Research Paper

TRAPPED IN TURKEY: THE PRACTICE OF TURKISH SATELLITE CITY

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Abstract

This article investigates the practice of satellite city in Turkey to show the applicability of the territorial trap and sedentarist metaphysics concepts, which brings a crucial contribution to the literature of the transnational migration studies. Non-European asylum-seekers entering Turkey legally or illegally should register themselves as regulated under Article 4 of the 1994 Regulation. Upon the completion of registration of the applications, asylum-seekers are assigned to reside in certain cities (satellite cities) by the Ministry of Interior Turkey. Turkey's refugee system and its practice of satellite city are analyzed by investigating the role of Turkish state authority in this process. The study aims to analyze the practice theoretically by discussing the place of the nation-state in the satellite city practice in which the Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), also its transnational interactions and networks are critically studied. The transnational networks are investigated via examining the place of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Association for Solidarity with Asylum-Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) as the implementing partner of UNHCR that are responsible for registration and assignation of asylum seekers to satellite city in Turkey. For this study, 'the sedentarist metaphysics' of Turkish society is analyzed by the critical discourse analyses of social media; Ekşi and Uludağ dictionary, most popular online dictionary sites in Turkey. The condition of asylum seekers as "trapped" in Turkey is shown through the interviews conducted with ASAM, UNHCR and DGMM workers and through some academic studies conducted on the issue.

Keywords: The Practice of Satellite City in Turkey, asylum seekers and refugees, territorial trap, sedentarist metaphysics, methodological nationalism

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Introduction

Baaz Muhammad Kakar, a 23-year-old Afghan asylum seeker, says that he is *trapped* in Turkey. "Kakar has been stuck in Turkey since March 20, waiting for human smugglers to get him to Greece…The money I had has run out. I don't speak the language," and he was adding the only food he could afford is 2 Turkish Lira cheese sandwiches. "I'm stuck wondering what to do. There's no work." he said (Pavraz, April 26, 2016).

To be able to hear the voices of young Afghan asylum seeker saying "*trapped* in turkey" this article aims to investigate the Turkish refugee system and its practice of satellite city to test the applicability of the territorial trap concept with regard to Liisa Malkki' *National Geographic* (1992) and Agnews's *Territorial Trap* (1994). Also, it aims

to urge researchers against methodological nationalism within the scope of transnational migration studies and the sociology of migration by this investigation. This article sets to some questions on whether the satellite cities in Turkey bring territorial trap or not thinking on the legacy of nation-state in the contemporary transnational order both academically and in the social and political realms. Thus, the satellite city practice needs a critical investigation to be able to make the research of migration. Transnational theories of migration colored with methodological nationalism examine the nation, the state, the society and the territory as harmonious and inseparable concepts. This article aims to investigate the satellite city practice through the concept of territorial trap and the theory of sedentarist metaphysics, so it critically shows the discussion on the legacy and the sovereignty of the nation-state in a social and an academic sense.

On the concept of territorial trap and sedentarist metaphysics, both Agnew's *Territorial Trap* and Malkki's *National Geographic* pieces approach similar problem. In Agnew (1994), geography as concept divided in clear cut containers seems problematic. In Malkki (1992), the argument is that the field concept cannot be perceived as such. In Agnew's critics on conventional thinking, the state as fixed units of the sovereign space, domestic/foreign division and, the government as a container of society, brings the discussion about a territorial trap. In the concept of the territorial trap, the society is seen as a nation, the land is as a territory, the state is as a nation-state, so all is as 'fixation'. Malkki argues (1992) if we encounter something which escapes from that fixation, we think it is pathology- as in the sedentarist metaphysic and the national order of things.

