

Massachusetts



QUICK FACTS ON GÜLEN CHARTER SCHOOLS MASSACHUSETTS



NUMBER OF SCHOOLS

3
1 planned

KNOWN AS

**Pioneer Charter School of Science
Hampden Charter School of Science**

TOTAL ENROLLMENT

1,061

TOTAL REVENUES

\$16,450,960

RELATED INSTITUTIONS



Central Jersey
College Prep
Charter School

Arts & Science
Science &
Technology



Chesapeake



Hampden

Pioneer



Academy of
Science

KEY PEOPLE



Volkan Yesilyurt

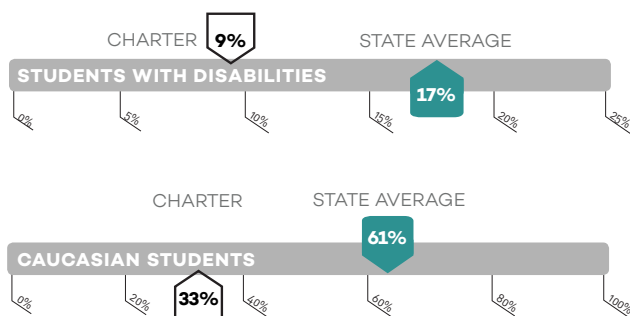


Necmi Atmaca

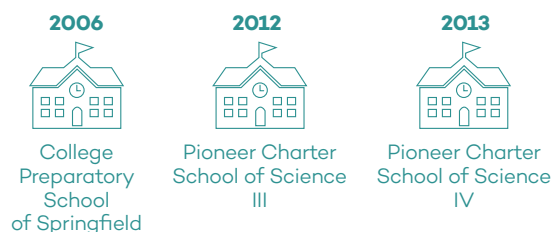


8 others

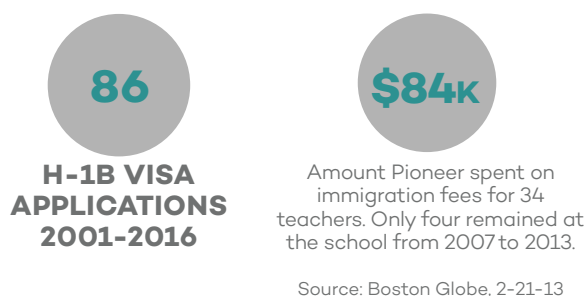
VULNERABLE STUDENT POPULATIONS



SCHOOL APPLICATIONS DENIED



EXCESSIVE IMMIGRATION



FINANCIAL ISSUES

According to the applications of PCSS II and HCSS West, these new schools are supposed to reimburse the flagship schools (PCSS and HCSS) for professional management services. This structure essentially **allows PCSS and HCSS to contract with itself for charter management services and increases the likelihood of overpayments.** Numerous audits have found: Late-filed grant reports; Overstatement of transportation revenue requiring a correction of \$105,978; and overstatement of surplus for PCSS and PCSS II by \$24,571 and \$65,302, respectively—among many other reporting inconsistencies and flaws.

All figures based on available data for 2015-2016 academic year.

Quick Facts

- ▶ Region: Northeast
- ▶ School Names (known as):
 - ▷ Pioneer Charter School of Science
 - ▷ Hampden Charter School of Science
- ▶ Total # of Schools in State: 3 charter schools open, 1 school scheduled to open in 2018
- ▶ Total Student Enrollment 2015-16: 1,061¹
- ▶ Charter Holder/Governing Board(s):
 - ▷ Pioneer Charter School of Science
 - Organized as a special-purpose governmental entity
 - Operates 2 charter schools
 - ▷ Hampden Charter School of Science
 - Organized as a special-purpose governmental entity
 - Operates 1 charter school (1 future school scheduled to open in 2018)
- ▶ Charter Management Services Vendor: Pioneer Charter School of Science (Pioneer network); Hampden Charter School of Science (future Hampden network)
- ▶ Regional Gülen Organization Oversight Entity: Apple Educational Services, Inc.
- ▶ Regional Sister Networks: Chesapeake (MD); Hampden (MA); Pioneer (MA); Academy of Science (NY); Arts and Science (NJ); Science and Technology (NJ); Central Jersey College Prep Charter School (NJ).
- ▶ Total Revenues for the 2015-16 school year: \$16,450,960²
- ▶ Network Founders:
 - ▷ Volkan Yesilyurt: Founder, Hampden Charter School of Science ("HCSS");³ Petitioner, College Preparatory Charter School of Springfield;⁴ Research Fellow, Children's Hospital Boston; currently Research Associate, David H. Koch Institute for Integrative Cancer Research at MIT.⁵
 - ▷ Necmi Atmaca: Founder, HCSS;⁶ Treasurer and Founding President, The Turkish-American Society of Western Massachusetts, Inc.;⁷ Corporate Budget Director, National Envelope Company; currently CEO, Atmaca Consulting.⁸
 - ▷ Tunzala Eynula: Founder, HCSS;⁹ Founder and CEO, Dilaura Naturals; Trained at Azerbaijan State Oil Company (SOCAR).¹⁰ Notably, TCAE, a Gülenist organization operated by Kemal Oksuz (affiliated with Harmony charter network in Texas), was investigated for organizing a trip for U.S. Congress members to Azerbaijan that was illegally paid for by SOCAR.¹¹

¹ Student enrollment and demographic information available at: <http://tinyurl.com/m7dquln> (last checked 5/9/2017).

² Figure includes revenues of Hampden Charter School of Science, Pioneer Charter School of Science I, and Pioneer Charter School of Science II. The figures are taken from audits of these schools available through open records request to the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE).

³ HCSS Application, available through open records request to the Massachusetts DESE.

⁴ Martha A. Goldberg, Charter Science School in Final Round, Mass Live (Oct. 8, 2007), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/k883qzc> (last checked 5/9/2017).

⁵ LinkedIn profile, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/m6r7gc5> (last checked 5/9/2017).

⁶ HCSS Application, available through open records request to the Massachusetts DESE.

⁷ Corporate documents for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/n2mqpq3> (last checked 5/9/2017).

⁸ LinkedIn profile, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/k8ekemt> (last checked 5/9/2017).

