

The Process of Religious Institutionalization (Concept of Mosque) of Turkish in the US

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Abstract

Turkish Muslims have been living in United States of America for more than a century and are still immigrating today. Although in number they are a large Muslim faith community, they lack a prominent social voice or network comparable to other Muslim ethnic groups. Despite the difficulty faced with anti-Muslim sentiments following the September 11th tragedy, Turks have made many positive advances in gaining stature. Although Turks have established both civil and religious foundations in the USA, plans for a structural establishment have been less successful. Turks who migrated to the USA after the 1960s began to realize that the lack of resources for practicing their faith is affecting their social values and identification. The need for faith based institutions became ever so urgent and they steadily continue to build. Despite the fact that Turks have not had a strong institutional base, the future for building new faith based centers is promising. It also seems as though the future leaders are brighter than their pioneers. This research will attempt to explain the stages of the process of institutionalization of Turkish Mosque or faith center, the foundational and emerging history, recent achievements, as well as the challenges of reaching each stage in order to carry out social and religious activities. How these challenges effect the community as a whole and how this process can eventually result in a more structural presence of Turkish Islam in USA will be discussed as well.

Key Words: Turks in the United States, American Muslims, Turkish Mosques in the US , Religious Institutionalization.

Introduction

The Turks are arguably one of the least studied ethnic groups in the United States. Although many have been immigrating to this country since the rule of the Ottoman Empire, they have only been recognized within "corporate structure" since 1980. Nevertheless, the field of education has seen an increase in recent years related to Turkish-American studies. . (Acehan, 2005; Ahmed, 1993; Bilge, 1994; 1996; Grabowski, 2005; Karpat, 1985; 2006; Kaya, 2005; 2006; Kurtuluş, 1999) The September 11th tragedy encouraged scholars to learn more about American Muslims in general, focusing on significant social, cultural and theological aspects. (Haddad, Smith, 1994; Bagby, 2003; Bassiri, 2010; Haddad, 1987; 1991; 2007; Haider, 1996; Jamal, 2005; Smith, 1999; Ebaugh, 2001) Moreover, the interest of local and national media has increased in this subject as well.

According to official records, 117,574 Turks are living in the United States today. (U.S.Census Bureau 2000). Turkish immigrants who migrated to the U.S. are more educated and more likely to integrate to American culture than Turks that migrate to various European countries. The following data reflects the level of education: at least 48% of Turks have a college degrees and 25% of Turks are university graduates in the U.S. There are many Turks working in various professional fields as a result of higher education. Yet it is widely accepted that fluency in a foreign language is more likely to earn a professional career. Today, more than 50% of Turks in America are first-generation. Although the second generation of Turks is steadily increasing, it is lower than the overall Turkish rate. (Haddad-Lummis, 1987: 5; Kaya, 2005: 429)

If The American Mosques offer services adapt to the cultural dynamics of The US, it will provide many benefits to their community. In fact this is an inevitable end for the Mosques. It is inevitable, because the religious institutions have protected to ethnic and religious identities of immigrants, it is the most common benefit to adapt to new venues and in this regard that they have been the most successful agencies in the historical process. In this article, we meant the term of "The Turks" Anatolian orgin Muslim Turks in the US, as well as the Balkans, Caucasus and Central Asia to the entire Turkish communities in the US. On the other hand, since research only covered by the mosque-based religious institutionalization, dialogue and cultural centers which are belonging to various religious communities are excluded from the scope of this study.

Although these centers based on religious-based movement, in terms of research methodology; a-these centers are established directly rather than to emergence a systematic process as a structure, b-space and services in these centers executed by a mosque, c-these centers define themselves “cultural” rather than with “religious” elements to the fore to take off, for these reasons, these centers will not be included in the study as examples of mosque-based religious institutionalization.

On the basis of three state (New Yor, New Jersey and Connecticut) of the research has been effective in addressing these matters. First, the three states have most densely inhabited places of the Turks. Second, many of immigrant mosques which are belonging to the Turks in the three states, especially the ones towards the effective institutionalization of these three states. Finally, we have worked for three years as a religious official in these regions.

The study datas consists of the personal observations, as well as in-depth meetings with authoritative people and some academic researches. Additionally, We will discuss gradually the Turkish mosque-based religious structures when the processes of institutionalization of the Turkish mosque is being analyzed, and we will use the survey’s results, as well as sociological studies on the basis of mosque. (Haddad-Lummis, 1987; Haider, 1996; Lotfi, 2001; Khalidi, 2008; Bagby, 2001; 2003). The aim of the study; to analyze the processes of religious institutionalization which are belongs to immigrant Turks in the three states. And also we will try to assess these issues; a-Turkish mosques which social services fulfill, b-What are the institutional efforts to adapt to the structure of American cultural pluralism ? c-How satisfied the needs identification of Immigrants Turks with mosque as a concept of “Institutionalization”?.

