

# Turkish Muslim Immigrants in Britain: Religious Life and Religious Organizations

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## Abstract

Turkish Muslim immigrants in Britain consist of Turks, Kurds and Turkish Cypriots migrating for different reasons at different times for immigration and asylum. This migrant community has a non-homogeneous structure owing to differences in their life styles, experiences, ideas, feelings, hopes and expectations. Therefore, Turkish Muslim immigrants have been observed living for a long time in the different ethnic, ideological, cultural and religious communities. In this paper, these immigrants' religious life and religious organizations in Britain will be focused on. The methodology of this research is based on the field research that the author did from July 9, 2012 to September 9, 2012 in London. According to the investigations, there are mainly four different Turkish Islamic tendencies in Britain. Also, there are about 10 Turkish religious organizations and 27 places of worship belonging to these Islamic discourses in Britain.

## Keywords

Turkish Muslim immigrants, religious life, Turkish religious organizations, Britain

The entity of immigrant populations of Muslims constitutes a significant proportion in Britain. From Muslim countries to Britain, people have migrated as immigrants and asylum seekers and settled in various regions in Britain. They have constituted heterogeneous structure in the social and cultural life of Britain.

Turkish Muslim immigrants in Britain consist of Turks, Kurds and Turkish Cypriots. Nowadays, Turkey origin (Turks and Kurds) and Northern Cyprus (Turkish Cypriots) descent in Britain constitute a significant proportion of immigrant population. This community has established a lot of non-governmental organizations (associations and charities) which have cultural, social and religious purposes. In this respect, it can be considered that these organizations are the most important initiatives on establishing their own identity. Majority of the communities have believed that religious and cultural values are vital functions in the

protecting national identity. As a result of this belief, these non-governmental organizations have been perceived by them as a shelter.

In this paper, it will be focused on Turkish Muslim immigrants in Britain. Considering the average Turkish immigrants (approximately 75%) living in Central London, the author will focus on the religious life of Turkish immigrants and Turkish religious organizations in London. The methodology of this research is based on the findings of a field research that the author did in London from July 9, 2012 to September 9, 2012. This field research includes interviews and observations about this community.

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## **TURKISH MUSLIM IMMIGRANTS: TURKS, KURDS AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS**

Muslims in Britain have been a part of the British social and cultural landscape for almost a century and a half (Buryova 2005). There are mixed Muslim immigrant groups based on migration history, ethnicity, language, religion, economic and cultural status. All of these statuses can lead to a considerable fragmentation within the Muslim communities in Britain. Most of these differences reflect the religious, political, ethnic and social divisions among communities. To understand Muslim communities in Britain, it is necessary to be familiar with their migration histories, socio-economic status and religious structure. Therefore, the author shall examine migration histories, socio-economic status, religious life and religious organizations of Turkish Muslim immigrants.

### *Migration History and Socio-economic Status*

Turks, Kurds and Turkish Cypriots in Britain are separated from each other by several discourses and practices. At the same time, it appears that they have established an intense and close relationship. Although there are different tongues among these three groups, Turkish is the primary spoken language among them. Kurdish and Turkish Cypriot dialects are also active in their own groups, as well. Therefore, these sub-groups are defined as the "Turkish-speaking communities". This operational definition has been used in academic studies (Kucukcan 1999; Mehmet Ali 2001; Atay 2006).

Turkish Cypriots migration to Britain started in the 1940s after the following years of the World War II and increased in the 1960s (Ladbury 1977; Robins and Aksoy 2001). Turkish migration from mainland Turkey to Britain started in the early 1970s (Mehmet Ali 2001; Issa 2005). Ethnic Kurds from Turkey began to immigrate in larger numbers during the late 1980s and early 1990s, often seeking refuge and asylum status (Robins and Aksoy 2001; Atay 2006). According

to 2011 Census, there were about 150,000 Turkish populations (including Turks, Kurds mainland Turkey and Turkish Cypriots) in England (Census 2011: QS213EW). However, according to the author's estimation, nowadays if unrecorded immigrants are taken into account, the population is about 250,000-300,000. The Turkish-speaking communities are heavily concentrated on the Greater London region. Outside of London there are smaller communities in Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Hertfordshire, Luton, Sheffield, New Castle and Leeds. A few percentages of them live in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland (Communities and Local Government 2009a).