This article opens a way to realize transnational networks behind the satellite city practice in that non-governmental organisations (NGOs), non-state actors, cooperations and agreements among them play their role together with societies at different levels as part of the national order of things. To examine the transnational networks and the mechanism behind them, the unstructured in-depth interview as method of the study has been conducted with 12 workers of the Association for Solidarity with Asylum-Seekers and Migrants (ASAM), which is an NGO in Ankara responsible for the registration and the assignation of asylum seekers to satellite cities with the referral of Turkish authority. The interviews have been conducted with 5 workers from United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and with 2 workers from DGMM to get background information on the practice of satellite city; states, non-state actors and non-governmental organization's role in the assignation of satellite city process to understand the conditions of asylum seekers in the experience of this process and to show the place of the Turkish society in that process. The analyses of the place of Turkish society in this experience and in the transnational political atmosphere are discussed with the critical discourse analyses of social media; Ekşi and Uludağ dictionary that are "collaborative dictionaries most popular online dictionary sites in Turkey which were used as database in the process of collecting data, allowing reaching various discursive repertoires" (Yurtdaş and Yıldırım, 2015). With qualitative in-depth interviews and discourse analyses method, the article tries to make refugees heard by analyzing academic studies and the in-depth interviews conducted with ASAM, UNHCR and, DGMM workers that are the main actors in the satellite city practice.

The article firstly discusses the background information of satellite city practice in Turkey. Then, it will start to methodology parts through discussion of in-depth interview conducted with NGO workers and it will continue with theory and field issues. Finally, it will show discourse analyses conducted on the issue and it will conclude with suggestions for researchers working on transnational migration studies.

The Practice of Satellite City and the Turkish Refugee System

Firstly, to open and define Turkey's satellite city practice, it needs to open the refugee system in Turkey. Turkey maintains regarding the United Nations 1951 Refugee Convention with the 'geographical limitations' which means only European refugees are considered refugees in Turkey. All other refugees from outside Europe arriving in Turkey facing refugee status determination (RSD) procedures are seen as "conditional" refugees. These groups generally refer Afghans, Iraqis, Iranian and, small number asylum seekers like Somalia and Uzbekistan. Another feature of Turkey's refugee system is that refugees wanting to apply for RSD must pass through two systems in that one conducts by Turkish authorities and another by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) before receiving status. Refugees must firstly register with an NGO in Ankara, the Association for Solidarity with Asylum-Seekers and Migrants (ASAM), which is a complementing partner of UNHCR. This means that ASAM conducts the registration of asylum seekers on behalf of the UNHCR (UNHCR, and Norman, Sep 2014).

Map 1: Satellite Cities in Turkey (UNHCR)

While refugees wait for RSD interview with the UNHCR that will determine their status, they must also register with Turkish authorities by the cooperation with ASAM, who will then assign them to one of the approximately 51 satellite cities appointed by the Turkish government as temporary residences for refugees as seen in Map 1. There are currently 51 satellite cities as identified by the Ministry of Interior. Having first degree relatives, medical needs, presence of NGOs which provide assistance, reception capacity of city, and special circumstances of the individuals are the factors in determination of the cities where the applicants are referred. In consideration of these, Foreigners, Asylum and Borders Department under the General Directorate for Security refers asylum-seekers to these cities in coordination with the field offices. Majority of the satellite cities are located in the central part of Anatolia. Border cities also serve as satellite cities since Article 4 of 1994 Regulation obliges applicants, who enter Turkey irregularly, to apply to the Governorates of the border cities they have realised entry. Metropolitan cities like Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir are not considered as satellite cities and applicants stay in these cities "temporarily" pending their referral to a satellite city. The Ministry of Interior has the authority to increase the number of satellite cities in case the size of refugee population overwhelms the total capacity of the satellite cities (UNHCR).

Throughout this process, ASAM, UNHCR and the Turkish authorities (DGMM) work together to assign a particular satellite city. DGMM decides cities and coordinates the municipal authorities, gives information and consent on satellite city assignment process to UNHCR and ASAM.

The general coordinator of ASAM has stated in many times throughout my visits of this NGO "we have good relations with both DGMM and UNHCR, so some NGOs criticize us because of our good and intimate relation." ASAM and UNHCR argue that refugees and asylum seekers have access to health care and schools while they reside in assigned satellite cities. Also, they claim to provide limited financial aid based on the conditions of applicants (Norman, 2014). However, as this aid is not enough to cover the cost of living in the satellite cities and, there are few work opportunities in certain satellite cities, many refugees want to leave their assigned satellite city for looking for work in Istanbul or one of Turkey's other metropolises (Norman, 2014). Also, now refugees living outside their assigned location have generally been detained, and they are returned to their respective satellite city. Here, refugees face stricter conditions under the new 2013 Law on Foreigners (Norman, 2014). This implementation has been corrected by ASAM, UNHCR and, DGMM workers thinking on the practice of Turkish authorities.