The benefit of the study can be mentioned from a few aspects as follows;

a. Did American Muslim Turks forefront religious identities or cultural identities while their religious institutionalizations are structured? Because, sometimes it can be seen that religious structure of Muslims is only forefront to religious identity and sometimes to benefit from functions of religion to protect cultural identity. To reveal this approach is important. (Peek, 2005: 218; Yang-Ebaugh 2001a: 367) b-On the other hand, America has a vast immigrant culture, to try to understand the religious institutional processes of the Turks will be a preliminary study. c-And finally, despite American Muslims meet various problems after the events of September 11, they corporate effort to solve this problems. To see the American Muslim Turks how overcome this problem is important. Expressions of the illumination of the issues will contribute to the American immigrant policies and figure out the efforts of Muslims for preserving the Muslim identity in non-Muslim countries.

1-Population and Migration Movements: Causes-Qualifications

Since there is not any question about to determine the belief in the Census of America, we don’t have clear statistics on the Muslim population in the US. However, both President Obama have expressed that they have 7 million Muslim population his speech in Cairo (June 5, 2009), as well as many other studies are mentioned from 5 to 8 million muslim population in their works in America. (Kettani, 2010). On the other hand, the Turks are shown as % 5 in the total muslim Population in America. (Peck, 1999: 13).When we look at the details of the Turkish migration to America, including the Ottoman and to express themselves as a Turk from 1820 to 1950, 362,000 people immigrated to America as officially. (YIS, 2010: 6) Many of these people are known non-Muslim element in the Ottoman lands. They migrated because of economic difficulties, especially of the conditions of war. After this is a great wave of immigration, the U.S. administration, especially after 1938, has only allocated to those relatives and limited the number of immigrants. There are different statistics about Ottoman Turks migration ih this percentage of this period, the Ottoman Turks begin 20.000 up to 65.000 are expressed by the different scientists (Liberation, 1999: 53; Ahmed, 1993: 11; Karpat, 2006: 169; Grobowski, 2005: 85-86) As a result, many of the immigrants returned to Turkey after established the new Republic.(Ahmed, 1993: 80)

Within the period starting from 1950 to 1980, 24,653 Turks migrated to the United States officially in a different ways. (YIS, 2010: 7) In this period 1950 and 1960, especially highly educated Turks (doctors, engineers) make up the majority of the Turkish immigrant group, but these immigrants are usually from people who embraced secular and elite life that has been emphasized. However, after the 1960s, mainly from Russia, including the Crimean Turks, Azeri, Karachay, Uzbek, and the Balkan Turks were accepted as refugees to America. (Halman, 1980: 996) Despite educated and secular Turks who are indifferent about creation of religious institutions in 1950, Turks who are sub-identity Turkish groups (Crimea, Karachay, Uzbek and Azeri Turks), migrated and they had difficulties of exile in the 1960’s gave great importance to religious institutionalization.

Starting from the 1980s until 2009, 106,289 Turks migrated to the US with official ways. (YIS, 2010: 8) the Turks are thought to be more religious than those who immigrated earlier in this period. (Sen, 2006), Turkey's rapidly changing in parallel, especially Ozal's liberalization policies to integrate Turkey to globalized world, as a result of these politics conservative /religious populations had interested to emigrate to the US more than previous periods. However, the so-called period of post-modern coup in Turkey on Feb. 28, many religious and conservative people chose to immigrate to America. As a result, one or two exceptions, many of today's religious institutions are formed and to provide the continuation of the efforts by the latest wave of immigrant groups.

All the time immigrate to America attractive to people from around the world. Since this migration is the official and unofficial ways, the descriptions and statistics on the number of immigrants where living in the country is not reflecting the actual figures. Therefore, to say the net number of Turks who migrated in different ways to the US is very difficult. In addition, an expressed by the researcher and in private conversation an estimated 150,000 Turks are sitting only in New York and New Jersey, in general, is expressed in the continued presence of 500,000 Turks in America. (Kaya, 2005: 428; Kılıç, 2004; Special Interview with Samsar). Today, the states of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut; here are these areas heavily inhabited by Turks: Brighton Beach in Brooklyn, Sunnyside in Queens, Long Island, Rochester, Paterson, Clifton, Wayne, and Cliffside Park in New Jersey, New Haven in Connecticut and its environs. At the same time, as we see also that Turks have social institutions, economic structures, political institutions and civil society in these settlements.