⁹ HCSS Application, available through open records request to the Massachusetts DESE.

¹⁰ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/hwkmmb> (last checked 2/23/2017).

¹¹ Article discussing SOCAR trip and ties to Kemal Oksuz and TCAE available at: <http://tinyurl.com/gp47smh> (last checked 2/23/2017).

- Tuncay Bayrak: Founder, HCSS;¹² President, Turkish-American Society of Western Massachusetts, Inc.;¹³ currently Professor, Western New England University.¹⁴
- Nurcan Civelek: Founder, PCSS; Director and Teacher, Ace It Education Center;¹⁵ currently Teacher, Harmony (TX).¹⁶
- Fehmi Damkaci: Founder, PCSS; President, Syracuse Academy of Science (NY);¹⁷ proposed President, Academy of Science and Citizenship Charter School (NY);¹⁸ President, Terra Science & Education Inc. (NY), which serves as the landlord for Syracuse Academy of Science and engaged in transactions with interested persons due to Damkaci's overlapping roles;¹⁹ currently Associate Professor, SUNY – Oswego.²⁰
- Murat Kilic: Founder, PCSS; Founder and President, MNK Construction Consulting Inc.;²¹ former President, Ace It Education d/b/a (sold Hampden

Charter School of Science property to Apple);²² Founder, Boston Dialog Foundation;²³ Petitioner, attempted Queen City Academy Charter School (ME);²⁴ Construction Consultant, Zurich Financial Services; currently Director of Forensic Delay Analysis and DSU Claims, Brashear Construction Consulting.²⁵ In an interview, Kilic admitted to reading books by Fethullah Gülen but simultaneously deflected questions about his connections in an example of strategic ambiguity.²⁶

- Kadir Peker: Founder, PCSS; Vice President, Milkyway Education Center Inc. – Gülenist school vendor (NJ);²⁷ Former President, Ace It Education – HCSS landlord.²⁸
- Carin Yasli: Founder, PCSS; Operations and Public Relations Coordinator, Boston Dialogue Foundation;²⁹ currently Vice President/Co-Owner, Camme Transportation, Inc.³⁰

¹² HCSS Application, available through open records request to the Massachusetts DESE.

¹³ Corporate documents for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/n2mqpq3> (last checked 5/9/2017).

¹⁴ Tuncay Bayrak Curriculum Vitae available at: <http://tinyurl.com/l6y3vyx> (last checked 5/9/2017).

¹⁵ Pioneer Charter School of Science ("PCSS") Application, available through open records request to Massachusetts DESE.

¹⁶ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/hwkmmb> (last checked 2/23/2017).

¹⁷ Syracuse Academy of Science 990s available at: <http://tinyurl.com/nxto2sl> (last checked 5/9/2017).

¹⁸ Matt Jarchow, Proposed Charter School Facing Criticism, Spectrum News (Oct. 11, 2016), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/msxlfpg> (last checked 5/9/2017).

¹⁹ Terra Science & Education Inc. 990s available at: <http://tinyurl.com/n3zqvpy> last checked 5/9/2017).

²⁰ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/md2cn8f> (last checked 2/23/2017).

²¹ Corporate documents for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/lof39pu> (last checked 5/9/2017).

²² Corporate documents for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/n22enjc> (last checked 5/9/2017); Turkish Cultural Center Boston, Mission and Vision, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/n27a6ey> (last checked 5/9/2017); see also Colin Woodard, Proposed Bangor Charter School Linked to Turkish Imam, Portland Press Herald (Feb. 17, 2013), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/glt9cwx> (last checked 5/9/2017).

²³ Corporate documents for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/ml28bxv> (last checked 5/9/2017).

²⁴ Colin Woodard, Proposed Bangor Charter School Linked to Turkish Imam, Portland Press Herald (Feb. 17, 2013), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/glt9cwx> (last checked 5/9/2017).

²⁵ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mqnh9uw> (last checked 2/23/2017).

²⁶ Colin Woodard, Proposed Bangor Charter School Linked to Turkish Imam, Portland Press Herald (Feb. 17, 2013), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/glt9cwx> (last checked 5/9/2017).

²⁷ Milkyway Education Center Inc. 2005 990 available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mdknvzx> (last checked 5/15/2017).

²⁸ Corporate documents for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/n22enjc> (last checked 5/9/2017).

²⁹ Boston Dialogue Foundation, 3rd Peace and Dialogue Iftar Dinner (Feb. 18, 2014), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/zsowdw5> (last checked 5/9/2017).

³⁰ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/m2bv48h> (last checked 2/23/2017); Corporate documents for this entity

Overview

As of the 2016-2017 school year, Massachusetts has 3 Gülen Organization charter schools in operation, with an additional school scheduled to open in 2018. These schools are overseen by separate governing boards. Pioneer Charter School of Science opened first in 2007, followed by the Hampden Charter School of Science in 2009, and Pioneer Charter School of Science II in 2014. Hampden Charter School of Science West is scheduled to open 2018. According to the charter applications of Hampden Charter School of Science West and Pioneer Charter School of Science II, they will reimburse the flagship schools for management services. These schools

also contract with Apple Educational Services ("Apple"), the corporate entity responsible for the northeast region of the Gülen Organization charter networks. On average, these schools serve 22% English Language Learners vs. 20% state; 37% economically disadvantaged population vs. 30% state; 9% students with disabilities vs. 17% state; 29% African American students vs. 9% state; 33% Caucasian students vs. 61% state; and 28% Hispanic students vs. 19% state. As these numbers indicate, the Massachusetts network serves significantly less than the state average for students with disabilities, a vulnerable student population.