Unlike other refugees and asylum seekers, the Syrians in Turkey are under the "temporary protection," which refers to having certain rights and those granted under conditional refugee status. "Temporary protection is created under the new 2013 law and is applied by the government to any group entering Turkey in mass numbers. While twenty-five percent of the approximately 1.3 million Syrian refugees in Turkey live in camps managed and funded by the Turkish government, seventy-five percent of them live in the outside of the camps, in either metropolises or satellite cities." Temporary protection and registration of Syrians are conducted by the government; directly by the DGMM (Norman, 2014) and (UNHCR, no date).

Asking the reason for this temporary status during the research, ASAM and UNHCR workers generally point at the politics of the government and United Nations (UN) and in the political atmosphere in the Middle East. In this study, Syrian refugees under the temporary protection law and other asylum seekers such as Afghans, Iraqi and Iranian are taken as interchangeable because -even their category is different- their subjection to the system and the process of satellite city, accessing to services and limiting freedom of them with together idea of controlling them come from very same understanding and mechanism in that context. As Michael Agier says, "category of the refugee is itself broken down into distinct categories of vulnerability, which end up establishing the hierarchy of misfortune" (2011:213).The exercise in the division is read somehow as the application of bio-power; here, they are as asylum seekers and refugees face this sameness of that bio-power.

Interviewing with Actors within the Process

The research is planned as the qualitative study with its design of unstructured in-depth interviews with NGO workers responsible mainly on the satellite city practice. The research has conducted the interviews between the beginning of June 2015 and August 2016. The researcher has worked in the project between these dates in the responsible NGOs (ASAM and UNHCR). In this respect, the research is categorized even as an ethnographic study.

For the investigation of the practice, the unstructured in-depth interview has been conducted with 12 workers of the Association for Solidarity with Asylum-Seekers and Migrants (ASAM), which is an NGO in Ankara responsible for the registration and the assignation of asylum seekers to satellite cities with the referral of Turkish authority. Also, the researcher has talked with five workers from United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and with two workers from DGMM to get background information on the practice of satellite city, states, non-state actors and, non-governmental organization's role in the assignation of satellite city process.

Showing the pieces of interviews I have conducted with ASAM, UNHCR and, DGMM workers, one worker is responsible for the process of assignment of satellite cities and works for DGMM, another is a protection assistant for the registration unit of ASAM, as in mentioned in the beginning, ASAM as the complementing partner of UNHCR is primary registration place of that process for asylum seekers with cooperation and information flow to UNHCR, and the third one from UNHCR is a protection coordinator of Syrian project that means he works with DGMM on Syrian refugees.

As all NGO workers in the interviews argue, most satellite cities are located in the Anatolia. The metropolitan cities like Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir are not considered as satellite cities. The Ministry of Interior has the authority to decide the number of satellite cities that recently increases the number of those cities from 31 to 51 and has the power to arrange the size of the refugee population in certain satellite city (UNHCR, no date).

The reason of the selection of the satellite cities from small and underdeveloped Anatolian cities is explained by UNHCR's online book of satellite city that satellite cities are selected from 'secure', 'silent' and 'non-criminal' cities in Turkey, so "asylum seekers can live in their satellite city within peace with Turkish society where they can take health and education services of that certain satellite cities". When I have asked about that issue, to ASAM worker responsible for the satellite city referral, he says that "this is of course for the control, how to manage that population? Satellite cities help Turkish authorities to control refugees." He also adds that, unfortunately, satellite cities have no job opportunity and no good facility in health and education. But "think throughout Turkey, is there a perfect city for it?" Then, I have asked "how to control". He says that asylum seekers have the mandatory sign to the authority of satellite cities; that are generally local police station's foreign department where applicants; asylum seekers sign document each week, so they have to live in assigned satellite cities.

DGMM workers I have talked with state that "they have no chance to live in another city". At the same time, "Turkish authorities are very strict in that issue," ASAM worker says. He also states that "I cannot make any arrangements and change in the satellite cities of asylum seekers even person's relatives live in Manisa and even s/he has some health problem, I cannot still change satellite cities from Yozgat to Manisa ,for example", so he shows that the satellite city practice has many problems for refugees and asylum seekers.