2. Mosque-based Institutionalization of Turks in America: From The Coffee House to The Mosque and Cultural Center

Regardless of the source of religion is basically a case of religion becomes a social reality by means of religious institutions and social reality becomes a social space by finding creates the possibility of living in society. In this context sociological expression of religion to need existence and sustain a community. (Arslantürk, 2009: 178). The people who are involved in religious institutions to sense of social existence. Because of being active in religious institutions, to meet spiritual needs of people, in addition to providing a multi-religious and social benefits to their members. For example, those members of such institutions, despite psychological, social and economic supports, reducing the risk of being isolated from society, yet they can find to trust people in those to social and economic relations in these places. (Peek, 2005: 219)

Bu bağlamda din ve dini kurumlar, göçmen Türklerin kimliğini korumada en etkili yol olarak In this context, religion and religious institutions appear the most effective way to protect the identity of immigrant Turks. Because, the others does not enter to mosques and immigrants can feel themselves independent in these places. For this reason, mosques play a big role to preserve to identity, culture and tradition of immigrants. People can forget mother language which is one of the most important elements of the identity formations or they can experience the process of acquiring a new identity in a second language. However, there is no possibility to practice two religions individually at the same time. Since religion represents “continuous”, remains constant in person's identity. Even though the material aspects of life is superior in advanced western societies, immigrants who feel the loneliness and they search for the meaning of life to to satisfy the personality and they discovered the religion which is protect to identity in a short time. Many immigrants, while less religious in their own country as in many cases, immigrants began to increase their piety in the host country.

Every ethnic and religious structure has produced their own institutions and symbols that are immigrated to the US. We see these symbols, such as clothing sometimes and sometimes come across places of worship. (Williams-Gira, 2007; Orsi, 1985; Bennett, 1988). Here are the Turks earn visibility when developing institutional structures by the mosques in American society. The mosque which are belonging to Turks that either symbols or architecture of mosques (ethan-minaret) are getting and saving an identity for the immigrant Turks and allowing them to gain visibility in the US. (Moore, 2007: 23, Amaney, 2005: 526). There are approximately 2000 mosques in the U.S. today, but I should be noted that many of them returned to the mosque from church, or commercial storage (Crimean instance) or in places that are not in good condition. For example (there is no a mosque now), Morris Park / The Bronx is one of them Turkish Cypriot Mosque. (Slymovics, 1996: 213) In addition, depending on the Muslims to feel themselves in their own homes in the United States, 110 mosques began to be built with the original architecture. (Khalidi, 2008). There is any a mosque or an association able to continue in the present day from Ottoman Turks who migrated the first period to the US. However, we know that 50 thousands Turks were lived in Cleveland in 1918 and they brought a religious institution. (Grabowski, 2010).

On the other hand, there were two branches of the Turkish Association in Detroit. (the Turkish Red Crescent, Turkish Orphans Society) Turks were conducted a number of religious and cultural activities from time to time within of two branches, unfortunately, one of these associations in 1968, and the other one in 1980, was closed. (Bilge, 1994: 382). We see the Turks who immigrated to the US that built a coffee houses as a first social institution. Even though this kind of social environment a new for Americans, the Turks did not activities only drink tea and speech problems, but also helping to find a job, and social activities, even to performed prayers and celebrate to religious festivals in coffee houses. They utilized this coffee houses for multi-purpose hall. (Ahmed, 1993: 66; Wise, 1994: 392-93; Grabowski, 2005: 90; Acehan, 2005: 67)

In addition, It would be wrong expression that there was no "religious institutions" of Ottoman immigrants, because American Muhammedan Society established and opened a mosque by the Turkic society of Tatars in Brooklyn of New York in 1907 (Smith, 1999: 56) After a certain period, Tatar Turks purchased three buildings in Power Street, Brooklyn, turned into a mosque and cultural center. They are first Muslim community that in order to buy land and turned places of worship in New York, they became the first Muslim community made history as the history of American Muslims. (Ferris, 1994: 211) This mosque is the oldest survived mosque in New York and still exists as a cultural center. (Kenan, 2004: 117). The Ottoman Empire had appointed an imam (Muhammed Ali Efendi) to Washington with a 50 liras salary in 1908 who was very well theologians and could speak a few languages very fluently. He brought together all Muslims a short time in Washington and New York, even he had established an association and made various organizations for building a mosque. Imam Mohammad Ali Efendi's social activities, shape were detected by the American press, "The Ottoman sent missionaries to America." (Transferring Senturk, 1998; Nejat, 1326: 123-125). Even though we don't have clear information about result of the activities of Ali Effendi today, we can say easily that Ottoman Empire interested to contribute to religious problems of American Muslims by sending a professional imam there.