School	Operation	Student Demographic Information*	Authorizer	Governing Board
Pioneer Charter School of Science 51-59 Summer Street Everett, MA 01249	7 - 12 2007 - Present	34% ELL 38% Econ. Disadv. 08% SWD 30% African American 29% Caucasian 29% Hispanic	Massachusetts Dept. of Elementary and Secondary Education	Pioneer Charter School of Science
Hampden Charter School of Science 20 Johnson Road Chicopee, MA 01022	6 - 12 2009 - Present	5% ELL 42% Econ. Disadv. 08% SWD 25% African American 39% Caucasian 31% Hispanic	Massachusetts Dept. of Elementary and Secondary Education	Hampden Charter School of Science
Pioneer Charter School of Science II 97 Main Street Saugus, MA 01906	7 - 11 2013 - Present	26% ELL 29% Econ. Disadv. 12% SWD 35% African American 30% Caucasian 21% Hispanic	Massachusetts Dept. of Elementary and Secondary Education	Pioneer Charter School of Science
Hampden Charter School of Science West	6 - 12 Scheduled to open in 2018		Massachusetts Dept. of Elementary and Secondary Education	Hampden Charter School of Science
<i>Closed Schools and/or Attempted Schools</i>				
College Preparatory School of Springfield	Application denied 2006		Massachusetts Dept. of Elementary and Secondary Education	Same proposed governing board as Hampden Charter School of Science

are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/k2jqvch> (last checked 5/9/2017);

Pioneer Charter School of Science III	Application denied 2012	Massachusetts Dept. of Elementary and Secondary Education	Pioneer Charter School of Science
Pioneer Charter School of Science IV	Application denied 2013	Massachusetts Dept. of Elementary and Secondary Education	Pioneer Charter School of Science

*Student demographic information was taken from the 2015-2016 school year. "ELL" indicates English Language Learners, "Econ. Disadv." indicates students that are economically disadvantaged, and "SWD" indicates students with disabilities.³¹

A History of Strategic Ambiguity and Conflicting Interests

The Massachusetts network began with the founding of Pioneer Charter School of Science ("PCSS"), which opened in 2007. The second school, Hampden Charter School of Science ("HCSS"), opened two years later. PCSS expanded in 2013 and opened Pioneer Charter School of Science II ("PCSS II"). These schools are treated as special purpose government entities, unlike most Gülen governing boards that are incorporated as 501(c)(3) entities. A fourth school, Hampden Charter School of Science West ("HCSS West"), is scheduled to open in 2018.

Both schools are also closely connected to Ace It Education, Inc. ("Ace It"), a Gülenist cultural association located in Boston. PCSS's founders and directors significantly overlap with the founders and directors of Ace It, and HCSS rented its facility from Ace It until the end of 2012.³² The CEO of PCSS, Barish Icin, even wrote a letter of support for the new Hampden campus discussing how Hampden and Pioneer had already collaborated in key areas, including governance structure, culture, and the establishment of a management structure and network office.³³ HCSS's 2009-10 Site Visit Report highlighted these Turkish connections, including connections to PCSS. The majority of school's board, administrators, and teachers were of

Turkish descent, and the school offered Turkish as a foreign language. According to HCSS's charter application, the school planned to offer Spanish only, but the school offered Turkish instead without seeking to amend its charter.³⁴

According to the applications of PCSS II and HCSS West, these new schools are supposed to reimburse the flagship schools (PCSS and HCSS) for professional management services. This structure essentially allows PCSS and HCSS to contract with itself for charter management services and increases the likelihood of overpayments.

HCSS has also leased its facility from two Gülenist entities since 2009. HCSS first leased its facility from Ace It. Ace It sold the property at the end of 2012 to Johnson Road Properties, Inc., which is controlled by the Northeast region's oversight entity, Apple.³⁵ By using public funds to acquire property but vesting the title in external, private entities, the Gülen Organization effectively finances its own private acquisition of property at the public's expense. While HCSS's revenues pay rent on its property, the property remains in the hands of Johnson Road Properties, Apple, and the Gülen Organization if the school's charter contract is revoked or non-renewed. In our view, this represents a lost

³¹ Student enrollment and demographic information available at: <http://tinyurl.com/m7dquIn> (last checked 5/9/2017).

³² See the "Real Estate" and "Gülenist Cultural Foundations" sections, *infra*.

³³ Hampden West charter application, Attachment II, pg 38.

³⁴ HCSS 2009-10 Site Visit Report, available through open records request to the DESE.

³⁵ Johnson Road Properties, Inc. 990s available at: <http://tinyurl.com/nxasokm> (last checked 5/12/2017).

investment opportunity for public funds.

Financial Issues

Massachusetts requires its charter schools to undergo annual audits, which must be requested from the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education. These audits showcase a series of ongoing financial issues at the Pioneer and Hampden charter schools that are endemic to all Gülen Organization charter networks, including the same lack of financial controls, documentation, and transparency that are critical to obscuring the true use of state and federal funds by Gülen Organization charter networks.

The numerous audit findings occur across multiple years and at multiple schools, including:

- ▶ Lack of Compliance with Required Financial Procedures and Accounting Standards:
 - ▷ Lack of controls over financial statements preparation, including note disclosures, in accordance with generally accepted principles;
- ▶ Limited adequacy of segregation of duties;
- ▶ Late-filed grant reports;
- ▶ Overstatement of transportation revenue requiring a correction of \$105,978;
- ▶ Overstatement of surplus for PCSS and PCSS II by \$24,571 and \$65,302, respectively;
- ▶ Procurement officer lacked necessary certification;
- ▶ Failure to comply with federal awards program requirements;
- ▶ Failure to timely file federal reports; and
- ▶ Failure to comply with grant requirements by failing to hire highly qualified teachers with grant funds.
- ▶ Inappropriate Lending Between Entities:
 - ▷ Inter-school lending and borrowing from PCSS to PCSS II for start up costs.³⁶

Bond Financing

HCSS and PCSS have not procured any known municipal bonds. News reports state that PCSS II received bond financing related to its relocation to a new facility in 2014.³⁷ Bond

documents for this issuance, however, could be not found. Apple and its affiliated landlord companies, however, have used bond financing for Gülenist charter schools in other states.

Real Estate

HCSS engages in the same type of suspect real estate dealings utilized by the Concept network and its affiliated real estate arm, New Plan Learning, throughout the Midwest; the Harmony network and its affiliated real estate arm, Charter School Solutions, in Texas; and the Dove Science network in Oklahoma. This

model of questionable real estate deals depends on a related entity, also controlled by Turkish Gülenists, acquiring land and facilities and leasing it back to the Gülenist charter network at premiums.

