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

NEWSLETTER

No. 8 | April-May 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

FEUTURE: TWO YEARS ON AND LOOKING AHEAD

The [FEUTURE project](#) began in April 2016 at a time in which EU-Turkey relations seemed to be at a crucial crossroad. On the one hand, the **accession process** had been in slow motion and slowing down for quite some time, along with Turkey's accelerating **slide away from liberal democracy**. On the other hand, the EU and Turkey had just signed the **statement and action plan**, which comprised a "deal" to manage irregular refugee flows across the Aegean, as well as a commitment to open further accession chapters and proceed with **visa liberalization**. At the same time, the **peace process** in Cyprus was at its height, with even the most entrenched pessimists seeing an unprecedented light at the end of the over-half-a-century-long dark tunnel.

Indeed, in the run-up to the summit in March 2018 between Presidents Tayyip Erdoğan, Donald Tusk, Jean-Claude Juncker and Boyko Borissov, there was much apprehension behind the scenes that Varna would be the summit to end all summits between the EU and Turkey. Yet the summit, while registering precious little tangible progress, came and went without any fireworks.

Two years on from its launch, the FEUTURE project provides the first tentative answers as to why. Our research, coming to the end of its empirical stage and beginning to tie all threads together towards some **overall conclusions**, does not suggest a clear-cut conflict scenario between the EU and Turkey. Yes, **convergence** is nowhere to be seen in this historical

the worst. Yes, the **EU-Turkey Statement** still holds. But the nature of the “deal” has translated practically into a fairly crude transaction: Turkey’s containment of the irregular flow of refugees to Greece in “exchange” for €3bn through the EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey. Following the attempted military coup in Turkey in July 2016 and the ensuing crackdown on rights and freedoms in the country, visa liberalization and the **opening of new chapters** remain dead letter. On top, the peace process in **Cyprus** ended miserably in Crans Montana last summer, probably sealing the end of the agonized bi-zonal and bi-communal federation. With the collapse of the Cyprus peace process, the illusion that the conflict on Aphrodite’s island would cease being a thorn in the side of EU-Turkey relations has revealed to be a pipedream.

The ongoing **Syrian quagmire** and Turkey’s role in it have driven a further wedge in EU-Turkey relations, be it because of Ankara’s growing coziness with Moscow as the latter’s upper hand in Syria consolidated or because of Turkey’s intervention in the north to fight the Syrian Kurdish PYD. The likelihood of an **upgraded customs union**, on the rise only one year ago, has also dimmed, as election-driven political tensions escalated between Turkey on one side and Germany and the Netherlands on the other. Not even **energy** has come to the rescue. On the contrary, rather than representing a catalyst for peace in the Eastern Mediterranean, gas finds in the region have exacerbated conflict in the region and generated new frictions between Turkey and Italy’s energy giant ENI.

All this would lead us to conclude that the EU-Turkey relationship is inexorably sliding towards the **conflict scenario** depicted by the FEUTURE project.

particularly in the political, identity and security fields. These conflictual dynamics have been only partially attenuated by **cooperation** between the EU and Turkey, notably in the domain of migration.

Unlike US-Turkey relations that rest almost exclusively on security and can thus be made or broken as a result of it, the EU-Turkey story is a far more complicated one. In the case of the EU and Turkey, the **multidimensionality** of the relationship, its complex interdependence, geographical proximity and historical depth have generated a solid safety net. This **safety net** is just that: it is insufficient to generate convergence when the dominant political and security drivers point in the opposite direction. But it is thick enough to prevent conflictual dynamics from driving the relationship into the abyss.

As we look ahead to the **final year** of the FEUTURE project, unpacking the conflictual cooperation or cooperative conflict between the EU and Turkey will be our major task at hand.



*Nathalie Tocci,
Director of Istituto Affari
Internazionali (IAI) and
FEUTURE Scientific
Coordinator*

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PAST ACTIVITIES

FEUTURE Synthesis Workshop, Brussels, 26 April 2018



On 27 April 2018, FEUTURE researchers of all Work Packages met in Brussels to discuss the results of the last two years. Researchers

The Work Package members presented the results of their research in order to update their fellow WP partners and those of the cross-cutting WPs.