Another ASAM worker says, "our protection officers that responsible for the LGBTIQ refugees, single women or single women household, unaccompanied children that generally lost their family in the border, disabled refugees and asylum seekers and those have some serious health problems always complain about the attitude of Turkish authorities that become trouble in the assignment of satellite city to certain asylum seekers."

After that, I have asked questions to the protection assistant of ASAM and, she also mentions that "according to UNHCR protection rules and satellite city practice in rules, we should refer vulnerable asylum seekers to some cities according to their need and vulnerability. For example, an asylum seeker has a serious health problem; cancer and have no effective treatment facility of that cancer in Ardahan, so I refer that person to Samsun and the Turkish authority in Samsun cannot accept this and say 'Samsun is not a satellite city now, so you cannot send refugees in that cities'" she says and adds that "I cannot know how to 'protect' them in that way, there are many cases like this."

She has also shared a story that makes her very sad an Afghan-Iranian woman asylum seeker's child is very serious illness. She is alone in Turkey that has escaped from war atmosphere and some terrorist organization. Hence, her life is so hard and she cannot work even in the informal sector as there is need the care of her child. She has to leave her satellite city to find the doctor and a good hospital for her sick child. After two weeks period of her child's treatment, she faces the threat of deportation because she leaves her satellite city. She says to me if she is deported to her country of origin, she will be murdered by that terrorist organization, but DGMM does not interest that story!'

According to the interviews with the lawyers of ASAM, asylum seekers can now be deported if they are found by Turkish authorities to be residing illegally outside of their assigned residence, since leaving the satellite city without authorization is "considered a withdrawal of the refugee's application, because then the refugee is not fulfilling their obligations to the Turkish authorities" (Norman, 2014).

One another interview with a worker of UNHCR responsible for the protection of Syrian refugees indicates that "ASAM and UNHCR have no decision on satellite cities and camp areas for Syrian refugees. Syrian refugees are under the DGMM rules and practices. I get information of one Syrian refugee that he has been in Antalya for working in agriculture, but the municipality, Antalya DGMM and other Turkish authorities in the region command

that refugees have to sign a document to give a guarantee that they do not walk around the seaside, touristic place and city centre."

UNHCR says that the assignment of satellite cities conducted by ASAM depends on having relatives of asylum seekers in a particular city, their health condition; medical needs, their familial situation, and also points out that the referral power belongs to DGMM; that is, it is based on the state authority's decision. In the interviews, the workers of ASAM also mention and frequently refer that 'the power of the Turkish state'.

The Satellite City Experience and the Refugees as 'State of Exceptions'

Peter Nyers, in his study '*Rethinking Refugees: beyond states of emergency'* says that state is not distinguishable from its practices; here, modern politics is spatial politics. Nyers points out from Rob Walker and argues that modern politics' crucial condition of possibility is "the distinction between inside and outside, between the citizens, nations and communities within and the enemies, others and absences without" (Walker, 195: 306 as cited in Nyers, 2006). From this understanding, modern state provides spatial resolution to political order problems by insisting that all disputes within its bounded territory will be solved by legitimate sovereign power. Nyers argues that the the refugee is constituted by being exposed to the violent limits of the sovereign relation known as the 'state of exception'. "That relationship is not necessarily oppositional; rather, the refugee is not simply excluded from the political realm. Refugees' relationship to the political can be described as a kind of inclusive exclusion; that is, refugees are included in the discourse of normality and order only by virtue of their exclusion from the normal identities and ordered spaces of the sovereign state. As an object of classification, the refugee is trapped within sovereign relation of exception, a relation that Agamben argues an "extreme form of relation by which something is included only through its exclusion"' (Agamben, 1998:18 as cited in Nyers, 2006).