HCSS originally leased its facilities from Ace

³⁶ These findings were taken from a review of school audits available through open records request to the Massachusetts DESE.

³⁷ John Laidler, *State bond aids charter school's plan for new site*, Boston Globe (Apr. 6, 2014), available at: (<http://tinyurl.com/lt4l2oq>) (last checked 5/12/2017).

It Education, Inc. (d/b/a Turkish Cultural Center Boston). Several PCSS founders and directors are affiliated with Ace It Education, including Kadir Peker, Mehmet Dogan, and Murat Kilic.³⁸ Ace It Education purchased the school in 2009 for \$1 million. In December 2012, Ace It Education sold the property to Johnson Road Properties, Inc., which is controlled by Apple, for \$1.5 million.³⁹ Between July 1, 2009, and June 30, 2012, HCSS paid approximately \$1 million in rent to Ace It Education. In just three years, Ace It Education made a \$1.5 million profit from HCSS's property.

HCSS continues to pay rent to Johnson Road Properties. Between July 1, 2012 (approximately six months prior to Johnson Road Properties' acquisition of the property), and June 30, 2016, HCSS paid \$1,632,873 in rent. In just four years, HCSS paid more than enough in rent to cover Johnson Road

Properties' acquisition of the HCSS property. HCSS is also scheduled to pay an additional \$2,134,543 in rent through 2021 and a total of \$8,519,892 through 2034. Since HCSS has already paid Johnson Road Properties enough rent to cover the cost of acquiring the property, these figures represent pure profit to Johnson Road Properties and Apple.⁴⁰

This type of purposeful overpayment on leased properties is common throughout the Gülen Organization.⁴¹ In fact, PCSS currently employs Huseyin Kara as its Chief Development Officer, a Gülenist formerly in leadership positions for both Apple and Concept Schools, two entities that have been found to engage in this real estate scheme elsewhere in the country.⁴²

PCSS I and PCSS II lease facilities from seemingly unrelated entities.

Excessive use of the H-1B Visa Program

Like other Gülen Organization charter networks, HCSS and PCSS utilize the H-1B visa program to immigrate large numbers of Turkish Gülenists into the United States for employment in the schools and network. From 2001-2016, these schools have filed 86 H-1B visa applications for foreign workers.⁴³ Although Barish Icin, then executive director of PCSS, has stated foreign teachers are hired due to a lack of math and science teachers,⁴⁴ these applications were filed for such positions as: dean of academics; IT systems administrator; educational, guidance,

school, and vocational counselors; school business manager; high school guidance counselor; Turkish language teacher; education administrators; principal; accountant; financial analyst; and Spanish language teachers.⁴⁵

The Massachusetts schools use the same immigration attorneys to file and process their H-1B applications as other known Gülen Organization charter networks, vendors, and cultural associations, indicating once again the existence of an overall network. For example:

³⁸ Compare PCSS Final Application and Annual Reports available through open records request with Ace It Education 990s available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mrpa6t8> (last checked 5/11/2017).

³⁹ Johnson Road Properties, Inc. 990s available at: <http://tinyurl.com/nxasokm> (last checked 5/12/2017).

⁴⁰ For additional information, see the Hampden Chicopee Property History chart.

⁴¹ See, e.g., the Ohio and Illinois State Profiles; Jean Rimback, Jeff Pillets & Hannan Adely, *Sale of Charter School Property Boosts Private Academy*, NorthJersey (Feb. 16, 2017), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mkoky53> (last checked 5/12/2017); see also Ed Griffin-Nolan, *Exerting Influence*, Syracuse NewTimes (June 25, 2014), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kxoqryt> (last checked 5/12/2017).

⁴² LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kq2o6kt> (last checked 2/23/2017).

⁴³ The sum total of all of their organizations is 86, and the numbers supporting that total are located at the following links: from 2001-2015, <http://tinyurl.com/kp4xu6a> (31); <http://tinyurl.com/l9f36bu> (42). For 2016, refer to the 2016 data on the US DOL website, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/zm5dvec> (13) (last checked 1/30/2017).

⁴⁴ Steven A. Rosenberg, *Turkish charter schools growing as some question cleric ties*, Boston Globe (Feb. 21, 2013), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/zgmh8pd> (last checked 5/8/2017).

⁴⁵ PCSS and HCSS, Jobs In Tech, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mcz5xgm> (PCSS); <http://tinyurl.com/k9uonj2> (HCSS) (last checked 5/9/2017).

- Remzi Kulen: HCSS and PCSS used Kulen, a New York-based attorney, to file numerous H-1B applications. Kulen also filed applications for:

- ▷ Apple Educational Services, Inc. (Northeast)
- ▷ Technotime Business Solutions, LLC (NJ)
- ▷ Ace It Education (MA)
- ▷ Boston Dialogue Foundation, Inc (MA)
- ▷ Wellspring Cultural and Educational Foundation, Inc. (CT)
- ▷ Maryland American Turkish Inhabitants, Inc. (MD)
- ▷ Concept Schools (OH, IL, MO, IN, MI, MN)
- ▷ Horizon Science (OH, IL)
- ▷ Noble Academy (OH)
- ▷ Gateway (MO)
- ▷ Pioneer (MA)
- ▷ Niagara Foundation (IL)
- ▷ Lehigh Dialogue Center (PA)
- ▷ Red Rose Intercultural and Educational Foundation (PA)
- ▷ Young Scholars (PA)
- ▷ Truebright (PA)
- ▷ Golden Generation Worship & Retreat Center (PA)
- ▷ Blue Ocean Construction (FL)
- ▷ Academy of Science, Syracuse, Buffalo (NY)
- ▷ Brooklyn Amity School (NY)
- ▷ Peace Islands Institute (NY)
- ▷ Rochester Academy Charter School (NY)
- ▷ Arts and Science, Bergen, Passaic (NJ)
- ▷ Central Jersey College Prep Charter School (NY)
- ▷ Milkyway Education Center, Inc. (NJ)
- ▷ Beehive (UT)⁴⁶

A news report found that PCSS paid Kulen \$40,534 for immigration-related services between 2008 and 2013.⁴⁷

- Seth Leech: The Massachusetts schools used Leech, a New York-based attorney, to file numerous H-1B applications. Leech also filed applications for:

- ▷ Little Scholars (AR)
- ▷ Wellspring Cultural & Educational Foundation, Inc. (CT)
- ▷ Pioneer (MA)
- ▷ Hampden (MA)
- ▷ Academy of Science, Syracuse, Buffalo, Utica (NY)
- ▷ Rochester Academy Charter School (NY)
- ▷ Central Jersey College Prep charter School (NJ)
- ▷ Paterson Science and Technology; Central Jersey College Prep Charter School (NJ)
- ▷ Arts and Science, Passaic (NJ)
- ▷ Truebright (PA)
- ▷ Young Scholars (PA)⁴⁸

- Leonard D'arrigo: The Massachusetts schools used D'arrigo, a New York-based attorney, to file numerous H-1B applications. D'arrigo also filed applications for:

- ▷ Little Scholars (AR)
- ▷ Cosmos Foundation, Inc. (TX)
- ▷ Central Jersey College Prep Charter School (NJ)
- ▷ Millenium Education Foundation (now Frontier) (MO)
- ▷ Hampden (MA)
- ▷ Academy of Science, Syracuse (NY)
- ▷ Rochester Academy Charter School (NY)
- ▷ Arts and Science, Bergen (NJ)
- ▷ Lehigh Dialogue Center (PA)

⁴⁶ List of entities represented by Remzi Kulen, available at <http://tinyurl.com/gptwx5x> (last checked 4/14/2017).

⁴⁷ Steven A. Rosenberg, *Turkish charter schools growing as some question cleric ties*, Boston Globe (Feb. 21, 2013), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/zgmh8pd> (last checked 5/8/2017).

⁴⁸ List of entities represented by Seth Leech, available at <http://tinyurl.com/zlc7eqI> (last checked 4/14/2017).

- ▷ Truebright (PA)
- ▷ Young Scholars (PA)⁴⁹
- ▶ Joseph Yoo: The Massachusetts schools used Yoo, a New York-based attorney, to file H-1B applications. Yoo also filed H-1B applications for:
 - ▷ Milkyway Education Center, Inc. (NJ)
 - ▷ Hampden Charter School Of Science (MA)
- ▷ Wellspring Cultural & Educational Foundation, Inc. (CT)
- ▷ Michigan Math and Science (MI)
- ▷ Turkish Cultural Center (NY)
- ▷ Rochester Academy Charter School (NY)
- ▷ Bergen Arts And Science Charter School (NJ)
- ▷ Zaman Ltd. (NY)
- ▷ American Turkish Friendship Association (VA)⁵⁰

Scandals, Investigations & Notable Activities

Site visit reports prepared by the MA Department of Elementary and Secondary Education ("DESE") for HCSS detail governance and transparency concerns common among Gülen charter schools. HCSS's 2009-10 site visit report discusses teachers' concerns regarding a lack of transparency as to salaries, hiring and evaluation, and a schism between Turkish and non-Turkish teachers. Teachers reported that they were treated differently based on ethnic origin and gender. The governing board met infrequently and lacked a method to evaluate the school or its leader. The DESE also placed conditions on HCSS's charter in 2014. The school lacked processes for evaluating itself or the school's executive director and did not comply with Massachusetts' open meeting law. For these reasons, HCSS had to submit board meeting agendas and minutes to the DESE, its board had to attend web training on the open meeting law, select tools for evaluating its own performance and the school leader's performance, evaluate the school leader, and train on the responsibilities of a charter school board of trustees. The 2014 Summary of Review highlighted similar issues: failure to properly evaluate the school leaders, lack of planning and a lack of training for board

members. HCSS's governance fell far below the standard required by its charter. In 2016, HCSS appeared to violate open meeting law in the process of hiring a new school director.⁵¹ In our research, these transparency and governance concerns are common amongst Gülen charter schools and increase the difficulty of ascertaining the true state of the schools.

Concept Schools (the regional oversight entity for the Midwest) is currently involved in an ongoing FBI investigation concerning the collusion of Concept employees and their vendors to defraud the federal E-Rate grant program of millions of dollars.⁵² According to the FBI's search warrant application, Concept executives purportedly violated the competitive bidding rules of the E-Rate program by selecting a vendor complicit with Concept's plans to defraud E-Rate outside of the normal procurement process. Then, Concept's Chief Information Officer allegedly directed that vendor to divert hefty "subcontracts" to affiliated Turkish individuals and companies in exchange for a cut of the proceeds. The actual work purportedly was performed by Concept employees themselves, not by the complicit vendor who was approved by E-Rate to provide the work, or the so-named companies and Turkish vendors for the

⁴⁹ List of entities represented by Leonard D'arrigo, available at <http://tinyurl.com/kcb3kjg> (last checked 4/14/2017).

⁵⁰ List of entities represented by Joseph Yoo, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/k8ux2el> (last checked 4/28/2017).

⁵¹ HCSS 2009-10, 2014, and 2016 Site Visit Reports and 2014 Summary of Review, available through open records request to the MA DESE.

⁵² Mihalopoulos, Dan and Seidel, Jon, *Charter Firm Suspected of Cheating Federal Grant Program*, Chicago Sun-Times (December 16, 2015). Available at: <http://tinyurl.com/j3snbad> (last checked 9/8/2016).

subcontracts.⁵³ HCSS listed one of the vendors implicated in this ongoing investigation, The Core Group, as a vendor on a 2010 FCC Form 471 used

for E-Rate funding.⁵⁴ For this reason, HCSS may have also been used as a vehicle for fraud.