The push and pull migration factors for Turks, Kurds and Turkish Cypriots are mostly similar such as economic and educational opportunities, refugee and asylum, conflicts and social breakdown in homelands, etc. In addition, owing to the fact that there is not any bilateral agreement between Turkey and Britain, migration from Turkey seems less intense than other Muslim counties, such as Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh, etc. (Communities and Local Government 2009b).

As far as the author could observe, there is a partial similarity in the socio-economic status of each Turkish immigrant groups. First generation Turkish immigrants, who were unskilled and semi-skilled, worked in the manufacturing sector (especially textiles). With industrial decline after the 1990s, many immigrants had to run alternative means of economic activity, such as self-employment and service sector opportunities (as taxi-driving, market-trading and catering). The second and third generations in these communities have experienced a number of changes in their economic activities and employment areas. The well-educated second and third generations are employed in virtually all sectors of economy and at all levels of politics, education, business, medicine, law, media, arts, engineering and so on.

The Turkish immigrants living in Britain have

become permanent due to various reasons such as waves of chain migration (family unification, marriage, etc.), economic concerns, the formation of the second and third generations, and the increasing number of people becoming British citizens. These immigrants becoming permanent residents in a foreign country increasingly diminish their hopes of returning to their homelands. Thus they have been forced to create their own identity. In this respect, it could be considered that Turkish immigrants have established a number of community organizations and solidarity networks within the framework of the legal rights granted to them by the hosting country, in order to provide services in various fields, as one of the important steps taken toward establishing an identity. These civil organizations have differed in accordance with their religious, ethnic, cultural, ideological and political discourses. Moreover, they have been concentrated on populated areas by immigrant groups. Among these organizations, there are associations and foundations carrying out several activities such as education, culture, arts, sports and religious services in various fields. They have become much more visible in the public sphere and more robust in their representation of wider Muslim interests. So that, Turkish immigrants, through these organizations, have tried to solve their problems coming out during the integration process, keep their integrity, and ensure the continuity of their community.

### *Religious Life and Organizations*

For immigrants living in foreign countries, religion plays an important role in identity formation and protection of national culture. To understand the status of immigrants living in a foreign country, it is necessary to look at their religious lives, activities and organizations. Therefore, while most Muslims in Britain share a common religious identity, the expression of their faith is likely to be shaped by their ethnic or national origins (Gilliat-Ray 2010).

According to the 2001 Census, 83% of migrants

born in Turkey, and 26% of migrants born in Cyprus are Muslims. In Britain, the majority of the Turkish-speaking communities belong to the Sunni sect of Islam, mainly adhering to Hanafi School of thought. Sunni Kurds, who are originally from Eastern Turkey, tend to follow the Shafi School of thought. There are also small Alevi, Ismaili and Jafaris communities among them (Communities and Local Government 2009a).

According to the author's researches, in the 1960s and 1970s, the religious life of the community seems to be less organized. It was only seen in some individual endeavours. In these years, individuals were said to have performed Islamic practices limited to the daily prayers alongside the factory machinery. However, with increasing migration waves, an institutional restructuring in the religious field was needed. While the first generation yielded primarily to build masjids in order to perform basic religious duties, the second and third generations tended to construct institutional complexes integrated with the surrounding parts. At the late 1970s, the variety of religious organizations began to grow. The rapid development of the Turkish religious organizations in Britain could be observed in the purpose-built mosques, religious supplementary schools and religious foundations, associations and charities.

Due to the fact that the most of Turkish immigrants live in Central London, the Turkish religious organizations are located in London. As far as the author has detected, there are mainly four different Islamic tendencies among these organizations. Within them, there are various: (1) Sufi organizations (the followers of Sheikh M. Nazim Kibris<sup>1</sup>, the followers of Mahmut Ustaosmanoglu<sup>2</sup>, the followers Muhammed Rasit Erol/Menzil<sup>3</sup>); (2) religious movement organizations (the followers of Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan/Suleymancis<sup>4</sup>, the followers of Fetullah Gulen/Hizmet<sup>5</sup>, and Alevis<sup>6</sup>); (3) religio-political movement organizations (National Vision/Milli Gorus<sup>7</sup> and Milliyetciler/Nationalists<sup>8</sup>); and (4) a semi-official

