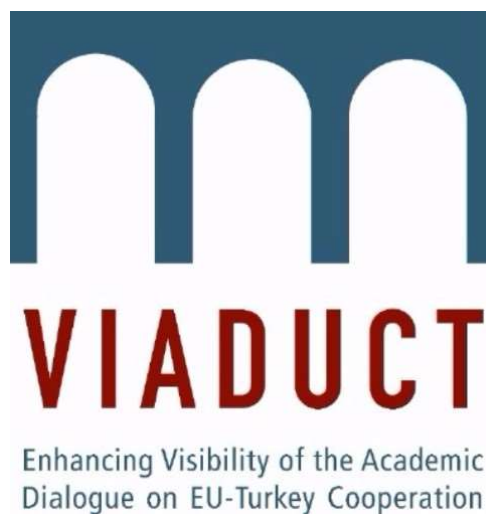




Dear VIADUCT Friends,

We are happy to share with you a brand new VIADUCT Newsletter.

In this **June 2019 Newsletter** you will find:

The **EDITORIAL** by Prof. Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zürich)

NEWS from the VIADUCT network

The latest publications on EU-Turkey relations and the Future of Europe in the

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OTHER NEWS on EU-Turkey relations and the Future of Europe

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EDITORIAL

Which future for the EU-Turkey relationship? Domestic politics and external differentiation

membership is blocked. Both the Turkish and a majority of EU governments continue to have an interest in keeping up the appearances of accession negotiations to avoid the damage a clear break would entail. At the same time, the deepening of mutually beneficial economic and policy cooperation is held hostage by the politically motivated standstill in accession talks.

In this situation, **it seems like a smart idea to sidestep the politically and emotionally charged framework of EU membership and pursue a functional approach** towards institutionalized cooperation on individual policies. After all, the EU and Turkey are closely interrelated and interdependent neighbours with a joint interest in such diverse issues as trade, energy, security and migration – and they have been able to develop their policy-specific cooperation under the radar of the politicized relations and poisoned discourse at the highest political levels (Müftüler-Bac, 'Turkey's future with the European Union: an alternative model of differentiated integration', *Turkish Studies* 18(3): 416-438, 2017). Indeed, the EU has developed an ever more fine-grained web of differentiated integration with other non-member states, which either refused or were refused accession.

Yet despite its international and functional merits, **an intensification of EU-Turkey relations on the path of external differentiation would likely run into serious obstacles** – not only in the domestic politics of Turkey, but even more so in the domestic politics of the EU.

For one, the **increasing importance of the cultural dimension** in the party politics of European integration works against the deepening of EU-Turkey relations. At one end of the axis, right-wing populist parties have been on the rise. While these parties do not shy away from cooperation with authoritarian leaders and regimes such as Putin's Russia, for cultural reasons, Erdogan as a leader of a Muslim country does not benefit from their authoritarian sympathies. At the other end of the axis, liberal, green and left-wing parties, which used to support the gradual integration of a secular and democratizing Turkey against the culturally motivated opposition of the right, are appalled by Turkey's

appear to be functional, policy-specific and below the threshold of membership. First, deeper functional integration requires a more institutionalized and legalized relationship between the EU and Turkey and will necessarily be limited if one of the partners restricts the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary. Non-members with significant market access are typically countries with an excellent rule-of-law and regulatory record such as Norway or Switzerland.

Second, deeper functional integration will likely result in **mixed agreements, which require domestic ratification in the member states of the EU**. Domestic ratification multiplies the number of veto points, and it offers sceptics on the cultural left and right many opportunities to mobilize public opinion. The successful 2016 Dutch referendum against the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement with Ukraine – an apparently functional and economic treaty without a membership promise – may serve as a warning of what might happen in the case of future differentiated integration with Turkey. The prospect of domestic mobilization alone will make mainstream EU governments shy away from negotiating functional agreements with Turkey that would require domestic ratification.

Finally, and partially as a response to Brexit, **the EU has become less generous and open with regard to external differentiation**. Not only the UK but also Switzerland have learned recently that the EU is adamant about protecting the integrity of the internal market and the primacy of EU law.

Rather than becoming a differentially integrated non-member state, Turkey is therefore likely to find itself in the company of Middle Eastern and Northern African (MENA) countries and confronted with the transactional deals between the EU and authoritarian non-members that are typical for this region. Arrangements like the EU-Turkey 'deal' on migration – and not institutionalized functional integration – may become the rule rather than the exception in the future relationship if the domestic politics of Turkey and the EU continue on their current trajectory.



Frank Schimmelfennig

Head of the European Politics Research Group

ETH Zürich

NEWS FROM THE VIADUCT NETWORK

VIADUCT Guest Lectures series

VIADUCT regularly organizes Guest Lectures at partner institutions from the network. If you are willing to contribute to the Guest Lectures by giving a lecture or hosting it, please contact Ieva Koreivaite (Vilnius University) at ieva.koreivaite@tspmi.vu.lt. Read more about VIADUCT Guest Lectures [here](#).

UPCOMING ACTIVITIES

CETEUS event: Public Lecture by Prof. Wolfgang Wessels, 12 July 2019, Cologne



On Friday 12 July 2019, Prof. Wolfgang Wessels (CETEUS, University of Cologne) will give a talk on the crisis narratives of EU-Turkey relations (in German). A special focus will be put on upcoming research agendas.