Notable Turkish Vendors

► **Apple Educational Services, Inc. and Subsidiaries (Apple):** PCSS and HCSS have funneled large amounts of money to Apple and its subsidiaries through leases and other agreements.⁵⁵ Apple currently offers college entrance exam prep, events and contests, professional development, student database systems, testing, and tutoring services.⁵⁶ Apple operates Ivy Learning and Johnson Road Properties.⁵⁷ Ivy Learning's web site is currently under construction, but the old website—with significant portions written in Turkish—offered college test prep and counseling services.⁵⁸ HCSS uses Apple's student information system,⁵⁹ which is particularly alarming since Apple does not have a privacy policy posted on its website.⁶⁰

with Technotime Business Solutions and ProAcademy (owned by Technotime).⁶¹ Technotime installs computer networks, phone systems, surveillance equipment, and school bell and clock systems.⁶² Technotime and ProAcademy's business dealings with the Syracuse Academy of Science have drawn scrutiny since the school did not comply with procurement procedures.⁶³ Syracuse Academy of Science applied for E-Rate funds and listed Technotime as the service provider in 2011. The funding request was denied.⁶⁴

► **Lotus Media:** PCSS has done business with Lotus Media.⁶⁵ Lotus Media offers printing and advertising services.⁶⁶

► **Technotime Business Solutions (Technotime):** PCSS has done business

► **The Core Group:** HCSS listed The Core Group, Inc. as an E-Rate service provider

⁵³ Search Warrant application available at: <http://tinyurl.com/jt9j4ed> (last checked 9/8/2016).

⁵⁴ FCC Form 471, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mu89gll> (last checked 5/15/2017).

⁵⁵ Steven A. Rosenberg, *Turkish charter schools growing as some question cleric ties*, Boston Globe (Feb. 21, 2013), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/zgmh8pd> (last checked 5/8/2017).

⁵⁶ Services, Apple Educational Services, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/k2pwes6> (last checked 5/5/2017).

⁵⁷ Steven A. Rosenberg, *Turkish charter schools growing as some question cleric ties*, Boston Globe (Feb. 21, 2013), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/zgmh8pd> (last checked 5/8/2017); Johnson Road 990s available at: <http://tinyurl.com/msd2qy3> (last checked 5/5/2017).

⁵⁸ Ivy Learning, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mrmd64w> (last checked 5/5/2017); About Us, Ivy Learning, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mpovr9l> (last checked 5/5/2017); Tutoring, Ivy Learning (written in Turkish), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/ka6vytu> (last checked 5/5/2017).

⁵⁹ HCSS Student Information System, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kb4rmet> (last checked 5/15/2017).

⁶⁰ Privacy, Apple Educational Services, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kpcptxg> (last checked 5/5/2017).

⁶¹ Steven A. Rosenberg, *Turkish charter schools growing as some question cleric ties*, Boston Globe (Feb. 21, 2013), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/zgmh8pd> (last checked 5/8/2017).

⁶² Company Profile, Technotime Business Solutions, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mekn529> (last checked 5/12/2017).

⁶³ Ed Griffin-Nolan, *Exerting Influence*, Syracuse NewTimes (June 25, 2014), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kxoqryt> (last checked 5/12/2017).

⁶⁴ E-Rate manager, New E-Rate Funding Decisions Report (2011), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kxa56h5> (last checked 5/12/2017).

⁶⁵ Steven A. Rosenberg, *Turkish charter schools growing as some question cleric ties*, Boston Globe (Feb. 21, 2013), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/zgmh8pd> (last checked 5/8/2017).

⁶⁶ Lotus Media, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/lceb7cz> (last checked 5/23/2017).

in a 2010 FCC Form 471.⁶⁷ The Core Group is currently under federal investigation as one of the vendors Concept, the regional Gülen oversight entity for the Midwest,

purportedly used to defraud the E-Rate program.⁶⁸ The company and its subsidiaries have received over \$3.2 million dollars from Concept schools.⁶⁹

Gülenist Cultural Foundations

- **Ace It Education, Inc. (d/b/a Turkish Cultural Center Boston, Turkish Cultural Center Massachusetts, and Turkish Cultural Center Western Massachusetts) ("Ace It" or "TCC Boston"):** Ace It is considered a supporter of Gülen.⁷⁰ It has been listed as a member organization of the Council of Turkic American Associations ("CTAA"),⁷¹ which is in turn a member of the Turkic American Alliance.⁷² The Turkic American Alliance features editorials and written pieces by Fethullah Gülen.⁷³ The CTAA has sponsored Trips for Massachusetts politicians, including Patricia Haddad (Somerset), Ray Khan (Newton), Sarah Peake (Provincetown), and Gailanne Cariddi (North Adams).⁷⁴ Ace It hosts friendship dinners and organizes trips to Turkey.⁷⁵ It was originally incorporated as Friendship Foundation Inc., and it briefly

changed its name to Turkish Cultural Center Boston, Inc. in 2009.⁷⁶ Ace It owned the facilities used by HCSS before it sold the property to Johnson Road Properties, a subsidiary of Apple. Many of PCSS's directors and founders have also served with Ace It, including Mehmet Dogan, Kadir Peker, and Murat Kilic.⁷⁷ One location, the Turkish Cultural Center Massachusetts, shares an address with the Boston Dialog Foundation—500 Revere St., Revere, Massachusetts.⁷⁸

- **Peace Islands Institute:** The Peace Islands Institute, formerly The Interfaith Dialog Center, is openly Gülenist: Fethullah Gülen is the group's honorary president.⁷⁹ It is active throughout the northeast, with locations in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and New York.⁸⁰ The Peace Islands Institute works

⁶⁷ FCC Form 471, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mu89gll> (last checked 5/15/2017).

⁶⁸ See Mihalopoulos, Dan. *Targeted Firms Still Get Tax Money After Charter Raids*, Chicago Sun-Times <http://tinyurl.com/jzmzevh> (last checked 9/8/2016).

⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁷⁰ Laura Crimaldi & Vivian Wang, *News of Turkish Uprising Resonates in Boston*, Boston Globe (July 16, 2016), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/n94oqjm> (last checked 5/11/2017).

⁷¹ The Council of Turkic American Associations ("CTAA") website is currently under construction, but archived pages of CTAA's website list TCC Boston and TCC Western Massachusetts has member organizations, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kvsnhbt> (last checked 5/12/2017).

⁷² Council of Turkic American Associations, Turkish American Association, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/lemnjfd> (last checked 5/11/2017).

⁷³ Turkic American Alliance

⁷⁴ Gintautas Dumcius, *Murray, Peake, Both on Junkets Overseas*, Cape Code Today (Sep. 25, 2014), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kkbqv2h> (last checked 5/11/2017).

⁷⁵ TCC Boston, About Us, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/n8s9o9q> (last checked 5/11/2017).