Imam Hussein Karoub (1895-1973) was sent to Detroit for led to prayers approximately to the 4000-5000 Sunni Ottoman. (Barbara, 1994: 387) Apparently, there was a local Sunni mosque before this date. So we can conclude that Turks had the population and socio-economic power in a particular place. (Grabowski, 2005: 89) In some documents are mentioned that immigrant Turks celebrated some of holidays and religious celebrations at the local mosque. (Barbara, 1994: 390) However, we see this mosque was sold in 1926 to Highland Park City Hall. (Bassiri, 2010: 188). Besides first immigrant Turks established a number of associations at the beginning, second generation of these Turks and 1950's immigrant Turks have not been willing to live in this association. For this reason the members of these association have gone to melt away in the great American society. (Bilge, 1994: 400) The second generation who there are few people and they do not want to take part in such organizations, even there are few second-generation managers in a survey about Turkish associations. (Kılıç, 2004: 23)

Approximately 90% of the total of mosques in America is run by people with different ethnic identities. But talk about ethnic pluralism is not possible in Turkish mosques, especially after the 1980s began to open up Turkish mosques. (Foley-Hoge, 2007: 187; Jamal, 2005) In fact, many Turkish mosques run by only sub-ethnic group (Crimea, Karachay) or countryman organization (Burlington Selimiye) or denominational (the mosques of Suleyman Hilmi Tuna adherents). We could not see any different region or understanding Turks in the administration of these mosques. One of the biggest reasons for a strong and effective institutional structure for Turkish society, it can be said that the Turks did not entered to cooperation and to benefit expertise of institutions from various Muslims nations in the United States. Although there are some of the Turks in the largest Islamic organizations in recent times, but their representation of immigrants is a density in Turkish society. (ISNA, 2010)

Despite some drawbacks, the mosque-oriented associations have the best organized in American Turkish society. Since they have support grassroots and more active as a social association, they distinguished from other Turkish origin civil associations. In addition, these religious-based associations cooperate to local political elements by the agency of organized structures and they seek and use the most suitable channels to integrate American society. (Kılıç, 2004: 22) On the other hand as an important issue, we see that in contrast European immigrant's institutions, religious-based Turkish associations did not take a stand against each other and behave towards each other as rival groups in the US. We see that in institutionalization of Turkish mosque in America, women, elderly, and children seen in foreground. Of course, the young men don't have a more free time to the mosque because of their high operating tempo. Women see basic function to Mosques for religious socialization, as well as push their children for feeding their future rescue themselves from this source, to help growing their personality and identity as individuals, often on behalf of the father's consent participate and encouragement of the activities in a mosque.

However, since people's social lives decreases in elderly, the mosques sees function as a location and will add meaning to their lives. Currently, we stand out two structures for Turkish mosques in America. First, the local mosques are funded and their financial resources by the local public and the other mosques are opened and continued by the top-institutions. Unlike mosques which is belonging to a group or community institutions, built by public institutions has not born themselves and are not pre-planned its. These enterprise has been "developing (crescive)" rather than "established (enacted)" with identity structures. Of such public institutions will have access to social acceptance and develope to the institutional structures over time. (MacIver-Page, 1994: 33) Here, religious institution which is created by the public will gain social legitimacy and may maintain their presence with more powerful gradually.

There is not any profession Imam as founders of mosque in Turkish Mosque like other ethnic groups. (Yang-Ebaugh, 2001a: 275) Meanwhile, there are some imams who have completed a traditional religious education within the population and they supported to establish to new mosque. Especially, there was no option to immigrate to America as an Imam. Founders of mosques have a power in their hands and manage to mosques after Institutionalization, therefore, non-profession Imam continued to leadership of musques increasingly after institutionalized. Since these people have spent time and money in difficult times, they have deep psychological sense. In this case, to transfer power is not so easy to others. (Bagby, 2003: 117, 120)

2.1. First Stage: Arising to Religious Needs

Especially in America, signs of needing a mosque emerge performing some religious ceremonies. These are birth, marriage and death. These can be interpreted as universal needs for social groups. (Kehrer, Robertson, Durkheim, 1996: 57) In this context, religious institutionalization of immigrants usually begins as follows; generally people from the some country settle same region and they recognize each other, most of time they gather due to a religious ceremony, or a funeral, birthday, wedding or the tradition of circumcision and they often need a place for a social activities and then begin first step is finding a place for gathering.

