disagreement amongst our member organisations. Unless otherwise stated, the contents of this paper reflects the unanimous view of our member organisations.

Our objectives in writing this series of green papers are four-fold. Firstly, our goal is to map out a structure for the development of our internal discussions going forward by identifying areas of agreement, disagreement and points of further discussion and debate amongst our members. We would like to clarify not just what we think regarding a range of topics, but how we think. Secondly, we wish to reinforce any advancements we attain, both at the theoretical and practical level by publishing a written document to mitigate against institutional memory.
loss caused by rotation of staff or lapse of time. Thirdly, we hope to achieve a higher level of external and internal transparency. We feel that sharing our internal discussions with the public will help both achieve that and also facilitate further dialogue with those outside of the movement. Finally, we would like to differentiate ‘British Hizmet’ from the wider body of ‘Hizmet global’ and Hizmet in other localities. Whilst Hizmet is a transnational social movement, it effectively functions autonomously at a local level, albeit mindful of Hizmet’s overall positioning. As such, British Hizmet’s views and practices, as expressed through Voices may vary from that which is articulated by Hizmet organisations elsewhere.

This is our first green paper. We are therefore particularly keen to receive your feedback on both the style and content of this paper. We are eager to absorb any ideas you may have on how we can further advance the transparency of our identity and organisations, as well as any other feedback or suggestions you might have for other relevant issues for us to discuss. To share feedback anonymously, simply indicate in that in your email and all personal details will be deleted before your feedback is shared with others. Please email any feedback to greenpapers@voicesinbritain.org.

Voices Member Organisations
30 July 2018
Preliminaries

1. The main subject of this green paper is identity-based transparency. We prepared an initial outline based on the meeting minutes of previous discussions on the topic and presented it to Voices member organisations. Several subsequent drafts were also presented, discussed and voted on by the consortium. An advance version was shared with advisers and friends of our various member organisations in order to hear their feedback and receive their suggestions. Though outside the formal Voices network, our external advisers and friends have been integral to our internal discussions and organisational developments. The feedback and suggestions they have provided are extremely insightful and valuable. In some instances, their feedback allowed us to better communicate a particular point; in others, it challenged us to include and address additional issues in the paper. This serves to emphasise the fact that we welcome input and exchange with the wider community outside of the Hizmet movement. The final version of this paper has been voted upon at a Voices meeting. This version achieved the unanimous support of all Voices members.

2. Our member organisations unanimously agree that keeping a record of our internal discussions in the form of these green papers is expedient. The majority of our member organisations have agreed that we should publish these green papers in order to achieve the objectives outlined above. A minority of our member organisations remain unconvinced of the utility of doing so, but supported the publication of this paper nonetheless. Some of our members voiced concerns that in publishing these green papers we might inadvertently impede future thinking that deviates from precedent. Overall, we agreed that this risk could be mitigated by stressing the reflective nature of this paper and warning of this risk in the paper itself.

3. We would like to reaffirm that we welcome heartily any feedback or comments in response this paper, be it conceptual or practical, general or in response to a particular point. We are also keen to take on board any tangible ideas you may have for identity-based transparency and for the ‘Green Paper’ initiative more generally. All feedback will be considered at the next Voices meeting. To share feedback anonymously, simply state this in your email and all personal details will be deleted before your feedback is shared with others. Please email your feedback to greenpapers@voicesinbritain.org. (Any abusive communication will be shared with the police and hate monitoring groups.)
## Introductory Points

4. There is at present no clear consensus on the criteria for appropriate transparency (identity-based or otherwise) for social movements and their associated bodies, including charities, non-profit organisations and other charitable companies. In the absence of such criteria, we aim to achieve the maximum level of transparency in all aspects of our work, whilst recognising that this is an ongoing process that will take time. We wish to underscore the nuance that this is a voluntarily developed form of transparency which has been set by and for our member organisations themselves. It is an ethos that recognises both the inherent and practical values of transparency not only in realising the potential of an organisation, but in allaying any potential misgivings therein. We acknowledge that there are many dimensions to transparency, however this paper will focus on identity-based transparency. We define this as transparency that relates to a particular group affiliation or identity.