**Table 1.** Turkish Religious Organizations in Britain<sup>10</sup>

Associations/Charities	Estab. of date	Address
Sheikh Nazim Al-Haqqani Derghai	1972	277 St. Ann's Road, Tottenham, London, N15 5RG
London Islamic Turkish Association	1976	16 Green Lanes, Newington Green, London, N16 9ND
The UK Turkish Islamic Trust	1977	915 Shacklewell, London, E8 2DA,
The United Kingdom Turkish Islamic Association	1979	117-119 Stoke Newington Road, London, N16 8BU
UK Turkish-Islamic Cultural Centre Trust	1984	212-216 Kingsland Road, London, E2 8AX
London Alevi Cultural Centre and Cemevi	1993	89 Ridley Road, London, E8 2NH
Islamic Community Milli Gorus UK	1994	272 Highbury New Park, London, N5 2LH
The Menzil Trust	1999	500 High Road Leyton, London, W10 6RL
Turkish Religious Foundation of the UK	2001	149 Granville Road, Wood Green, London, N22 5LS
Anatolian Muslim Society	2004	337 Fore Street Edmonton, London, N9 0NU

religious organization (Turkish Religious Foundation of the UK/Diyanet<sup>9</sup>).

According to the author's investigations, it is determined that there are 10 Turkish religious organizations related to various Islamic discourses in Turkish Muslim immigrants in London (see Table 1). The author conducted interviews with the head or members of them. Now, with reference to the findings of respondents, the information about these organizations will be given:

(1) Sheikh Nazim Al-Haqqani Derghai (1972): According to the author's investigations, at the beginning of 1970s, Sheikh Nazim Kibris and his followers were the first Turkish group that provided religious services for Turkish Muslim immigrants in Britain. Turkish immigrants, with Sheikh Nazim's encouragements, bought a small house (Muradiye Mosque, 1976), a synagogue (Shacklewell Mosque, 1977) and a church (Peckham Mosque, 1980), and they were converted into a place of worship (as a mosque). According to the reports of Osman K.<sup>11</sup>, the followers of Sheikh Nazim bought a huge priory in Northern London and then restored it. After that, they have started to use it as a Sufi Centre. At the present time, this religious organization has two mosques (Peckham Mosque and Sheikh Nazim Derghai) in London. Nowadays, this centre only has religious services (daily prayers, teaching Islam and Quran, Sufistic invocation

ceremony) for all Muslim immigrants in London;

(2) London Islamic Turkish Association (1976): As Siddik K.<sup>12</sup> specified, this organization was established around a small house (16 Green Lane) bought by Sheikh Nazim's supports and encouragements in 1976. Later, this house was converted into a mosque (Muradiye Mosque). Until the 1990s, in this place, only religious practices were performed. The association's management changed in 1993. Nationalist-minded people among Turkish immigrants have taken control of association's management since 1993. Thus, London Islamic Turkish Association is affiliated with Turkish Federation<sup>13</sup> in Germany. This religio-political organization carries out daily prayers through Muradiye Mosque;

(3) The UK Turkish Islamic Trust (1977): According to the reports of Suleyman O.<sup>14</sup>, this religious organization was established around Shacklewell (Ramazan-i Serif) Mosque. In 1977, a synagogue in Dalston was bought by the support of Turkish Cypriot businessman Ramazan Guney and Sheikh Nazim's encouragements, and it was transformed into a mosque. Today, owing to the fact that this organization has been managed by Guney's children, it seems to be a family foundation. The UK Turkish Islamic Trust carries out only religious services (funeral services, daily prayers) for Turkish and Turkish Cypriots Muslim immigrants through

Ramazan-i Serif Mosque;

(4) The United Kingdom Turkish Islamic Association (1979): According to Fahri B.<sup>15</sup>, this organization was established by the founders of the Aziziye Mosque in 1979. In 1984, a derelict cinema building in Stoke Newington was bought by Turks from mainland Turkey and transformed into a mosque (Aziziye Mosque). It is known that some members of the management of the United Kingdom Turkish Islamic Association linked to Mahmut Ustaosmanoglu who is Naqshbandi Sufi figure in Turkey. At the same time, as far as the author can see, Aziziye Mosque is more likely to be considered as an amalgam of various Islamic discourses among Turkish Muslim immigrants. As Fahri B. pointed out, this organization carries out religious (daily prayers, teaching Islam and Quran, funeral services, calendars determining daily prayer times, religious counselling and guidance, etc.), educational (supplementary schools), and socio-cultural (woman's branch, seminar programs) activities for Turkish and other Muslims immigrants through Aziziye Mosque;