This is the first social meeting place may be home or rented room. However, this formation, in addition to meet social needs being the first place, will grow in the future; the needs discuss and plan in these places. Then respectively, due to the expansion of the community and members need to find a bigger place, completed official works, they will attempt to buy a property and then try to create a new religious center. (Lotfi, 2001: 240). At the same time, when opened a new mosque by this delegation, this people will be trustee of the mosque. It can not be said that immigrants need to feel a center only to fulfill a single worship. And also, we must note that they need to a multi-functional center, If appropriate in terms of time and conditions for being make both religious and secular activities. As it is seen the mosques build multi-funtional structure in America. (Yang-Ebaugh, 2001: 275).

We know that one of the worship place for first immigrants was Turkish Orphan Society. (Ahmed, 1993: 79). Purpose of the establishmen of this center was not a religious building. On the other, I think that these prayers supposed to be holiday prayers and funeral prayers. However, we should inticate that this formation did not transform to the religious institutionalization .We can give an example in this phase to Ikra Mescid which is New York based small mescid. This mosque has existed in organizing by the New Yorker Turkish students. This Mescid continunes to socialization of immigrants since 2000, particularly the Turks. In addition to intellectual identities of the founders, is known that from different nationalities people benefit and participate activities of Mescid. Currently they are tenants in building. (Iqra, 2010) Although delegation of mosque have difficulties to appoint the Imam in providing continuity of response, last assigned the Imam, (an American studied Theology in Turkey), who gives impression the institutionalization of this mosque that spotlights a different structuring.

Also today, we can classify for the first institutional steps to these Turkish mosques: Diyanet Bergen Camii (NJ) initiative, (Bergen Mosque: 2010) Mevlana Mosque in Long Island (NY), the Sect of Menzil Lodge in Clifton (NJ), the Mevlana Mosque in West Haven (CT) (Mevlana , 2010) In the same area, New Haven TARF (TARF, 2010a). The first step in the institutionalization of Mosque usually represents mind infrastructure depending on the needs. At this stage, there are no social and cultural activities to public by the mosque and mosque's administration except collecting financial aid.

Nevertheless, we see that there is no a permanent imams and can not be given full religious services at this stage. But, there are plans to improve religious and social services for the future. If a new mosque attached to the center and its activities organized by this center and this center conduct the Turks in the region, it will complete the process of institutionalization more quickly.

Moreover, there will be full-time imam and begin the social services in the recently purchased center quickly. An examples of this two mosque in Connecticut, one of the Mescid which is connected to Diyanet and carried out certain procedures in a center, and the other supporters of Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan opened and are performed the services with the systematic administration by the the "center".

2.2. Second Stage: The Ideas Achieved Formality and Institutionalism

At this stage, even if just a bit social services start with contributions of the tax-exempt association, collection of money continues to attain a more large space from public, board trustees are created which couldnt established in the first stage, and then prayers not only local muslim but also make public in center which was local in the first stage. End of this process started to prayer to daily worships including Friday prayer in the mosque and we can see that began institutionalization of mosque. Now, they have a permanent officer (imam) and trustee of the mosque and center opened to a wider public. Meanwhile, outside of local population has started a little dialogue with Muslim groups and individuals. In this phase, we can give example to Cerrahi Mescid which belongs to Cerrahi Sect movement, although it is provide to formal institutionalization, they dont have any goal about to continue basic religious services. In fact, this mosque shows more advanced features of institutionalization in a sense. But we can't accept in different stages for this reason; lack of full-time imam, weekend camp programs and children's education. In addition, this center has a different activities within the existing institutional structure that also it catches the attention of Americans, especially outside of the Turks specify.

This Mescid lay the foundation by Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak who had come to the United States in 1980 to the religious notification. Ozak had made many speeches and gathered new fans in the cities of US. After the death of Sheikh Ozak, Father Tosun (Bayrak) became leader of this Sufi mowment and began offering religious services in Spring Walley (NY). This movement used a church as a worship of place until 1980, after this period they opened their mosques and have begun to offer Sufi doctrine, as well as religious services. (Hermansen, 2000: 164) And also this mosque committee engages in the activities of social solidarity. Indeed, they provided to assist to poor people in the different parts of world; we can show these countries Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestinian refugees, the American homeless, Syria, North Korea, such as Haiti. (Jerrahi, 2010). In addition, Cyprus Lodge/Mosque (Ottoman Dervish Lodge) was founded by the religious group that is also considered at this stage. The mosques was founded by the disciples of Sheikh Nazim who have a lot of followers from Europe and America since 1970. (Hermansen, 2000: 164; Osmanlı Dergahı, 2010)