5. Our member organisations unanimously agree that all entities, formal and otherwise, must abide by the letter and spirit of any law as it pertains to transparency and accountability. What is discussed here surpasses that which is made mandatory by any relevant law or regulation.

6. For context, it is imperative to note that the Turkish government has been publicly denouncing Hizmet since 2012. In 2013, the Turkish government accused the Hizmet movement of orchestrating a series of corruption investigations on behalf of a ‘coalition of foreign powers’ and ‘the international interest rate lobby’ through its alleged supporters within the state structure, which the Turkish government called ‘the parallel state’. In July 2016, the Turkish government blamed Hizmet for the failed coup attempt in Turkey. Immediately following the failed coup, the Turkish government began a comprehensive programme of purges in Turkey. Since July 2016, it is estimated that President Erdogan’s government has removed approximately 170,372 public employees by State of Emergency decrees. This purge has been performed without court order or right of appeal. Furthermore, the government has detained over 100,000 and charged and held on remand approximately 80,000 individuals on the grounds that they are Hizmet supporters.\(^1\) Prior to the coup of 2016, the Turkish government declared Hizmet to be an ‘armed terrorist organisation’. The government thereby justifies these actions on the egregious pretext that Hizmet has infiltrated all facets of public office and all levels of civil society. Gülen and Hizmet’s leading NGOs categorically deny these accusations. Moreover, Gülen has called for an international body to investigate the coup, stating that he would immediately return to Turkey, of his own free will, should that body implicate him in any way.

---

\(^1\) The number of purged public employees as well as those detained and held on remand can be found at: Turkey Purge (2018), ‘Turkey’s post-coup crackdown’, accessed date: 22 Jul 2018, [https://www.turkeypurge.com](https://www.turkeypurge.com).
Issues

7. Hizmet participants are connected by a set of shared ideals, principles, discourses and networks. As a social movement, Hizmet encompasses a range of both formal and informal, incorporated and unincorporated organisations and networks. As a social movement, Hizmet also comprises formal organisations and networks such as schools and consortia, as well as informal activities and networks such as grass roots religious discussion forums (*sohbets*), and constituency-based social activities (*bölgecilik* or *halk hizmetleri*), respectively.

8. There are two principal facets to Hizmet’s identity-based transparency. These apply to all Hizmet-based organisations and activities whether they are formal or informal, incorporated or unincorporated. These facets are foundational transparency and horizontal transparency. Foundational transparency refers to the ‘foundational link’ between the organisation and Hizmet in terms of how and why it was created, as well as how Hizmet’s values continues to guide it. In order to achieve this type of transparency, each organisation must show or impart the nature of their foundational link and how this influences the organisation’s work.² Horizontal transparency refers to the support provided by other Hizmet organisations and networks in relation to the organisation in question. To meet the aim of full horizontal transparency, an organisation should state its ‘membership’ within any formal or informal network and explain the nature of these relationships and connections. This includes the way in which organisations support and influence one another. Furthermore, organisations that belong to any network should state the unifying theme, characteristic or set of values that form the basis of the network. If the unifying characteristic is Hizmet itself, then this should be stated as it has been done with Voices.