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FEUTURE Lecture by Suhnaz Yılmaz, Koç University, Istanbul, 16 January 2018

scenario in the individual thematic dimensions of the relationship and elaborate a scenario for overall EU-Turkey relations.

[Read more](#)

FEUTURE Policy Challenge Session, MERI, Erbil, 19 April 2018



On 19 April 2018, the Middle East Research Institute (MERI) organized a Policy Challenge Session to debate the main challenges in EU-Turkey relations in the field of security and energy. The event brought together a number of stakeholders, including the Turkish Consul General in Erbil Mr Hakan Karacay, the Head of the EU Liaison Office in Erbil Ms Clarisse Pasztory, as well as experts and academics, including MERI researchers Dlawer Ala'Aldeen and Kamaran Palani.

[Read more](#)

FEUTURE Lecture by Suhnaz Yılmaz, Koç University, Istanbul, 11 April 2018



On 11 April 2018, FEUTURE researcher Suhnaz Yılmaz from Koç University organized a FEUTURE Lecture in collaboration with the Corporate Relations and Resource Development Department of Koç University. The lecture was based on the [FEUTURE Online Paper No. 2](#) "Energy and Climate Strategies, Interests and Priorities of the EU and Turkey".

[Read more](#)

FEUTURE 2nd Joint WP3-WP5 Workshop, Rome, 22-23 March 2018



On 22-23 March 2018, Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) organized and hosted a joint meeting aimed at discussing the FEUTURE Work Packages on "Economic Drivers" (WP3) and on "Energy and Climate Drivers" (WP5). Researchers from METU (leading Work Package 3) and IAI (leading Work Package 5) were joined by other partners and researchers from Koç University, University of Cologne, ELIAMEP, AUC and MERI.

[Read more](#)



FEUTURE researcher Suhnaz Yılmaz from Koç University in collaboration with Koç Alumni Club organized a FEUTURE Lecture based on the

[FEUTURE Online Paper No. 6](#) "Energy and Climate Security Priorities and Challenges in the Changing Global Energy Order". The lecture focused on the links between energy, climate change and sustainability, and elaborated on the implications of these intricate links on Turkey-EU relations.

[Read more](#)

CETEUS-TEPSA event: VIADUCT First Annual Conference, Brussels, 26-27 April 2018



On 26-27 April 2018, two FEUTURE partners, CETEUS and TEPSA, jointly organized the First Annual Conference of the Erasmus+/Jean Monnet network "VIADUCT - Enhancing Visibility of

the Academic Dialogue on EU-Turkey Cooperation", in which many FEUTURE researchers take part.

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CETEUS-Istanbul Policy Centre round table: "EU-Turkey relations in times of global and regional turmoil", Cologne, 19 April 2018



"EU-Turkey Relations in Times of Global and Regional Turmoil" were discussed at the common round table of Istanbul Policy Centre (IPC) and the Centre for Turkey and European Union Studies (CETEUS) on 19 April 2018 in Cologne. The experts engaged in an interesting discussion with a public audience and concluded that a closer cooperation between the EU and Turkey is necessary.

[Read more](#)

CIDOB event: European breakfast with Kemal Kirişçi, "Turkey and the West: in a mood of crisis?", Barcelona, 16 February 2018

CIDOB and Elcano Royal Institute organized an event on 16 February 2018 with the participation of Kemal Kirişçi, TÜSİAD Senior Fellow and director of the Center on the United States and Europe's Turkey Project at Brookings Institution. During his talk, Kirişçi

FEUTURE Policy Challenge Sessions, Public Debate and 2nd Joint WP2-WP4 Workshop, Ankara, 20-21 February 2018



On 20 and 21 February 2018, the Center for European Studies of Middle East Technical University (CES-METU)

organized and hosted a series of FEUTURE events in Ankara, Turkey: a Public Debate, a joint workshop of the FEUTURE Work Package 2 "Political Drivers" and Work Package 4 "Security Drivers" and Policy Challenge Sessions.