(5) UK Turkish-Islamic Cultural Centre Trust (1984): It is known that the management and members of this association linked to Islamic discourses of Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan who was Naqshbandi Sufi figure in Turkey. According to the author's research, UK Turkish-Islamic Cultural Centre is the largest Turkish religious organization in Britain. As Burhan A.<sup>16</sup> indicated, they have nine mosques<sup>17</sup> in Central London and four mosques<sup>18</sup> out of the Central London (see Table 2). This organization carries out religious (daily prayers, teaching Islam and Quran, funeral services, hajj and umrah organization, calendars determining daily prayer times, religious counselling and guidance, etc.), educational (supplementary schools, secondary school<sup>19</sup>), and socio-cultural (woman's branch, seminar programs, Anatolian Cultural Fete<sup>20</sup>, wedding services) activities for Turkish and other Muslims immigrants through its mosques;

(6) London Alevi Cultural Centre and Cemevi (1993): Alevism is one of the religious discourses in Turkey. There are some Alevi religious practices (such as Cem, Muharrem fast, etc.) different from Sunni Islamic versions. The worship place of Alevis is Cemevi. Cemevi (house of gathering) is a place where Alevi people gather and perform their rituals and religious ceremonies. As Israfil E.<sup>21</sup> emphasised, there are seven Cemevis in Britain. The biggest one of them is in London/Hackney. In addition, he pointed out that this organization carries out religious (Cem ceremonies, teaching Alevi thoughts, funeral services), educational (supplementary courses), and socio-cultural (woman's branch, seminar programs) activities for Turkish Alevis people through Cemevis;

(7) Islamic Community Milli Gorus UK (1994): It is known that this organization linked to the Islamic Community Milli Gorus in Germany-based and conservative religious-political discourse (Welfare Part) in Turkey. As Ufuk S.<sup>22</sup> pointed out, Islamic Community Milli Gorus UK has a small office in London and carries out only religious activities (funeral services, hajj and umrah organization, calendars determining daily prayer times) for Turkish immigrants;

(8) The Menzil Trust (1999): This organization is the Naqshbandi Sufi order founded by the followers of Muhammed Rasit Erol, who was Naqshbandi Sufi figure in Turkey. This group has a Sufi Centre in London. As Osman C.<sup>23</sup> indicated, it carries out only religious activities (daily prayers except Friday prayers, teaching Sufi discourses, Sufistic invocation ceremony, hajj and umrah organization, calendars determining daily prayer times) for their participants in this centre;

(9) Turkish Religious Foundation of the UK (2001): This foundation is a semi-official religious organization in relation to the Councillors of Religious Services connected to the Turkish Embassy in London<sup>24</sup>. According to the author's research, it is the second largest Turkish religious organization in Britain. It has five mosques<sup>25</sup> in Britain (see Table 2). As

**Table 2.** Turkish Places of Worship in Britain<sup>29</sup>

Places of worship (Mosque/Cemevi/Sufi Centre)	Estab. of date	Address
North London Diyanet Mosque	2012	31 High Street Hornsey, London, N8 7QB
Luton Mosque	2004	58 Dumfries St., Luton, LU1 5BS
Bristol Mosque	2006	272/A Gloucester Road Horfield, Bristol, BS7 8PD
Edinburgh Mosque	2009	28 Gorgie Road, Edinburgh, EH11 2PZ
Newcastle Kotku Mosque	2009	35 Grainger Park Road, Newcastle Upon Tyne, NE4 8SA
Suleymaniye Mosque	1998	212-216 Kingsland Road, London, E2 8AX
Wood-Green Fatih Mosque	2000	10 Caxton Road, Woodgreen, London, N22 6TB
Valide Sultan Mosque	1987	1A Clissold Road, London, N16 9EX
Greenwich Mosque	2005	1-9 Evelyn Street, Surrey Quays, London, SE8 5EQ
Ilford Mosque	2011	2-4 Clements Road, Ilford, Essex, IG1 1BA
Edmonton Fazilet Mosque	2011	4 Centre Way, Enfield, London, N9 0AP
Morden Mosque	2012	Morden, London
Uxbridge Eyup Mosque	2011	133 B High Street, Uxbridge, UB8 1JX
Selimiye Mosque	2004	4A Helmshore Walk, Brunswick, Manchester, M13 9TH
Hamidiye Mosque	2001	16 Great Central Street, Leicester, LE1 4JT
Osmaniye Mosque	2002	1A Richmond Terrace, Shelton, Stoke-on-Trent, ST1 4ND
Northampton Mosque	2010	26 Newnham Road, Northampton, NN2 RE
Ponders End Mosque	2011	9 Scotland Green Road, Enfield, London, EN3 4RE
Aziziye Mosque	1984	117-119 Stoke Newington Road, London, N16 8BU
Mevlana Rumi Mosque	2008	337 Fore Street Edmonton, London, N9 0NU
Ramazan-i Serif Mosque	1977	915 Shacklewell, London, E8 2DA
Peckham Mosque	1980	1 Peckham High Street, London, SE15 5DY
Sheikh Nazim Derghai	1992	277 St. Ann's Road, Tottenham, London, N15 5RG
Muradiye Mosque	1976	16 Green Lanes, Newington Green, London, N16 9ND
Said-i Nursi Mosque	2011	70a Willoughby Lane London, N17 0SP
Menzil Derghai (Masjid <sup>30</sup> )	2012	500 High Road Leyton, London, W10 6RL
Cemevi	1993	89 Ridley Road, London, E8 2NH

