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THE FUTURE OF EU-TURKEY RELATIONS:
MAPPING DYNAMICS AND TESTING SCENARIOS

NEWSLETTER

No. 7 | January 2018

Dear FEUTURE Friends,

We would like to present you a brand new FEUTURE Newsletter.

We sincerely hope you will find this issue interesting and beneficial! In this Newsletter you will find:

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EDITORIAL

THE FUTURE OF EU-TURKEY RELATIONS: MIGRATION DIPLOMACY

Migration has been, until recently, **one of the least significant dimensions** in the EU-Turkey relationship and particularly as regards the key issue of irregular migration and asylum. Despite the geographical proximity, the emergence and impact of the Southeastern migratory corridor, and efforts to establish operational cooperation that steadily grew in the past decade, it is difficult to talk of a partnership **until 2015**.

The **Syrian refugee crisis of 2015-2016** was an unlikely game changer in many ways and an opportunity for both sides.

On the one hand, the **Turkish open-border policy** towards the Syrians was a cause of concern in

Throughout the past two years, Turkey has regularly noted that the Statement can be cancelled at any time **unilaterally**, particularly considering the EU's delays in offering Turkey visa-free travel. The willingness of Member States like Greece and Germany to offer asylum to Turkish citizens that have fled since the attempted coup is an additional stress in an already fragile partnership.

The strength of the partnership will likely depend on three factors: firstly, **political and socio-economic developments** in the Mediterranean region that affect migratory movements; secondly, whether the EU will successfully negotiate **partnerships with critical countries of origin and transit** that will reduce reliance to Turkey; thirdly, how **burden sharing** will

migration diplomacy. On the other hand, Turkey's geographical position offered a unique opportunity to pilot a **new model of governance of irregular migration**: the EU-Turkey Statement of March 2016 is the likely model for the future management of migration in the Mediterranean.

Turkey also saw an opportunity to reenergize talks in a **quid pro quo framework** and highlight its strategic position to the EU on migration. Migration allowed for high level dialogue between Turkey and the EU and a partnership based on tradeoffs. The **EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan (JAP)** on refugees of October 2015 and eventually the **EU-Turkey Statement** of March 2016, offered Turkey €3+3 billion (through the Facility for Refugees in Turkey) in exchange for curbing irregular migratory flows to Greece. The most important element on offer for Ankara was the establishment of **visa-free travel to the EU** for Turkish citizens and the opening of new chapters in Turkey's **EU accession process**.

In this transactional relationship, neither side appears fully satisfied. The EU has gained thus far more than it has offered, as evident in the reduction in number of arrivals in the Greek islands of Northern Aegean. Nonetheless, within the EU, the burden-sharing mechanisms devised to address the refugee crisis have failed. The Member States were heavily criticized for the Statement on **normative grounds**, and Eastern European Member States expressed concerns as early as 2016 over the **increased reliance on Turkey**.

In Turkey, the **attempted coup** of July 2016 altered the domestic landscape and migration is now openly yielded as a negotiating asset for most issues of concern.

programs? Will the numbers of those globally redistributed increase? Or will the burden of responsibility remain in the hands of few? How burden sharing evolves is, aside from the humanitarian element, directly tied to the importance countries attribute to integration, diaspora networks and to migration diplomacy.

As the number of migrants and asylum-seekers is estimated to increase, the geographical proximity alone necessitates that the two sides continue to engage in **some form of partnership**. However, different factors and the divergent significance attributed to them in the EU and Turkey is likely to facilitate an operational and/or minimum level of cooperation in the long run instead of a full-fledged partnership.

At the beginning of 2018, FEUTURE is entering the crucial phase of assessing the EU-Turkey relationship in terms of migration policy as well as five other thematic dimensions. The respective results will be collected within a **joint synthesis exercise** in April 2018, when FEUTURE will frame a **most likely scenario** for the future of EU-Turkey relations. We will keep you posted on our findings.