9. We feel that it is necessary at this stage to explain what we mean with regard to ‘stating’, ‘disclosing’ or ‘declaring’ the foundational and horizontal links of each organisation. Until recently, many Hizmet participants and organisations would happily disclose the nature of their Hizmet affiliation if asked about it, however they wouldn’t necessarily volunteer this information without prompt. For example, they would not include mention of it on their website. Previously, this was thought to be sufficient. Now however, all of our member organisations are agreed that in order to meet our standards of identity-based transparency, this information should be shared openly and without prompt. For example, any member organisation should include information about their Hizmet affiliation on the ‘About Us’ or ‘Frequently Asked Questions’ page of their

---

² Often, that foundational link is explained by reference to terms such as ‘inspiration’. This paper also refers to Hizmet-inspired people and organisations. Explaining an organisation’s inception by reference to inspiration does not preclude or deny the ‘material’ support of Hizmet participants or networks. It merely draws attention to the underlying motivation. That motivation is typical for social movement participation and activism. We will expand more on this in our next green paper *How British Hizmet Works*. 
website. Doing so is now a prerequisite condition of becoming a member of Voices. Our understanding is that two Hizmet-inspired organisations in Britain remain unconvinced of the necessity of doing so and are therefore reluctant to join Voices.

10. High levels of foundational and horizontal transparency are easier to achieve in the context of formalised entities such as schools or federations. It is more challenging when dealing with an informal activity or network. An effective means of achieving transparency in this setting is to formalise informal activities and networks and then to come to a consensus within the formalised entity regarding the necessity to make all foundational and horizontal links clear. The challenge with doing this pertains to the nature of the informal entity itself; its ‘informality’ precludes it from being easily ‘converted’ into a formalised structure. As a result, this process should be handled with care and with full acknowledgment of the need in each instance to balance the benefits with the possible losses to the spirit of informal voluntary engagement. As such, the need for a voluntary, informal network to become transparent in terms of identity and affiliation should be weighed up against the individual challenges and potential changes in ethos the transition may incur.

Advantages

11. The member organisations of Voices collectively recognise the advantages associated with identity-based transparency. Adopting a philosophy of transparency enables British Hizmet to escape stifling sensitivities that may otherwise prevent innovation. In upholding this ethos, we foster an environment that is more conducive to self-reflexivity, inviting Hizmet participants to question their aims, methods and modes of activity and communication. Another beneficial effect of this is the unhindering of creativity. Creativity in return is essential in appealing to the imagination and support of young people, whose support and involvement with all Hizmet-related activity is crucial to the continuation and development of the movement. Moreover, and in the prevailing context, identity-based transparency provides British Hizmet with the opportunity to present and define itself to the wider community on its own terms, rather than being framed by the narrative of others.

Challenges

12. Inevitably, there are a number of challenges to our efforts to achieve identity-based transparency. Most of these are difficulties that relate to those inside the Hizmet movement, although some do pertain to those outside of Hizmet. These issues include: the Turkish mindset and habits, the fear of being misunderstood, the British government’s unwavering support for the Turkish government, the sociological reflexes of hunkering down during periods of relentless persecution and outsider bias. Some of our member organisations are understandably concerned by these
challenges, but have nonetheless come to the conclusion that British Hizmet must proceed with identity-based transparency as described above.

13. Hizmet originated in Turkey and so carries Turkish culture, mindset and certain habits along with it. Such habits were shaped in modern Turkey which, ever since its foundation in the early half of the twentieth century, operates on a system of profiling and discriminating on the basis of ideology, language, ethnicity and religious observance. Reinforced, these discriminatory mechanisms persist today. To avoid being persecuted, Turkey’s Alevis, Kurds, Armenians, Jews, Hizmet participants and others are often reticent about volunteering their ethnic background, religious beliefs and political affiliations. In fact, on 30 September 1925, Law No. 677, still in effect if unenforced, dissolved and outlawed all Sufi orders and lodges and all titles, meetings and ceremonies pertaining to spirituality and mysticism, which potentially extends to all religious groups in Turkey today. In 2012, Hizmet sought to break this cycle and encouraged the founding of trade unions, including one for teachers working in the private and public sector. This trade union grew to over 36,000 members in less than a year. Alongside other outcomes, these trade unions had the potential to significantly resolve the transparency issue in Turkey. However, by 2014 the Turkish government forced the dissolution of all of these legally founded and run trade unions, and is now using membership of them as grounds for imprisonment. Calls for transparency are met with the corresponding fear of persecution of this nature. Those who participate in British Hizmet are worried for the safety and security of their family members in Turkey. The Turkish government engages in hostage-diplomacy and persecution whereby it arrests and charges the family members of Hizmet participants abroad, including those Hizmet participants in Britain.