Nyers (2006) shows that refugee identity is a limit-concept of modern accounts of the political and is constituted through an exceptional logic: Whatever qualities are present for the citizen are notably absent for the refugee both on discourse and social level. This argument points at the place of NGOs, government and international humanitarian organizations. That is, the handbook and the brochures of ASAM, UNHCR, DGMM and NGOs working on refugee services mention on refugees always in crisis vocabulary; that is, whole issued of refugees are spoken within the form of a 'problem' that needs practical, technical and operational solution. On this scope, Michel Agier argues, "protection of the stateless-here refugees and asylum seekers- is no more than a euphemistic justification for controlling the undesirables." (2011:211). That crisis vocabulary finds itself place at the societal level. Nyers says that 'human beings as possessing fearful subjectivities generally find themselves subjected to representational practices which define them as something less than human where the construction of refugee can be given to discursively establish animal quality to refugee-ness' (2006:17). He explains how this animality brings significant challenge to contemporary cultures of hospitality in that representing refugees in that way in the metaphysis of society. It is from Derrida's rereading of hospitality, which includes hostile dimension; hospitality. "Hospitality allows for encounters that refugees without pretending that anxiety and conflict are absent, but also without negatively characterizing refugees as bestial beings to be feared and controlled" (Nyers, 2006). Like the point of Nyers (2006), the article examines the issue by the analyzing the interviews conducted in NGOs and by the critical discourse analyses on social media conducted by Yıldırım and Yurttaş (2015).

Critical Discourse Analyses of Dictionaries: Sedentarist Metaphysics of Turkish Society

Following the interviews conducted for the study, the satellite city practice seems compatible with the concepts of territorial trap and sedentarist metaphysics. Still, it is essential to see the mechanisms behind this practice at societal side.

The study argues that the assignation of city depends on Turkey's refugee system; the EU regulations on refugees and the UN refugee system about RSD arrangement and; resettlement. To take the refugee status, asylum seekers should wait in their assigned city, the satellite city. Turkey assigns certain satellite city temporarily in that sense, so the certain city of Turkey can be seen as a waiting duration in which the limitation of freedom directly points to the relationship between UNHCR, Turkish authority (DGMM), EU ad US migration system.

This study also adds the analyses of social media; Ekşi and Uludağ dictionary to test the applicability of sedentarist metaphysics and territorial trap on theoretical level. The critical discourse analyses of dictionaries provides the Turkish society's place in that experience and the transnational political atmosphere. In addition to the interview, the study merges the critical discourse analyses of social media conducted on the issue. Ekşi and Uludağ dictionaries are "collaborative dictionaries most popular online dictionary sites in Turkey which were used as database in the process of collecting data, giving the opportunity to reach various discursive repertories" (Yurttaş and Yıldırım, 2015). Dictionaries are not seen as representative, but the aim is to provide the analyses on the discourse to argue the societal side of the issue examined through sedentarist metaphsics of Malkki.

The topic of war atmosphere of the Middle East and Syria has been the agenda for both government of Turkey and society itself. Refugee crises,in that extent, push some critics and ideas of society to that side. Here, the study gives the picture on a societal level recently via analyzing social media to put analyses on sedentarist concept. The entries of Ekşi and Uludağ dictionary show the societal level; the perception of refugees. Yurttaş and Yıldırım have made this critical discourse analysis in 2015 about descriptive repertories on Syrian asylum seekers in Ekşi and

Uludağ dictionary. From their study and our research, in that platforms, asylum seekers are criticized as threats. Firstly, asylum seekers themselves are perceived as a personal threat and secondly, they have been constructed in nature as being refugee-ness as inert, feeble-minded and the tool of violence. The 'enemy among us' discourse is pervasive, where Malkki's criticizes perceiving refugees as a loss of morality and territorial displacement as pathological (1992:31). Some of these dictionary entries say that;

"They are a group I cannot make sense of. I am thinking now if I go to a country as a refugee because of problems in my country, hell, I'd be a bit embarrassed! I would try to live inconspicuously in a corner. Consider the psychology of guests. Look at them. I see they are more relaxed than us, roaming around, shouting and disturbing people without hesitation" (excerpt: 06.08.2014, ekşi sözlük; from Yıldırım and Yurttaş, 2015:114).

"They are people who damage turkey's economy every day. Come on, friend! I am also a people person, but refugees like them cause my people to lose their job because they get hired so cheaply as if the food they take is not enough," (excerpt: 10.05.2014, uludağ sözlük, Yıldırım and Yurtdaş, 2015).