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PRESENTATION OF WORK PACKAGE 6: MIGRATION DRIVERS

by Angeliki Dimitriadi, Leader of WP6

The goal of WP6 is to identify key migration drivers in EU-Turkey relations and shed light on the pivotal issues influenced by these drivers with an aim to further contribute on the topic of EU-Turkey relations on migration. Three focal issues have been identified, of mutual interest but varying importance for the EU and Turkey: skilled migration of EU citizens to Turkey, irregular migration of third country nationals transiting from Turkey to the EU and asylum seekers. All three focal issues are shaped by... [Read more](#)

PAST ACTIVITIES

FEUTURE Mid-Term Conference: "EU-Turkey relations: game (not) over?" Barcelona, 19 October 2017



The full report of the FEUTURE Mid-Term Conference, hosted by CIDOB in Barcelona on 19 October 2017, is now available [here](#). The conference brought

together the FEUTURE consortium with distinguished Turkey experts, stakeholders from Turkey and the EU, the media and a wider interested public.

[Read more](#)

CIDOB-SWP Dialogue: "The EU reform after the crises: political debates and policy proposals", Barcelona, 14 December 2017



The topic of this 9th edition of the CIDOB-SWP Dialogue organized jointly with the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) and with the

support of the Europe for Citizens programme was the reform of the EU after the crisis. The dialogue discussed central aspects of the European agenda, taking into account the domestic scenarios and their influence at the EU level. Experts from both institutions analyzed the rise of populism and its impact on the agendas of the traditional parties, the new Franco-German axis, differentiated integration, Turkey and the refugee agreement.

[Read more](#)

DIIS Seminar: "Turkey and the West: a necessary alliance for a troubled region and unpredictable world order?", Copenhagen, 13 December 2017



During this seminar organized by DIIS, Dr Kemal Kirişçi presented his thoughts on Turkey's relations with the West,

MERI Debate: "European Union crisis response in Iraq", Erbil, 22 November 2017



Experts from MERI discussed the findings of the report "European Union Crisis Response in Iraq" with an audience of civil society, local and international officials, academics and NGOs. The report offers recommendations to the EU in order to improve visibility, efficiency and effectiveness of its engagement in crisis response in Iraq.

[Read more](#)

MERI round table: "The European Union and Iraq: a new strategy", Erbil, 13 November 2017



Officials, academics, parliamentarians and civil society representatives from the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) attended this round table to discuss post-referendum challenges facing Iraq and the KRI and the EU's role in addressing these challenges. EU Ambassador Ramon Blecua argued that dialogue within the confinements of Iraq's constitution is the only way forward to resolve any standing differences. The EU and partner organizations are prepared to assist Baghdad and Erbil in resolving pending issues, initiating reforms, and strengthening institutional capacity.

[Read more](#)

DIIS event: "Security and migration: EU-Turkey relations under pressure?", Copenhagen, 5 October 2017



This event addressed the question of whether Turkey and the EU are sufficiently aligned on the issues of security and migration to prevent a complete fall-out. The seminar's first session focused on the security dimension of Europe's uneasy

Lindgaard. The event provided an analysis of Turkey's relations with the Transatlantic community, as well as a cool-headed assessment of the areas where Turkey and the West still benefit from continued cooperation.

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future scenarios and implications of the deal.

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UPCOMING EVENTS

Second WP6-WP7 Joint Workshop, 12 February 2018

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On 12 February 2018, [WP 6 "Migration Drivers"](#) and [WP 7 "Identity & Culture Drivers"](#) will organize their second joint workshop in Istanbul. This workshop is a project internal meeting.

Diverse stakeholders, including the consulates of Turkey, EU member states, EU Liaison Office, local government officials and academics, will be invited.

Second WP3-WP5 Joint Workshop, Rome, 15-16 February 2018

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On 15-16 February 2018, researchers from [WP 3 "Economic Drivers"](#) and [WP 5 "Energy & Climate Drivers"](#) will meet in Rome in order to analyze and evaluate these drivers and to discuss draft versions of the respective synthesis papers. This workshop is a project internal meeting.



On the basis of the research results of all the thematic work packages, the synthesis workshop will identify the most likely best- and worst-case scenarios for the future of EU-Turkey relations, highlighting the plausible future drivers that may influence their realization. The findings of this workshop will serve as a basis for the elaboration of policy recommendations to EU and Turkish policy makers.