14. The main purpose of transparency has been to better communicate the identity and aim of the organisation in question. However, one counter-argument is that providing an Islamic backstory to any organisation may lead to unfounded yet deeply-rooted mistrust and even fear in the current climate of widespread Islamophobia and prejudice against Muslim groups. This applies to an even greater extent when the organisation in question is ‘secular’ in nature, as most Hizmet-inspired initiatives are, as this does not conform with preconceived notions of what an Islamic organisation does. For example, all Hizmet schools in Western society (including those in the UK and North America) are non-denominational and follow the National Curriculum. At most, these schools favour a certain ethos, but even that ethos has a universal claim such as empathy, compassion, academic excellence etc. In such instances, Hizmet’s unique contribution to the organisation is that it inspires people of Turkish-Muslim background to found schools and other organisations on the terms just described and not much more. In spite of this, some Hizmet participants are concerned that stating the organisation’s Hizmet background on the website or brochure could impart a false impression and give rise to Islamophobic reactions. Increasing levels of Islamophobia in British society gives credence to this view, however it may be argued that this is all the more justification for greater clarity and transparency.
15. It should be noted that Hizmet participants are not inherently opposed to continued relations with Turkey, a key NATO ally. They are however disappointed that the British government’s support for Turkey has only increased in recent years, in inverse correlation to Turkey’s decreasing commitment to democracy, the rule of law and human rights. In these circumstances, some British Hizmet participants are wary of disclosing their Hizmet identity out of fear that they may be targeted. These concerns are only reinforced by the observation that the British government does not fully acknowledge the serious claims of Turkey’s alleged espionage activities on British soil against British citizens including Hizmet participants, Kurds and other so-called dissidents. In contrast, almost every other Western European government has launched formal investigations on exactly these grounds.

16. Hizmet has been socially exterminated in Turkey, whilst Hizmet abroad is suffering direct and indirect persecution. This is the most comprehensive and relentless form of persecution that Hizmet has suffered since its inception in the 1960s. During such times, persecuted groups usually hunker down in solidarity and become less transparent to avoid further reprisal and persecution. Some groups even attempt to go completely underground. Counter-acting this protective and defensive impulse in order to encourage identity-based transparency in the face of this sociological reflex is a most difficult feat to achieve and is another challenge to our transparency efforts.

17. Bias and prejudice can influence those inside a movement just as emphatically as those outside of it. To mitigate against such factors as confirmation bias and cognitive dissonance, insiders and outsiders alike must recognise the possibility of such bias and undertake a number of measures to reduce its impact. Traditionally, insiders have been considered to be more susceptible to such bias with the effect that less emphasis has been placed on outsider bias. Nonetheless, research methodology literature certainly recognises and warns against outsider bias. Outsiders unwilling to recognise the possibility of this deny themselves the opportunity to mitigate against it. In the context of the present discussion, no form of transparency is likely to satisfy a person who maintains an unaddressed bias against Hizmet. In fact, every earnest effort at achieving transparency is at risk of being perceived as an attempt to mislead. Moreover, the very reality of this bias, and its constant reminder, disincentivises Hizmet’s transparency efforts. Therefore, in addition to all else, the bias in the eye of the beholder is another impediment to transparency. Surmounting it requires as much effort from the outsider as it does from the insider.