⁷⁶ Corporate documents for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/n22enjc> (last checked 5/11/2017).

⁷⁷ *Compare* PCSS Final Application and Annual Reports available through open records request *with* Ace It Education 990s available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mrpa6t8> (last checked 5/11/2017).

⁷⁸ *Compare* Locations, Turkish Cultural Center Boston, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kj758hj> (last checked 5/11/2017) *with* Mission and Vision, Boston Dialog Foundation, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/m3jsqr2> (last checked 5/11/2017).

⁷⁹ Honorary President, Peace Islands Institute, <http://tinyurl.com/kvkzbsf> (last checked 4/17/2017).

⁸⁰ *Id.*

closely with other Gülen organizations to advocate with legislators on their behalf and also to coordinate junkets to Turkey.⁸¹

- **Boston Dialog Foundation:** The Boston Dialog Foundation shares an address with the Turkish Cultural Center Massachusetts, a d/b/a of Ace It.⁸² PCSS directors and founders have also served with the Boston Dialog Foundation, including Murat Kilic and Mustafa Ozdemir.⁸³ The organization sponsors trips to Turkey.⁸⁴
- **Turkish American Business Improvement & Development New England, Inc. ("TABID"):** TABID is a

dissolved non-profit corporation created to encourage networking opportunities and professional development for Turkish businessmen. Levent Berksan served as an initial director and officer of TABID and later offered PCSS a start-up donation of \$20,000.00.⁸⁵ Berksan also served as vice president of World Wireless, Inc., whose president, Mustafa Tolga Akbal, offered PCSS a start-up donation of \$15,000.⁸⁶ TABID's officers and directors overlap with other Gülenist cultural associations. For example, Burhan Kaya and Huseyin Kocaman also worked with Ace It.⁸⁷ Bekir Senates and Okan Tanrisev also served as officers and directors of the Boston Dialog Foundation.⁸⁸

Individuals Caught in the Gülen Organization Web

It is quite common for the charter networks within a region to shuffle their Turkish H-1B visa teachers from school to school, as well as between education management vendors such as Apple. This is just a small number of individuals with these overlapping ties throughout the region, which further demonstrates the region's interconnections. Notably, this shuffling only occurs with these schools' Turkish employees.

- **Burhan Kaya:** Director Ace It;⁸⁹ Secretary, TABID;⁹⁰ Outreach Coordinator, Turkish Cultural Center Massachusetts (a d/b/a of Ace It); currently Director, Center for Global Affairs Peace Islands Institute.⁹¹
- **Barish Icin:** Executive Director, PCSS;⁹² Founder, Thomas Edison EnergySmarty Charter School; Founder/Operations

⁸¹ Jean Rimbach, Jeff Pillets & Hannan Adely, *Investigation: Charter School Leaders, Founders Linked to Controversial Turkish Cleric*, NorthJersey.com (Feb. 15, 2017) available at: <http://tinyurl.com/lсны9ys> (last checked 4/14/2017).

⁸² *Compare* Locations, Turkish Cultural Center Boston, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kj758hj> (last checked 5/11/2017) *with* Mission and Vision, Boston Dialog Foundation, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/m3jsqr2> (last checked 5/11/2017).

⁸³ *Compare* PCSS Final Application and Annual Reports available through open records request *with* Ace It Education 990s available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mrpa6t8> (last checked 5/11/2017).

⁸⁴ Mary Lahaj, *An Introduction to Istanbul*, Boston Dialog Foundation (May 10, 2007), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kxdrv7t> (last checked 5/9/2017), featured on Fethullah Gülen's own website at: <http://tinyurl.com/mya2mw6> (last checked 5/9/2017).

⁸⁵ Corporate documents for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/knwvt3l> (last checked 5/11/2017); PCSS Application available through open records request to MA DESE.

⁸⁶ Corporate documents for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/ky5t99m> (last checked 5/11/2017); PCSS Application available through open records request to MA DESE.

⁸⁷ Corporate documents for these entities are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/knwvt3l> (TABID) and <http://tinyurl.com/n22enjс> (Ace It) (last checked 5/12/2017).

⁸⁸ Corporate documents for these entities are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/knwvt3l> (TABID) and <http://tinyurl.com/ml28bxv> (Boston Dialog Foundation) (last checked 5/12/2017).

⁸⁹ Ace It Education 990s available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mrpa6t8> (last checked 5/11/2017).

⁹⁰ Corporate documents for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/knwvt3l> (last checked 5/11/2017).

⁹¹ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/lzu2uga> (last checked 2/23/2017).

⁹² PCSS Annual Report 2013, available through open records request to MA DESE.

Manager/Math Teacher, Central Jersey College Prep Charter School (NJ).⁹³

- ▶ Huseyin Kara: Incorporator, Horizon Science Academy – Lorain, Inc. (OH);⁹⁴ incorporator, Horizon Science Academy – Denison Middle School, Inc. (OH);⁹⁵ incorporator, Rumi Foundation – Gülenist cultural organization (OH);⁹⁶ President/CEO, Concept Schools; Executive Director Apple; Chief Development Officer, PCSS.⁹⁷
- ▶ Ahmet Gunay: Applicant, First State Math and Science Application; Founder, Rochester Academy of Science (NY);⁹⁸ Director, Hampden (MA);⁹⁹ Teacher, Putnam Science Academy (CT); Applicant, Hampden Charter School of Science West (MA);¹⁰⁰ currently Post-Doctoral Fellow, Worcester Polytechnic Institute.¹⁰¹
- ▶ Volkan Efe: Director, PCSS;¹⁰² Author,

The Fountain Magazine – a Gülenist publication;¹⁰³ currently Senior Research Engineer, Humatics Corporation.¹⁰⁴

- ▶ Tarcan Topcuoglu: Chief Education Officer, Central Jersey College Prep Charter School (NJ);¹⁰⁵ Vice Principal, Putnam Science Academy (CT);¹⁰⁶ currently Director, HCSS.¹⁰⁷
- ▶ Aziz Aghayev: Business Manager, Truebright Science Academy (PA) (closed due to academic underachievement);¹⁰⁸ CFO, PCSS I and II.¹⁰⁹
- ▶ Harun Celik: Project Coordinator, Bergen Arts and Science Charter School (NJ); Executive Director, HCSS; Director, Passaic Arts and Science Charter School.¹¹⁰
- ▶ Nuh Gedik: Director, Magnolia (CA);¹¹¹ Author, The Fountain Magazine – a Gülenist publication;¹¹² Director,

⁹³ PCSS II Application available through open records request to MA DESE; Boston College Lynch Leadership Academy, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/lrtd5wx> (last checked 5/15/2017).