There are some failures in first immigrant Muslims life in the US that since second generations did not enough interest to financial and individual supports, some mosques have been closed which were founded by the first generation Turks in order to meet the religious needs. One of the best examples is Cyprus Turkish Mosque which was in Bronx, the other mosque was in Newark bought by Azeri Turkish ethnic group; last one Omar Mosque opened by followers of Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan in Paterson. In fact, the first Turkish immigrants did not have enough religious education, but due to they couldn't teach their own religion culture to the younger generations even as they had, their religious and cultural identity at the second and subsequent generations have undergone degeneration. Owing to the presence of dereliction some Turkish mosques have been closed after the first generation members of mosques. (See for the Name and Address. Islam in the US, 2010)

2.3. Third Stage: Institutionalization in the Essentials Religious Services

At this stage, official applications started to perform for some basic religious services which were scheduled in the first and second stage. (like marriage and funeral services) and in this process emerged new leaders of non-governmental organizations in society. And also will begin to be realized that the fundametal elements of religious services as a following; religious services in mosques (prayer, preaching, religious chat, etc.); intermediary organization for Hajj, Umrah and Eid; according to local or connected to the upper structure on Religios festival and Blessed Birthday of Prophed Muhammad (Pbuh) programs; Religious day and Hatim ceremonies, though not very systematically, during the week basic religious knowledge for elderly and the Holy Qur'an school for children at the weekend; to light religious issues, such as guidance and counseling services. (Khalidi, 2008: 11). Eyup Sultan Mosque which we may give an example of this step, for many years Turks prayed in a small mescid which was restored from home in Brooklyn. Thus this mescid was insufficient for for activities, the bourd of foundation decided to buy a land for building Mosque from ground. However, the bourd couldn't finish mosque construction in long-time, and they assigned claims to Turkish Religious foundation in 2003, this Mosque constucriton almost finish by the the Religious Foundation today. In this process Turkish community continued to take religious services under building in Brooklyn.

This mosque is first which is constituted architecture and interior arrangement by the Turks. On the other hand, Eyup Sultan Mosque is the symbol expression of the Turks for settling in America not temporary, but they are intended to settle and build such a mosque. Eyup Sultan Mosque was not only planned being a place of religious services, but also given the cultural services a central location. (Eyup Sultan, 2010) At the same time during the construction period, the Religious Affairs appointed full-time an Imam and religious services conducted by the Imam.

It can be considered these Turkish Mosques in tristate from aspects of institutionalization at this category as follows; Karachay Turkish Mosque (NJ) which is the second Turkish mosque in the United States and but it couldn't carry forward the institutionalization due to the region (Yalcin, 2008), the Selimiye Mosque in Burlington (NJ), Queens of Mimar Sinan Mosque 1996, (NJ) (Mimar Sinan, 2010) Murat Mosque which is in an old school building in Glassboro (NJ), and the branches of New York-based Fatih Mosque located at New York, Dix Hills Suleymaniye Mosque, Moriches Osmaniye Mosque, the Mosque of the Hamidiye Rochester, Staten Island Branch in New York Branches of Fatih Mosque, the Mevlana Mosque and Sultan Ahmed Hamden Branch in Connecticut, Clifton New World Mosques in New Jersey.

2.4.Fourth Stage: Introducing Institutional Services to Outside and The Idea of All Activities Serv to All Public Segments

We can see some mosques which have a particular institutional structure that began to open up to public with different courses and activities even half-day. At the same time this stage mosques can bring from various speakers to benefit their opinion and community attends this kind of programs. At this stage, the mosque offers religious and civil services and inverts toward the cultural center. Of course, such a mosque structure which is appear in accordance with the in terms of America. It can be give examples of this phase as a following mosques; Crimean Mosque, the Turkish Society of Rochester Mosque, Fatih Mosque and the Ulu Mosque.

As well as by the basic functions of Mosques of the third stage in the fourth stage, there are more activities for every kind of people as a follows; support for school on weekdays and weekends to children (Supplementary School); artistic activities for young people (folk dance, theater, etc.), social and educational programs to inform Turkish Youth for preventing to use alcohol, drug and the other bad habits such as terrorism, theft; courses for adult English, computer, reed course; courses for women; to design pottery and jewelry, marbling, and skills courses in a variety of social activities (trips, sports activities, etc.), cultural and social meetings, seminars, to legal counseling programs; bazaars, the distribution of printed publications (magazines, promotional brochures, books of religious content, etc.) (Khalidi, 2008: 12). In this case, mosques encourage to perform some tasks both civil and non-public area to immigrants as a social institution. On the other hand, this completed institutional structure of the Mosques of America sees to perform an important function like the tasks of large families of social relations and education network in society. (Bagby, 2003: 116)