**Achieved So Far**

18. **Foundational Transparency**: To date, sixteen UK-based Hizmet organisations have achieved foundational transparency as defined in this paper, by publically stating their Hizmet link and how it influences their work on the ‘About Us’ or ‘Frequently Asked Questions’ page of their website. Some of our organisations achieved this transparency
many years ago. For example, the Dialogue Society has included this information on its website since 2009. Moreover, almost all of these organisations have joined Voices, and by doing so they have reached an even greater level of foundational transparency, due to their public association with Voices and its self-identification as ‘a consortium network for Hizmet-inspired voluntary organisations in Britain’. A small number of regional organisations remain sufficiently concerned that they have not taken this step. We will continue to encourage these organisations to achieve foundational transparency by publicly stating their Hizmet link.

19. **Horizontal Transparency:** In 2012, Hizmet-inspired organisations in Britain came together to form Voices. They made it clear that the common denominator and unifying characteristic of this consortium is the Hizmet identity. Every single one of our member organisations is founded and run by Hizmet-inspired people. Furthermore, we have been vocal about our aim to ‘streamline the output through the sharing of best practice and ideas; build capacity through specialist support and training, and support member organisations to reach a broader swath of British society.’ In being absolutely transparent in all that concerns identity and aims, Voices helps its member organisations to achieve horizontal transparency by doing no more than declaring membership of Voices on the organisation’s website. In doing so, member organisations make it crystal clear that they support and are supported by other Hizmet-inspired voluntary organisations in Britain. Voices currently has thirteen member organisations. As far as we know, there remains a handful of smaller organisations that have not joined. We will continue to encourage them to join Voices, while trying to address any concerns that may be preventing them from doing so.

20. **Two Grey Areas:** Today, all aspects of British Hizmet — be they formal or informal, incorporated or unincorporated — have become transparent in both the foundational and horizontal sense. Until recently, there were two exceptions to this: Hizmet’s bölgecilik or halk hizmetleri, that is Hizmet’s grassroots religious activity and Hizmet’s rehberlik or talebe hizmetleri, that is Hizmet’s religious mentoring. As of today, both types of Hizmet have been formalised and incorporated through the creation of two non-profit companies, the Sohbet Society (formalised 2016, incorporated 2018) and Mentor Wise (formalised and incorporated 2015).

21. **Sohbet Society:** The Sohbet Society formalises and incorporates Hizmet’s pre-existing grassroots religious activism in Britain. In doing so, it also aims to diversify its Muslim beneficiaries. Hizmet’s grass roots religious activism is known within Hizmet as bölgecilik (‘constituency based activism’) or halk hizmetleri (‘community service’) and is carried out by Hizmet’s abis and ablas (literally, ‘brothers’ and ‘sisters’; contextually, Hizmet’s male and female community organisers). The role of Hizmet’s community organisers has always been to facilitate Hizmet’s grass roots religious activities. The Sohbet Society not only incorporates Hizmet’s hitherto informal and unincorporated grassroots activism, it also states its link to Hizmet’s teachings and its membership of Voices, achieving both foundational and horizontal transparency. Moreover, despite the ongoing persecution, the Sohbet Society aims to list all of its community organisers in Britain on its website by the end of 2018.
22. Through the Sohbet Society, British Hizmet has incorporated the following grassroots activities and its associated terms, such as abi and abla (community organiser), bölgecilik (constituency based religious activism), sohbet (religious discussion), istişare (organisational meeting), mütevelli (organisational meeting with donors and supporters), rehberlik (religious mentoring for adults), kamp (religious retreats), gezi (solidarity-building excursions), Kuran dersleri (teaching the recitation of the Qur’an), and himmet (fundraising). The Sohbet Society lists its directors and staff as abis and ablas to achieve complete coherence between its inner and outer workings. All of these terms and forms of activity are described in detail on its ‘About Us’, ‘What We Do’, and ‘How We Do It’ website pages.