⁹⁴ Corporate records for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/n7jutsn> (last checked 5/15/2017).

⁹⁵ Corporate records for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/n73qdad> (last checked 5/15/2017).

⁹⁶ Corporate records for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/l6udoxy> (last checked 5/15/2017).

⁹⁷ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kq2o6kt> (last checked 2/23/2017).

⁹⁸ First State Math and Science Academy Charter School Application, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mq2vh6n> (last checked 5/4/2017).

⁹⁹ This information is taken from the 2013-14 Annual Report for the Hampden Charter School of Science, available through open records request.

¹⁰⁰ Hampden Charter School of Science West Application (Nov. 1, 2016), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mjea8bb> (last checked 5/5/2017).

¹⁰¹ LinkedIn profile, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mqehbcp> (last checked 4/30/2017).

¹⁰² PCSS Annual Reports available through open records request.

¹⁰³ Volkan Efe, *Hear to Heal: A New Approach to the Healing Power of Sufi Music*, The Fountain Magazine (Aug. 2015), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kb9v2mw> (last checked 5/15/2017).

¹⁰⁴ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/n5op8cu> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹⁰⁵ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/m38clq3> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹⁰⁶ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/msa6tma> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹⁰⁷ Welcome Message, Hampden Charter School of Science, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/lwx7ubq> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹⁰⁸ See the Pennsylvania State Profile.

¹⁰⁹ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mh728w7> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹¹⁰ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/hyo2htt> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹¹¹ Dialog Cultural Scientific and Educational Foundation (future Magnolia Educational & Research Foundation) 2007 990 available at: <http://tinyurl.com/z33bpsv> (last checked 5/15/2017); Magnolia Science Academy Preliminary Recommendation: Approval, Los Angeles Unified School District, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mtjbdej> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹¹² Nuh Gedik, The Fountain available at: <http://tinyurl.com/l3buerl> (last checked 5/12/2017).

PCSS;¹¹³ currently Associate Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.¹¹⁴

- ▶ Yavuz Keskin: Math Teacher, PCSS; Dean of Academics, HCSS; Dean of Academics, PCSS.¹¹⁵
- ▶ Erhan Ozduran: Business Manager,

HCSS;¹¹⁶ Budget Accountant, Harmony (TX).¹¹⁷

- ▶ Emrullah Durmaz: Dean of Academics, Truebright Science Academy; Principal, Putnam Science Academy (CT); CEO, Apple (Northeast region);¹¹⁸ CEO Johnson Road Properties.¹¹⁹

Notable Articles regarding the Massachusetts Network

- ▶ Fox, Jeremy C. *Charter School Is Approved Despite Claims of Ties to Turkish Cleric*. Boston Globe. 28 February 2017 (discussing the approval of HCSS West in spite of allegations of connections to Fethullah Gülen).¹²⁰
- ▶ Laidler, John. *State bond aids charter school's plan for new site*. Boston Globe. 6 April 2014 (discussing PCSS II's facility, including \$2.8 million in state financing).¹²¹
- ▶ Icin, Barish. *Everett school serves all and isn't guided by any religious network*. Boston Globe. 25 February 2013 (editorial by PCSS executive director) (denying any connection to Gülen as an example of strategic ambiguity).¹²²
- ▶ Leighton, Paul. *State approves controversial charter school*. The Salem News. 27 February 2013 (discussing connections to Gülen and approval of PCSS II).¹²³
- ▶ Rosenberg, Steven A. *Turkish charter schools growing as some question cleric ties*. Boston Globe. 21 February 2013. (discussing expansion of PCSS, citing a PCSS as denying any connections to Gülen; stating PCSS spent \$84,215 on immigration fees for 34 teachers, only 4 of whom remained at the school, between 2007 and 2013; stating PCSS paid Apple Educational Services more than \$128,600 for consulting work; stating Remzi Kulen received \$40,534 in immigration fees; and Turkish-run companies like Ivy Learning (owned by Apple), Technotime Business Solutions, Proacademy (owned by Technotime), and Lotus Media received \$218,646 from Pioneer).¹²⁴
- ▶ Laidler, John. *Everett school gets OK, but not to grow*. Boston Globe. 5 February 2012 (discussing renewal of PCSS).¹²⁵
- ▶ See also Woodard, Colin. *Proposed Bangor Charter School Linked to Turkish Imam*,

¹¹³ PCSS Annual Reports available through open records request.

¹¹⁴ Nuh Gedik Curriculum Vitae available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mve8ypq> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹¹⁵ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kng7qmd> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹¹⁶ FCC Form 471, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/mu89gll> (last checked 5/15/2017).

¹¹⁷ LinkedIn Profile available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kcl6xhj> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹¹⁸ Emrullah Durmaz, LinkedIn, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/n9yvzvu> (last checked 4/17/2017).

¹¹⁹ Corporate documents for this entity are available at: <http://tinyurl.com/jvp5sjw> (last checked 5/23/2017).

¹²⁰ <http://tinyurl.com/lt4l2oq> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹²¹ <http://tinyurl.com/zy9wwrx> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹²² <http://tinyurl.com/z5vhyql> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹²³ <http://tinyurl.com/hy64pgz> (last checked 5/12/2017).

¹²⁴ <http://tinyurl.com/zgmh8pd> (last checked 5/8/2017).

¹²⁵ <http://tinyurl.com/zf9zxrr> (last checked 5/8/2017).

Portland Press Herald. 17 February 2013
(discussing the Queen City Academy
Charter School in Maine proposed by

Murat Kilic of PCSS discussing the
methods and tactics used by Gülenists,
including strategic ambiguity).¹²⁶

¹²⁶ <http://tinyurl.com/glt9cwx> (last checked 5/9/2017).