It can be mentioned an example of this stage two mosques; one of which the Fatih Mosque, which was purchased by the immigrant Turks and turned from movie theater to to Mosque in 1979 Brookly. Then, this mosque became center for United American Muslim Association which was founded in 1980 by the movement of Suleyman. It can be said that when we compare with Turkish American foundation and the other Turkish origin religious movements, followers of Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan gives the most important to services of Mosque and they are more intensive for institutionalization of Mosque. Nevertheless, this Mosque's various activities constitute an example for other related branches. When we take account of the population of conservative immigrant groups increased since 1980s, it may be called that this mosque has made a huge impact with institutional structure which is formed around the mosque to preserve identities of Turks. (Fatih Mosque, 2010)

According to classification of research method, it may be said that Fatih Mosque is the nearest center to final stage in terms of technical and human resources. However, although the center has preschool education service, they don't have any mission to open formal school or Islamic School. It can be predict that this mosque will continue to teach Qur'an Education according to Sunni Islam before the final stage within the existing structure of the mosque. Another example is American Association of Crimean Turks and Mosque. This mosque was founded in Brooklyn by the majority of the Soviet regime exiled Tartar Turks with 500 members of mosque. This mosque is the first Turk mosque in America. Currently, this mosque's members not only consist of the Crimean Turks, but also migrated Tatars of Uzbek, Romanian, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Turkey. This center hosts in different cultural and educational activities.

This association is not only a religious center in terms of religious and institutional structure, but also is expected for a school prospective as an institution and they can organize different religious organizations. But the people who are running this center for many years, they have chosen to protect a language and culture as a mission, the question is how'll continued this mission that is a complicated social issue. Due to beginning of association's mission in different, besides mosque is a fundamental element of association, it is not perceived to develop agency. Religious services are given by the Presidency of Religious Affairs in the mosque and it is expected to continue in the same way in the future about mosque structure. (Kırım Camii, 2010). There are the two important Turkish Mosques in this phase; one of this Ulu Camii in Paterson (America's Turkey) which is purchased as a church and converted into Mosque in 1978 (Ulu Camii, 2010) by the all Turkic groups and the other is mosque of Turkish Society of Rochester which was founded in 1969 by 25 Turkish family. (Turkish Society of Rochester, 2010) Activities carried out by the Association of Turkish Society of Rochester left effects on the people perceived in different than other Muslims in a study of second generation in Rochester. These highlights the following points; according to research which was interviews with Rochester Turkish young, Turkish young have a religion perception a cultural aspects rather than political and they interpret internal aspect to religion and Rochester Turkish women take a more active tasks in the Mosque.

2.5. Fifth Stage: Broad-based Movement for Society and Professional Religious Activities

There are more than 325,000 churches, synagogues and mosques in America and these most of places of worship have at least one activity for needy people. Most of them (% 85) offer social services such as to prevent crime and abuse children. (Cromartie-Loconte, 2007:39) At this stage of institutionalization it can be consider as following activities; fundraising in near regions, professionalism including education issues and set up to units and provide it, with different social and cultural activities, to construct school, summer camps, to talk over with the official organs of the state directly, showing tendency to a common power by mobilizing other centers etc.. In this final stage, there are educational institutions from kindergarten to high school in the ideal of mosque cultural center. At the same time in this stage carry out with professional systems and public relations. The board of mosque has its own function in the system; although school administration is separate, it depends on financially to board of mosque. There are effective relations between the delegations of mosque and school administration. Generally the second and third generation immigrant's communities can achieve to this stage. Unfortunately, there is not eligible any Turkish associations and they don't have ideals and structure to develop their institutionalization.

Although there is no an institutional capacity among the Turks at this stage, seems essential the necessity of such an institutionalization in terms of religion and identity. America gives authority to open and operate public school to non-profit organizations, including those with religious content. When we compare that it is known church public schools this kind of structure very successful than public schools in today's America. It may be guide to the administration of mosque and center for this kind of corporate structure that to bring to desired behavioral changes students of Quranic schools, to preserve and strengte religious, national, and cultural ties. (Paçacı, 2008)

Conclusion and General Implications

We can say that generally institutionalization of all the mosques in the US, particularly Turkish Mosques are in the stage of "development" from sociological perspective. (Bagby, 2003) Although the institutionalization of current Turkish mosques are not seen enough degree, there are a story of great work that they achieved remarkable job themselves. As it is known particularly mosques began to open up in America since the 90s. By the year of 2000, the vast majority of the mosques in 1209 were established after the 90s. (Bagby, 2003: 113)

We can give some reasons briefly about the first period of immigrants Turks couldn't set up religious and non-religious institutions as follows; first, the language problem depend on the level of education, many of them were young men, marriage opportunities was limited, the distance away from each other, economic reasons, the weakening of religious sensitivity, there weren't the idea of settlement in the beginning, looking of local communities to them (the Armenians and the Greeks also had affect of this perspective.) There weren't religious, social and cultural leadership to guide them within the foreign community. These reasons interfered with creating effective institutions by the first period of immigrants Turks. Although many of first generations (whom unable to religious and civil institutions) returned to Turkey, the survivors melted as before cultural and then religious in American society. (Kılıç, 2004: 14; Ahmed, 1993: 83) Since most of the Turkish settlers in the second period were less relevant against Islam, religious institutionalization of Turks had left behind than other immigrants Muslims in America.

