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**Erkan Toguslu.** *The Turbulence between AKP and Hizmet: the African Case.* An African Report. London: Centre for Hizmet Studies, London. 27 pp. 2017.

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Very recently Erkan Toguslu, who is an anthropologist based at the University of Leuven in Belgium, completed a report that dealt with *The Turbulence between AKP and Hizmet: (by making reference to) the African Case*. Toguslu, who reflected on Africa as a continental case study, investigated the breakdown between Turkey's Justice and Development Party (AKP <https://www.akparti.org.tr/english>) and the Hizmet Movement ([www.gulenmovement.com](http://www.gulenmovement.com)) led by US-based Turkish Muslim scholar Fethullah Gulen. The rapporteur did so by examining the latest developments regarding the closing and taking control of Hizmet schools through the AKP government's efforts; he thus discussed the aims of the MAARIF foundation that was set up to take over Africa's Hizmet schools. The author managed to explain in detail the reasons why such an action can be detrimental to the on-going education of many African students, in addition to the fact that it is allowing the AKP government to intrude in the local politics of other countries.

The report was divided into eight sections, six of which formed the main part of the report. It starts by providing a short biography of Erkan Toguslu, the rapporteur, and he then followed this up with a Foreword. He introduced the reader firstly to the nature of Hizmet as a social movement. Secondly, he commented on the AKP government's suppression and persecution of this movement within the context of President Tayyip Erdogan's rule during the last five years. He, thirdly, reflected on the enigmatic coup attempt and the widespread purge in its aftermath. Finally, he offered a short overview of the main subject of the report, namely Africa's Hizmet schools and the Maarif Foundation's involvement in taking over the management of these schools.

The remaining parts comprised of a few sections, and they are: 'Hizmet Schools' Ordeal at the Hands of Erdogan', 'Hizmet Schools', 'Hizmet Schools in Africa', Turkey: Erdogan's Dreams of Becoming the 'One Man', 'Maarif Foundation: a Parallel Education Ministry', and 'Potential Vacuum after Closure of the Schools'. Each section gave a detailed account of the corresponding topics. The first section, 'Hizmet Schools' Ordeal at the Hands of Erdogan' discussed the AKP government's pressures and threats in planning to take over the schools abroad particularly those located in African countries. The second section elaborated extensively on Hizmet's school and education model. The third section delved into

the changing trajectory and transformation of the leadership and it reflected on Erdogan and his AKP government. The fourth part that focused on 'Maarif Foundation: a Parallel Education Ministry,' provided a good overview of the mentioned foundation; one that was founded with the sole purpose of taking control of the Hizmet schools abroad so that they can function under the management of the Turkish Ministry of the National Education. The last section, which considered the 'Potential Vacuum after Closure of the Schools', explained the possible dangers if these schools are forcefully wrested from Hizmet's control or handed to the Maarif Foundation. He stated that among the adverse implications is the immediate loss of qualified and experienced staff. This has been the case in countries like Pakistan where the ruling government ordered the Hizmet schools' staff and their teachers to be extradited from the country to Turkey; in this instance one teacher and his family were kidnapped from their homes in Pakistan. It is, however, feared that African countries such as Senegal where Yavuz Selim Sultan College operates may face similar consequence if the Turkish government pressurise the Senegalese government.

The report's strength, it may be argued, stems from it being a unique research report that took into account the case of the various Hizmet schools in Africa; this is indeed an under-researched topic. It is, therefore, a welcome contribution to the growing literature on Hizmet schools and the movement's educational philosophy. As far as this reviewer is concerned, there are very few works regarding the Hizmet schools, let alone in the African context. It is commendable that the author did not only dwell on the Maarif Foundation's involvement and the AKP government's policies towards these schools, but he also offered a clear definition and a detailed discussion of them in the second section. One of the report's weaknesses, however, stems from the fact that it was too brief; from this reviewer's perspective, there was much more that could have been said about each of those countries where these schools are found. Despite the twenty seven page report's brevity, one can still argue that it gave a fair overview of the topic at hand. The report could also have touched on those schools that operate outside the African continent; nevertheless, since this report specifically addressed Africa as a case study, one should appreciate the fact that the rapporteur wanted to keep the report focused and to the point.

Over all, *The Turbulence between AKP and Hizmet: the African Case* remains a good example of a report that zoomed in on the recent developments of Africa-based Hizmet-schools. The reviewer wishes to emphasize that there is, however, a degree of urgency regarding this report that highlighted these schools' immanent closure by Turkey's AKP government; this, it should be stressed, is presently an on-going phenomenon in which the education of many African students might be disrupted and more importantly, these schools' teaching Turkish staff's lives would immediately be ruined if Turkey's Maarif Foundation succeeds in taking control of all of their schools. One would like to add that it is not an unknown fact, that the Turkish teachers, most of whom are Hizmet members, might find themselves deported from the country where they work – depending upon the agreement reached between AKP's government and the respective African governments. From what has happened inside Turkey, one can only assume that if Turkey succeeds in the endeavour to take charge of these schools, the government would have them repatriated through a mutual

agreement and these teachers would probably be imprisoned, and they would possibly be punished due to their membership in the Hizmet movement. The same fate, moreover, awaits Turkish teachers that run similar schools in countries such as the Philippines, if these governments are pressurised by Turkey's AKP government to repatriate them. This reviewer would like to stress that this significant report, though sensitive from the AKP government's perspective since a state of emergency is still operative, should be brought to the attention of (educational) policy makers in Africa where these schools are still running as well as to the attention of those in Turkey who have been driving the process in forcing these schools' closure and take over. In conclusion, this report is an informative and instructive guide for educators generally, and particularly those who are associated with the management of and teaching in these schools. One should stress that the report offered a successful and fair insight into the Hizmet schools and the philosophy that undergirds all of them. This reviewer is of the opinion that this report laid an important foundation and it should encourage the production of more reports and critical studies so that the community of educators around the world may have a better understanding of the Hizmet movement and its global challenges in providing excellent and affordable education in Africa.

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