Second WP2-WP4 Joint Workshop, Ankara, 20 February 2018

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On 20 February, the second joint workshop of FEUTURE's [Politics](#) and [Security](#) Work Packages (WP2 and WP4) will take place at the Middle East Technical University, Ankara. The event, organized collaboratively by CIDOB, EDAM and METU, will bring together the researchers involved in the two work packages to discuss FEUTURE publications of the work packages and to exchange ideas. This workshop is a project internal meeting.

VIADUCT Teachers' Training Seminar, Prague, 30 May-1 June 2018



Applications are open for the VIADUCT Teachers' Training Seminar, taking place at Charles University in Prague on 30 May-1 June 2018. The seminar aims to exchange best practices and build a

network of teachers by discussing teaching and learning strategies for courses dealing with EU-Turkey relations. [Apply until 2 February 2018.](#)

FEUTURE Policy Challenge Session at MERI, Erbil, February 2018

In the first two weeks of February, MERI will organize

FEUTURE ANALYSIS, OPINION, VOICES

[FEUTURE publications:](#)

F|EU|TU|RE FEUTURE Voice No. 4: [Beyond the storm in EU-Turkey relations](#), by Nathalie Tocci, (IAI, FEUTURE Scientific Coordinator), January 2018

F|EU|TU|RE FEUTURE Online Paper No. 12: [Political Changes in Turkey and the Future of Turkey-EU Relations: From Convergence to Conflict?](#), by Atila Eral (METU), Asuman Göksel (METU), Jakob Lindgaard (DIIS), December 2017

F|EU|TU|RE FEUTURE Online Paper No. 11: [Politics and Turkey-EU Relations: Drivers from the Southern and Eastern Neighbourhoods](#), by Bennett Clifford (CRRC, George Washington University), Dustin Gilbreath (CRRC), Justine Louis (AUC)

[Click here to find more FEUTURE publications!](#)

[Partners' publications:](#)

Ayhan Kaya (2017), "Avrupa Birliği'nde Vatandaşlık ve Birey", in Nejat Doğan ve Betül Yüce Dural (eds.), *Avrupa Birliği'ne Giriş*, Anadolu Üniversitesi Açık Öğretim Yayınları, Eskişehir, pp. 184-208

Ayhan Kaya (2017), ["Istanbul as a Space of Cultural Affinity for Syrian Refugees"](#), in *Journal of Southeast Europe*, vol. 41, issue 3, pp. 333-358

Ayhan Kaya (2017). "Populismo e Inmigración en la Unión Europea" in J. Arango, R. Mahia, D. Moha and E. Sanchez-Montijano (eds.), [La Inmigración en el Ojo del Huracán. Anuario CIDOB de la Inmigración](#), Barcelona: CIDOB, pp. 52-79

Ayhan Kaya (2017), ["Turkish Vergangenheitsbewältigung: Unbearable Burden of the Past"](#), in M. Gabowitsch (ed.), *Translating Atonement: Can Countries Learn from Each Other?*, London: Palgrave.

Ayhan Kaya (2018), "Right to the City: Insurgent Citizens of the Occupy Gezi Movement", in Didem Buhari Gülmez (ed.), *Bridging Divides*. London: Routledge

Jakob Lindgaard (2017), ["Snæversynet og kortsigtet tilgang til kurdisk afstemning om uafhængighed – Pres fra Tyrkiet og Iran kan hæmme varig stabilitet"](#) (Myopic and shortsighted approach to Kurdish Referendum on Independence – Pressure from Turkey and Iran could inhibit a lasting stability)", *Jyllands-Posten*, 18 September 2017

Jakob Lindgaard (2017), ["Jakob Lindgaard om den kurdiske uafhængighedsafstemning – USA står over for et svært dilemma"](#) (Jakob Lindgaard on the Kurdish referendum on Independence – USA faced with a recalcitrant dilemma)", *Ræson*, 25 September 2017

gain from a tougher course on Turkey – but the Danish position would have to be turned upside-down to be successful), DIIS Comment, 16 October 2017