These asylum seekers do not behave suitably as like the guest and/or these refugees damage the economy; in the subtexts of many entries that our study also looks refer that refugees as category, as alien, as out of the national order of the things from Malkki that says if something go out of the national order of things, and fixation- that refer critics of methodological nationalism-, they are pathological in understanding, also Wimmer and Schiller say that " modern nationalism fuses four different notions of peoplehood; these are people as sovereign entity, people as citizens of state -discussed in Yıldız and Sert also-people as a group of obligatory solidarity and people as ethnic community……once order is established, nationalist imaginary can be protected on the surface of the earth and become territorially inscribed…… in nationalist doctrine as well according to container model of society, immigrants must appear as antinomies to orderly working state and society, even in societies where past immigration constitutes the foundation myth of the nation" (2002:309).

From the interviews of NGO workers, ASAM worker argues, "otherwise, how the state controls refugees", which indicates how asylum seekers are perceived as pathology and problem. Theoretically, how to manage them throughout the history of academia refers to methodological nationalism discussion in which the nation-building process emerges as the issue. While it can become the refugee camps, detention centers, open-air prison, in this study, it turns the satellite city practice. Similarly, Deniz Sert and Uğur Yıldız (2011) ask why and how the Turkish authorities plan to control refugees by satellite cities. They show that satellite cities increase control of the state sovereignty on its legislative power on asylum seekers. Chernilo (2006) argues on the methodological nationalism that refers 'equation between the concept of society and the nation-state in modernity' and to transcend it, it needs to tackle understanding of the nation-state's history, its features, its position and legacy of nation-state in modernity. Methodological nationalism also opens the way to ask questions on how its knowledge is produced. From that point, Eldren (2010) asks how states operated in a certain way that normalizes and perpetuate the spatial order of things? Murpy (2010) asks 'is there a challenge to ideological norms of the modern state system?' From Sert and Yıldız (2011), the Westphalian nation-state system has not erased the invisible boundaries yet even in transnational order thinking on citizens of nations and not. Invisible state boundary has established through exclusion and inclusion they say in that they refer satellite city practice. That invisibility is not limited to the state boundaries; it is also valid for some living beings that are invisible despite their voices, appearances and bodies. They exist without being recognized by any nation-states and without recognition.

This is observed through the interview with the Syrian protection coordinator of UNHCR that reflects authorities cannot endure refugee's appearances in public and some touristic places. That 'small' city boundaries try to settle in the vision of a society, the vision of service provider and the workers of NGO responsible for the refugee services via the practice of satellite cities, which shows a vicious cycle on how the state normalizes that practice. On this scope, Sert and Yıldız indicate that there is a dichotomy between citizens and non-citizens who are out of the system. While citizenship as political life refers to legality, rights, and entitlements, non-citizenship; asylum seekers and refugees as a bare life refers to illegality, rightlessness, non-participation and exclusion. Asylum seekers seem *alien* to that certain system with the category of non-citizenship. Through the construction of satellite cities, how to find place asylum seekers themselves versus Turkish society, and they also show the role of Turkish authorities in that experience in that their plan is controlling refugees via satellite cities (2011:178). Sert and Yıldız even debate on citizenship broadly and writes that "citizenship as legal status describe what you get; persons as citizens avail legal privileges such as civil, political and social rights provided by state. Citizenship as activity; what you owe, that refers to participation in political activity; right to vote and right to work. Citizenship as identity, *what you feel* refers to the psychological dimension of identification on the individual level referring to loyalty and commitment." (2011:180).

From the being non-citizen of that certain society makes you out of a certain order, Lisa Malkki critically says that from the pathologization of Word War II refugees, refugees' loss of bodily connection to their national homelands came to be treated as *a loss of moral bearings*. Rootless, they were no longer trustworthy as 'honest citizens' "(1992: 32). The last interview given in the former section shows that the Turkish authorities command refugees to sign a document which argues 'you cannot be seen around the seaside and touristic places'. This perspective is placed in academia. Mallki says that "refugee studies share earlier text the premise that refugees are as the problem; refugees are not ordinary people, rather anomaly requiring specialized correctives and therapeutic interventions." That understanding has also been observed during the interviews in ASAM that advertise their multi-service center,

psycho-support centers projects for refugees that give psychological support for refugees, also departments of protections cooperation with UNHCR departments. The protection department frequently indicates that 'refugees need psychological treatment'. The teams of social workers, lawyers and psychologists continuously talk about this anormality. Mallki shows that we do not deny that displacement can be a shattering experience, "it is rather this: our sedentarist assumptions about attachment to place lead us to define displacement not as a fact about sociopolitical context, rather as inner, pathological conditions of displaced." (1992:33).