[Read more](#)

PAST ACTIVITIES

VIADUCT Guest Lecture by Dr. Julie Smith, 16 May 2019, Vilnius



On 16 May 2019, Dr. Julie Smith held a Guest Lecture at Vilnius University about "On the edge of Europe - what lessons does Turkey provide for Brexit Britain?". The

ARENA policy dialogue: "Europe after Sibiu: Towards differentiated integration?", 21 May 2019, Brussels



UiO ARENA Centre for European Studies
University of Oslo

On 21 May 2019, ARENA organized this policy dialogue as a follow-up to the European summit in Sibiu, where European leaders discussed the next steps towards a more united, stronger and more democratic union.

Institute of International Relations and Political Science.

[Read more](#)

VIADUCT Second Annual Conference, 20-21 March 2019, Istanbul



As part of the [2nd Viaduct week](#), Sabanci University hosted the Annual Viaduct Conference in Istanbul, Turkey on 20-21

March 2019. The conference focused around the theme of EU-Turkey relations and addressed the VIADUCT network's many cross-sectorial issues (Power, Resources, People, Future of Europe and Teaching Turkey-European Union Relations). Participants from all the VIADUCT partners from European and Turkish universities contributed to the discussions.

[Read more](#)

VIADUCT PhD School, 18-19 March 2019, Istanbul



A Viaduct PhD school was organized on 18-19 March 2019 by Sabanci University

in Istanbul, with the participation of 16 young scholars. Focusing around the theme of the relationship between Europe and Turkey, participants presented their research and contributed to broader discussions of the future of Turkey-EU ties. Prof. Meltem Müftüler-Baç, Prof. Geoffrey Edwards and Prof. Frank Schimmelfennig contributed to the panels with their feedback.

[Read more](#)

TEPSA Explainer Video: "The battle of Istanbul", June 2019



In this video produced by TEPSA in June 2019, Eduard Soler i Lecha (Senior Research Fellow at Barcelona Centre for International Relations – CIDOB) discusses what is at stake in the 23 June

the Spinnelli Group and former MEP), Guntram Wolff (Director of Bruegel), and John Erik Fossum (Professor at ARENA).

[Read more](#)

FIIA seminar: "What to expect From the European elections 2019?" 16 May 2019, Helsinki



In view of the European Parliament elections taking place on 23-26 May in all EU member states, this FIIA seminar aimed to approach the overall political setting of the EP elections by focusing on three member states:

France, Sweden and Finland.

[Read more](#)

FIIA seminar: "EU-Turkey Relations in a Changing Geopolitical Context", 17 April 2019, Helsinki



As Finland prepares to take the responsibility for EU Presidency in July 2019, this FIIA seminar looked at the current state of EU-Turkey relations in the context of Turkey's

accession process.

[Read more](#)

ARENA panel debate on the Future of Europe, 12 April 2019, Rome



As part of the launch of the research project EU Differentiation,

Dominance and Democracy (EU3D), ARENA organized a panel debate on the EU's future patterns of differentiation, dominance and democracy. The debate outlined Europe's challenges and discussed possible ways for dealing with them. The high-level speakers included former Italian Prime Minister and Vice-President of the European Convention Giuliano Amato, Member of the European Parliament Marian Harkin, former Director General of the EU Council's

[watch here](#)

former EU president Yves Le Manach.

[Read more](#)

TEPSA-FIIA Finnish Pre-Presidency Conference, 6-7 June 2019, Helsinki



Ahead of the Finnish 2019 Presidency of the Council of the EU, TEPSA and FIIA co-organized the Pre-Presidency Conference,

aimed to provide sound assessment, analysis and advice on topical issues facing the EU in general and the Council Presidency in particular. The topics addressed included, among others, the Future of Europe in light of the EU elections (with a keynote speech by Michel Barnier), Differentiated Integration, EU enlargement, and rule of law challenges in the EU.



VIADUCT

Enhancing Visibility of the Academic Dialogue on EU-Turkey Cooperation

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NEWS FROM VIADUCT RESEARCHERS

- Ebru Turhan (TAU) presented a paper on "Elite Framing of the EU-Turkey Refugee 'Deal': a comparative analysis of German and Turkish policy-makers' expectations from and understandings of the 'Deal'" at the **2019 EUSA Biennial Conference** in Denver, USA.

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Alaranta, Toni (2019), ["Can Erdoğan seduce Istanbul's Kurds?"](#), *Ahval*, 23.5

Alaranta, Toni (2019), ["Turkey's local elections – new opposition and the AKP's ambivalence to the popular will"](#), *Ahval*, 5.4

Iso-Markku, Tuomas & Siddi, Marco (2019), [The 2019 European elections: New political constellations](#), FIIA briefing paper n. 264

Pesu, Matti, Iso-Markku, Tuomas & Jokela, Juha (2019), [Towards an EU security community? Public opinion and the EU's role as a security actor](#), FIIA briefing paper n. 266

Tammikko, Teemo (2019), [The future of EU civilian crisis management: Finding a niche](#), FIIA briefing paper n. 262

Tillikainen, Teija (2019), [The Concepts of parliamentarism in the EU's political system: Approaching the choice between two models](#), FIIA working paper n. 108

Turhan, Ebru (Ed.) (2019), [German-Turkish Relations Revisited: The European Dimension, Domestic and Foreign Politics and Transnational Dynamics](#), Baden-Baden: Nomos

OTHER NEWS

Publication: **FEUTURE Synthesis Paper**: "The Future of EU-Turkey Relations: A Dynamic Association Framework amidst Conflictual Cooperation"

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In this issue we are happy to introduce:



GEORGIAN FOUNDATION FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

IRMO

Institut za razvoj i međunarodne odnose
Institute for Development and International Relations



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Erasmus+ Programme
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To know more about VIADUCT and its activities you can contact the Project Manager

Darius Ribbe

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