Seyfettin E.<sup>26</sup> indicated, Turkish Religious Foundation of the UK carries out religious (daily prayers, teaching Islam and Quran, funeral services, hajj and umrah organization, calendars determining daily prayer times, religious counselling and guidance, etc.), educational (supplementary school), and socio-cultural (woman's branch, seminar programs, etc.) services for Turkish immigrants through its mosques;

(10) Anatolian Muslim Society (2004): It is known that this organization was founded by the followers of Fetullah Gulen's ideas and teachings. There are various organizations<sup>27</sup> linked to Gulen group/Hizmet in Britain. Anatolian Muslim Society is one of them. As Hasan T.<sup>28</sup> pointed out, it carries out religious (daily

prayers, teaching Islam and Quran, religious counselling and guidance) and socio-cultural (seminar programs, cultural trips) services for Turkish and other Muslims immigrants through Mevlana Mosque.

As far as the author could see, faith-based organizations and mosques play central roles as community hubs and venues. In these religious places, large scales of religious obligations have been performed. In addition to this, religious organizations provide a wide range of services including supplementary schools, women's groups, advice centres, organizations specialized in job training, and informal groups which allow people to come together in order to discuss common problems and community

events. It can be said that with their religious, social, cultural and educational functions, these religious organizations and their multi-functional mosques have played key roles up to integrate Turkish-speaking communities into Britain's social life and to minimize the effects of assimilation, and hidden and overt Islamophobia that might have been faced.

It can be said that the religious organizations which have been formed by Turkish Muslim immigrants differ considerably according to ethnic, ideological and political shapes of their mainland, as well as religious diversity. The fact that Turkish Muslim immigrants do not have a monolithic culture with monolithic religious practices and beliefs, it seems to have some effects on the establishment of different religious organizations. Also, it can be observed that there is a hidden competition in their religious services for immigrants. Each organization aims to gain more participants. With this, it is aimed to become a leader religious group among Turkish Muslim immigrants both economically and religiously.

The reality is that within the Turkish immigrants there are complex groupings based on different religious discourses. These groupings can lead to considerable fragmentation in their religious life. For example, each religious group or organization has different calendars/schedules determining daily prayer times and public holidays (*eid ul-fitri*/Ramadan Feast and *eid al-adha*/sacrifice holiday) for their members. There are significant differences in those tables. It can be said that performing common Islamic rituals in different time zones have caused a certain separation among the religious groups in particular and communities in general. Undoubtedly, such differences in the rhetoric of the religious groups have functions as a parser and realm of existence.

## CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, these following conclusions were reached: There is the entity of Turkish Muslim immigrants

nearly for 60 years in Britain. These Muslim immigrants have established a number of non-governmental organizations working in cultural, social, educational and religious fields. There are mainly four different Islamic tendencies among Turkish religious organizations. At the present time, there are about 10 Turkish religious organizations and about 27 places of worship (Mosque, Cemevi, Sufi Centre) belonging to these Islamic discourses in Britain. As far as the author could observe, those religious organizations and places of worship aim to protect religious and national identity, to transfer cultural values to the second and third generations, and to contribute the process of integration in the host country. Turkish Muslim immigrants believe that the vital function of religious and cultural values is to preserve their national identities, and to ensure the continuity of their community. Therefore, it can be said that immigrants have perceived them as a shelter.