Different actors approach 'the problem' in a very different way; that is, the position of ASAM, UNCHR and EU, and the position of Turkish authorities are different in that process. This is seen in the interviews that NGO workers also criticize the state-centric programs and the practice of state authorities. Still, it is crucial to realize that all are parts of this play thinking on the process of city assignation (so called satellite city) and the refugee system. In addition to the interviews with NGO workers, the study shows a small piece of that repertoire and the general views from the pervasive discourses by the analysis of Ekşi and Uludağ dictionaries. The results point at Lisa Malkki's sedentarist metaphysics and, the critical discussion of such satellite city practice tests the point of Agamben on 'camps' (concentration or refugee camps), which refers the paradigm of political modernity as legal categories and, which the idea of sovereignty have served as a justification for abandoning 'enemy bodies' to zones outside strict legality (Kanwar, 2015). As refugees are seen as an enemy body against the harmony between the state and its nation, its national order, as they are out of national order, so they are found in the state of exception in a state, its nation and, its territory.

Conclusion

The critical analyses of the practice of satellite city, its and state's legacy; the position of the nation-state within this practice indicates the applicability of the concept of territorial trap and sedentarist metaphysics both in the imagination of society, in academia and, also in the social and political networks in all level; societies, governments, refugees, NGOs, non-state actors (Nye and Keohane, 1971:334). From the analyses of Ekşi and Uludağ dictionary that reflect sedentarist metaphysics in the society as a case and from the in-depth interviews conducted with NGO workers responsible on the practice of satellite city, the results provide chance to test territorial trap and sedentarist metaphysic approach that argues 'society tends to see immigrants as security risks, as marginal and as an exception to rule of territorial confinement' (Malkki, 1992). The argument also urges us that migration studies also mirrored the 'nationalist image of normal life' that is taken into consideration in the study. That is a crucial point that this article does not take the side of 'the position of state' in the whole process and does not take the satellite city practice as a good and accepted. This study also does not take the practice from anywhere pre-given in which the state only practice this in goodwill (Kahya, 2014). The study advises that before starting transnational migration studies, we should start to go beyond methodological nationalism by the way we realize the history and the position of the nation-state within it (Chernilo, 2006), both in practice and in its reflection in the societal level. This study, by the critics of satellite city practice, agrees with both Chernilo (2006) and Wimmer and Schiller's (2002) argument that urges researchers working on migration to think carefully on methodological nationalism and reject it, so the study tries to be not colored by methodological nationalism, at the same time it does not obsess with the orthodoxy of metropolitanism (seen in Ulrich Becks mentioned in Chernilo and, Wimmer and Schiller, 2002) because as seen in the satellite city practice, the role of the nation-state still needs to be analyzed and criticized thinking on the locality of satellite cities.

The article uses the qualitative method; the unstructured in-dept interview with NGO workers and the critical discourse analyses on social media (collaborative dictionaries). Also, it merges the interviews conducted before on this issue to investigate the practice of satellite city theoretically. The results show that the concept of sedentarist metaphysics and territorial trap provide the theoretical area for meaningful applications on the transnational migration studies, in which the study takes standing against methodological nationalism and urges researchers about it.

In academia, there is an absence of political voice or a place of refugees, which methodological nationalism hides intentionally. However, this study argues that the voices of refugees need to be put in the analyses with their transnational networks. The article starts with the sentence from a young refugee and, it concludes that with the voices of Afghan asylum seekers. Afghan asylum seekers platforms (Hazara People International Network) who struggle for the rights of Afghan asylum seekers in Turkey and their rights to RSD writes that "it is even worse to imagine that in the peak of the world modernization, some groups of people are locked in a small place (*trapped in the satellite cities of Turkey*) and denied the freedom of movements." (Hazarapeople, June 22, 2011).

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