Jakob Lindgaard (2017), ["Walking a thin rope: The U.S.-Turkey balancing act is becoming increasingly untenable"](#), *War on the Rocks*, 30 October 2017:

Jakob Lindgaard (2017), [Turkey's Rapprochement with Iran – Challenges and Opportunities for Europe](#), DIIS Policy Brief, December 2017

Nona Mikhelidze (2017), ["Turkey's Policy in the Black Sea Region: Oscillating between Pragmatism and Opportunism"](#), in Toperich and Unver Noi (eds.), *Turkey and Transatlantic Relations*, Center for Transatlantic Relations SAIS, November 2017

Nicolò Sartori (2017), ["Cooperation on Energy Security: The European Perspective"](#), in Toperich and Unver Noi (eds.), *Turkey and Transatlantic Relations*, Center for Transatlantic Relations SAIS, November 2017

Eduard Soler i Lecha & Melike Janine Sökmen (2017), ["Turkey and its Transatlantic Partners in the Wider Mediterranean: The European Perspective"](#), in Toperich and Unver Noi (eds.), *Turkey and Transatlantic Relations*, Center for Transatlantic Relations SAIS, November 2017

Funda Tekin (2017), "Türkei", in *Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration*, Baden-Baden, p. 443-450

[FEUTURE researchers' speeches, presentations and other activities:](#)

[Elena Sánchez-Montijano \(CIDOB\)](#) participated in the ["Bilbao European Encounters 2017"](#) conference (18-19 December 2017), where she presented some results emerged from FEUTURE fieldwork about refugees in the Western Balkans after the EU-Turkey deal (WP6).

As of September 2017, [Prof Dr Ayhan Kaya \(Istanbul Bilgi University\)](#) completed his sabbatical at the European University Institute in Florence, and returned to his position at Istanbul Bilgi University as the full-time senior professor in the Department of International Relations, and the Director of European Institute and the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence.

[Prof Dr Ayhan Kaya \(Istanbul Bilgi University\)](#) presented the following papers in international conferences:

- "Circassian Diaspora in Turkey," Seminar organized by Caucasian Foundation (Kafkas Vakfı), Fatih, Istanbul, 28 December 2017
- "Profile of Right-Wing Populist Party Supporters in Germany and France," Conference on Populism in Europe, organized by Istanbul Bilgi University, Santral Campus, 27 December 2017
- "Populism in Europe: a Comparative Study," Conference on Populism, Euroscepticism and the Future of the EU, Istanbul Development Foundation and Friedrich Neumann Foundation, Istanbul, IKV EU Information Centre, 22 December 2017
- "Cultural Dimensions of Migration," Conference on Migration and Integration, Ankara, Point Hotel, 15-16 December 2017
- "Migration and Development Paradigm in Turkey," *Conference on Development and Migration Nexus: Public Policies*, ICMPD and DGMM, Ankara, 7 December 2017
- "Populist Responses to Migration in Europe," International Conference organized by Yaşar University UNESCO Chair on Migration, "Migration Trends in the Mediterranean and Regional Policy Responses", Istanbul University, 20 November 2017
- "Limits of Toleration towards Syrian Refugees in Turkey: From Guesthood to Ansar Spirit" International Workshop on Mediterranean Cities: Urban Poetics, Urban (Geo)politics, University of Amsterdam, NIT, Istanbul, 10 November 2017

[Jakob Lindgaard's](#) podcast on ["Kurdish afstemning om uafhængighed møde dyb skepsis – selvom kritikken er berettiget, er spørgsmålet, om ikke øget kurdisk selvstændighed kan skabe stabilitet i en plaget region?"](#) (Kurdish referendum on independence faces deep skepticism – even if the criticism is warranted, the question is if some degree of Kurdish independence couldn't be a source of stability in a plagued region?", 7 September 2017



FEUTURE video: Nathalie Tocci (IAI Director and FEUTURE Scientific Coordinator) comments on the current status of EU-Turkey relations and FEUTURE's research progress

[Find many more FEUTURE videos here!](#)



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