Besides that, if Turkish religious organizations are observed, some divisions can be seen. These divisions reflect ethnic, ideological and Islamic discourses that Turks, Kurds and Turkish Cypriots have experienced in their countries of origin. All of these diversities have effects on their religious lives in the host country and their religious services for Turkish Muslims.

As a result, scientific researches on religious, social and cultural lives of Turkish Muslim immigrants in Britain are important to make correct resolutions according to their existence in the current and future status in the host country. Therefore, the studies and researches about the Turkish Muslims living in foreign countries should be increased.

## Notes

1. Sheikh M. Nazim Kibris is a Naqshbandi Sufi religious figure in Northern Cyprus (Atay 1994).
2. Mahmut Ustaosmanoglu is a Naqshbandi Sufi religious figure in Turkey (Cakir 2002).
3. Muhammed Rasit Erol is a Naqshbandi Sufi religious figure in Turkey (Cakir 2002).

4. Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan is a Naqshbandi Sufi religious figure in Turkey (Cakır 2002).
5. Fetullah Gulen is a religious figure in Turkey (Cakır 2002).
6. Alevites/Alevis is one of the religious discourses in Turkey (Ucer 2005).
7. National Vision/Milli Gorus linked to the Islamic Community Milli Gorus in Germany-based and conservative religious-political discourse in Turkey (Cakır 2002).
8. Milliyetçiler linked to nationalist political discourse (Nationalist Movement Party) in Turkey.
9. This foundation is a legal religious organization in relation to the Presidency of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Turkey in London.
10. The information in Table 1 based on the findings of field research the author did in London.
11. He is an administrative member of Sheikh Nazim Al-Haqqani Derghai.
12. He is chairman of the board of London Islamic Turkish Association.
13. Turkish Federation (*Föderation der Türkisch—Demokratischen Idealistenvereine in Europa e.V.*) is an umbrella organization linked to Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) in Turkey. Retrieved (<http://www.turkfederasyon.com>).
14. He is the Imam of Ramazan-i Serif Mosque.
15. He is chairman of the board of The United Kingdom Turkish Islamic Association.
16. He is the Imam of Suleymaniye Mosque.
17. Suleymaniye Mosque, Wood-Green Fatih Mosque, Valide Sultan Mosque, Greenwich Mosque, Ilford Mosque, Edmonton Fazilet Mosque, Morden Mosque, Uxbridge Eyup Mosque, and Ponders End Mosque (see Table 2).
18. Manchester Selimiye Mosque, Leicester Hamidiye Mosque, Stoke-on-Trent Osmaniye Mosque, and Northampton Mosque (see Table 2).
19. Marathon Science School of Excellence. Retrieved (<http://www.marathonschool.com>).
20. This festival is organized by UK Turkish-Islamic Cultural Centre Trust and Anatolian Community Association annually since 2007. Retrieved (<http://www.anatolianfest.com>).
21. He is the head of London Alevi Cultural Centre and Cemevi.
22. He is a manager of Islamic Community Milli Gorus UK.
23. He is an administrative member of The Menzil Trust.
24. The Presidency of Religious Affairs (DIB) is an official organization giving public service on religious issues in Turkey. The external establishment of the Presidency of Religious Affairs is organized in the countries where Turkish citizens live as the Councillors of Religious Services connected to the Turkish Embassies. Retrieved (<http://www.diyamet.gov.tr/english/>).
25. North London Diyanet Mosque, Luton Mosque, Bristol Mosque, Edinburgh Mosque, and Newcastle Kotku Mosque (see Table 2).
26. He is head of Turkish Religious Foundation of the UK.
27. Some organizations belong to the Gulen group: Dialogue Society (1999) ([www.dialoguesociety.org](http://www.dialoguesociety.org)); Wisdom School (Primary & Secondary) ([www.wisdomschool.org.uk](http://www.wisdomschool.org.uk)); and London Centre for Social Studies (2004) ([www.socialstudies.org.uk](http://www.socialstudies.org.uk)).
28. He is the Imam of Mevlana Mosque.
29. The information in Table 2 is based on the findings of field research the author did about Turkish places of worship in Britain.
30. Masjid is a place of worship that performs daily prayers except Friday prayer.

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