Meanwhile, some of Muslim immigrants have been able to settle from perspective of religious institutions to America who had immigrated much later the Turks to the New World. Due to most of last period Turkish immigrants emigrated from conservative regions and some Turkic groups who had experienced of "exile" difficulties even they migrated with their families, religious and civil institutions have made it mandatory to continue their assets. As a result, Turkish mosques like all the Muslims in general began to institutionalization as follows; churches purchased and converted into mosque by the board of mosques especially after 1980 (Bagby, 2001: 24).

We observed that religious institutionalizations of the Turks were realized in four stage in our study. There aren't any Turkish religious and non-religious institutions to pass the final stage but there are central structures and mosques to take wider social services with over time. We see that some of the mosques' structural development takes long time passing through these stages; on the other hand some of the mosques don't have a congregation who don't need to high level of religious and social services. In addition, there are some associations which believe the necessity of religion as a cultural from beginning, instead of a religious institutions. Although there could be different activities for them, it is not to claim a religious thought but it is cultural dimension. On the other hand, even though religion is center of institutions in structures which are belong to religious orders, there are some associations couldn't earn to higher level of institutionalization in terms of the financial and human resources and also basis philosophy of religious orders for some of them

Newly opened in some of the religious centers can start to activities with stock forms/patterns which affiliated such as followers of Tunahan and TARF without the above-mentioned stages. In addition, a number of cultural centers and mosques resist changing and insisting to maintain in the institutional structures of old status. If these structures does not change and continue to offer classical religious services, they don't have any chances to sustain the functionality of American Turks in the future.

It can be said one of the reason that since there is a lack of communication with other Muslim ethnic group, Turks couldn't obtain to representation in the higher level of religious institutionalization in the US today. Religious groups, the Presidency of Religious Affairs and also free associations have reservations about cooperation and joint action with other Muslims. If the mosque reflects the culture of an ethnic group, it may not be attractive but be thruster for young people who were born and raised in America. For example we should hear the young lady: "I desire to live as a Muslim and I want to learn Islam. However, I don't want to change my own American culture with other ethnic group's culture while I am living Islam. I want to understand and live Islam in the context of American culture. "(Yang-Ebaugh, 2001a: 280) we can understand that her statement reflects and attitude includes problem and answer in this issue. And also In fact, we should distinguish between Islamic understanding of particular ethnic group and facts of universal Islam in the institutionalization of Mosques. Because such a situation is a problem for new generations.

In this case, if the Muslim Turks don't benefit from expertise of some Muslim groups about developed religious institutions, how they can keep to their own religious identity with status quo, it stands us as an important question. Because, the biggest problem is in terms of religious institutions especially in the second-generation immigrants who are reluctant to going with the institutions which founded by their father. Apparently, if the Turks can't develop and provide communication tools with wider mass (qualified bilingual human and imams, etc.), they never reach the upper structure of a religious institutionalization. We have to say also that, there were charismatic leaders and Imams among first-generation immigrant Turks and they have developed a systematic structures. However, their developed structures depend on the person, next manager of the association or Imam didn't continue the same structure. Therefore, the Turks' religious institutions turned into a structure of disruptions. However, the charismatic manager of association and the imam's effects reduced on the second generation. Since young people don't have the barrier of language and he perception of American culture, their identity and cultural codes are different from family.

Actually, we may understand with institutionalization of the Turkish mosque that do Muslim Turks want to live as a "Turkish Muslims in America" or "American Turkish Muslim" (Esposito, 2000) This question's answer hides into mosque institutionalization. As a result, as shown in the case of Mosque that new immigrants take into account of host country's economic, social and cultural aspects and can change their traditional institutions and sometimes they can increase to functions of traditional institutions.(Yang, Ebaugh, 2001a: 270)

In this performed institutionalization that Mosques unlike functions of present-day of Turkey, the mosques offer services to realities of America what the Turks need it, it is completely non-organized structure, and besides the basic services of the mosque perform for Turkish community, it is as a cultural center for the Turkish community in the institutional structure. In this case, the mosques have turned with activities into a cultural center mostly, especially after September 11 in the U.S. (Farhan, 2006: 32; Haddad, 2007: 264)

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