23. **Mentor Wise**: Mentor Wise formalises and incorporates Hizmet’s pre-existing framework for mentoring - including religious mentoring - referred to within Hizmet as rehberlik or talebecilik. As noted on its website, Mentor Wise is a London-based organisation dedicated to supporting young people in Britain with a particular focus on Muslim minority groups. It operates by offering four types of mentoring: school work, life-skills, character development and religious teaching. Parents are welcome to choose one or several of these strands in order to build a mentoring programme for their child. Like the Sohbet Society, Mentor Wise also states the source of its inspiration, its link to Hizmet and its membership of Voices, thereby meeting the criteria for both foundational and horizontal transparency.

### Possible Next Steps & Points of Discussion

24. It is imperative that transparency is considered in the context of practice, accountability and good governance. As a result, transparency initiatives will achieve only a fraction of its potential outcome if it is not perpetuated through a culture of organisational practice and securely rooted in accountability and good governance. A merely theoretical commitment to transparency, accountability and good governance is insufficient to produce the type of organisational practice necessary to affect results. We need to work harder to explore the cross-section of habitus, practice, organisational management, accountability and good governance.

25. While considerable progress has been achieved on identity-based transparency, we must now turn our attention to further exploring and explicating the how question: how does the foundational and horizontal link influence the day to day work of these organisations? Foundational and horizontal transparency is only one form of transparency. We now need to take steps to explore other forms of transparency. In this respect, another green paper solely focused on explaining ‘how British Hizmet works’ would address both forms: that is, developing identity-based transparency while extending that transparency to other areas.

26. Hizmet-affiliated people and organisations often refer to being ‘Hizmet-inspired’ as a way of explaining their foundational link to Hizmet. In the pursuit of further clarity, it would be beneficial to provide some account of how exactly this takes effect. This could

---

3 We are not claiming that such abis and ablas operate on the same terms and in the same manner in every other country. We are merely describing what identity-based transparency looks like in relation to this particular type of Hizmet activity in Britain today.
take the form of stories and testimonies of Hizmet participants. We can realise this through recording and releasing a series of short podcast interviews with Hizmet participants in their individual capacity, as well as with key people and leaders of Hizmet organisations to tell the story of how and why the Hizmet organisations in Britain were originally set up. Hizmet-inspired organisations could include these ‘back stories’ on their websites in order to further explain their foundational link to Hizmet.

27. It is important that identity-based transparency is not limited to website-based disclosures. When shared openly, it can help develop greater appreciation and affinity for an organisation and its work. It can also open the door to more discussion and exchange with the wider community. In that respect, identity-based transparency should not be seen as a burden but rather an opportunity to develop organisational depth and presence, as well as an opportunity to demonstrate and explain it to those outside of the Hizmet movement. Identity-based transparency can also mean different things to different organisations. Therefore it is absolutely key that these organisations explore the implications of this form of transparency through a series of ongoing internal (and possibly external) discussions and meetings.

28. Voices member organisations have considered appointing a ‘Transparency Ombudsman’ who would have the responsibility of publishing an annual transparency audit for British Hizmet, based on the idea of voluntary and proactive transparency. The Ombudsman must be independent, with an impeccable reputation, held accountable by publicly available terms of reference (to which the Ombudsman can contribute), provided with full access and allowed sufficient time and resources to both research and draft the annual report each year going forward from now. The holder of this post would also have the responsibility of clearly delineating what proactive transparency entails in the context of Hizmet in Britain. With each report, the Ombudsman would identify progress, regress and areas requiring further attention. This would help to set the agenda for our transparency efforts for the following year. It would also ensure that any criticism levelled at British Hizmet’s transparency and associated efforts is contextualised within progress already made, and the self-evident effort to do more. It would also help to demonstrate the practical challenges associated with achieving a level of proactive transparency not customarily attained by UK-based charities or even political parties who seek public office. It is advisable to further explore this option.

29. During these discussions, our member organisations have also decided to publish the Voices Consortium Constitution on our website in the interest of full transparency.