[Read more](#)

FEUTURE 2nd Joint WP6-WP7 Workshop, Istanbul, 12 February 2018



FEUTURE researchers from the Work Packages 6 "Migration Drivers" and 7 "Identity and Culture Drivers" met on 12 February 2018 at Istanbul

Policy Center/Sabanci University in Istanbul to discuss the research on drivers of EU-Turkey relations from these two thematic dimensions and to delineate the implications for the substantiation of a most likely scenario from their perspective.



Turkey toward improving its relations with the West.

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Bilgi University conference: "Routes of hope: transitions and destinations in global migration flows", Istanbul, 8-9 February 2018



Istanbul Bilgi University
LAUREATE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

Istanbul Bilgi University's European Institute organized this workshop on 8-9 February 2018 in the framework of the TÜBİTAK

Project "Living with indeterminacy: being an undocumented migrant in Istanbul". The conference was convened by Dr Meltem Sancak (TUBITAK Fellow, European Institute, Bilgi University), and featured the participation of FEUTURE researcher Prof Ayhan Kaya.

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UPCOMING EVENTS

FEUTURE PhD workshop: "Between rapprochement and rejection: identity and culture drivers in the Europe-Turkey Relations", Istanbul, 14-15 September 2018



On 14-15 September 2018, Koç University will organize a conference and PhD workshop that will give young researchers the possibility to reflect on the cultural dimension of relations between Europe and Turkey. [Read the call for papers here](#) and [apply by 15 May!](#)

[Read more](#)

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FEUTURE ANALYSIS, OPINION, VOICES

FEUTURE publications:

F|EU|TU|RE Online Paper No. 19: [*Turkey in European Identity Politics: Key Drivers and Future Scenarios*](#), by Jakob Lindgaard, Ayça Uyğur Wessel and Cecilie Felicia Stokholm Banke, April 2018

F|EU|TU|RE Online Paper No. 18: [*Asylum Policy and the Future of Turkey-EU Relations: Between Cooperation and Conflict*](#), by Başak Kale, Angeliki Dimitriadi, Elena Sanchez-Montijano and Elif Süm, April 2018

F|EU|TU|RE Online Paper No. 17: [*It Takes Two to Tango: Political changes in Europe and their Impact on Turkey's EU bid*](#), by Eduard Soler i Lecha, Funda Tekin and Melike Janine Sökmen, April 2018

F|EU|TU|RE Online Paper No. 16: [*EU-Turkey Relations and Irregular Migration: Transactional Cooperation in the Making*](#), by Angeliki Dimitriadi, Ayhan Kaya, Başak Kale and Tinatin Zurabishvili, March 2018

F|EU|TU|RE Online Paper No. 15: [*Turkish and European Identity Constructions in the 1946-1999 Period*](#), by Senem Aydın-Düzgüt, Johanna Chovanec, Seçkin Barış Gülmez, Bahar Rumelili and Alp Eren Topal, March 2018

F|EU|TU|RE Online Paper No. 14: [*Identity Representations of Turkey and Europe in Global and Regional Media*](#), by Justine Louis, Shaimaa Magued and Nino Mzhavanadze, March 2018

F|EU|TU|RE Online Paper No. 13: [*EU and Turkish Energy Interests in the Caspian and Middle East Region*](#), by Dlawer Ala'Aldeen, Kamaran Palani, Giorgi Babunashvili and Jackson Balisdell, February 2018

Partners' publications

Laura Batalla (2018), [*Acolida de refugiats a Turquia: una perspectiva urbana*](#), CIDOB Notes Internacionals No. 192, March 2018

Ayhan Kaya (2018), "Citizenship, Mobility and Integration in the Age of Globalization", in Nejat Doğan ve Betül Yüce Dural (eds.), *Introduction to Political Science*, Anadolu University, Open University, Eskişehir

Kamaran Palani, Dlawer Ala'Aldeen & Susan Cersosimo (2018), [*Turkey and the European Union: Conflicting Policies and Opportunities for Cooperation Over Iraq, Syria and the Kurdish Political Actors*](#), MERI Policy Paper, April 2018

FEUTURE researchers' speeches, presentations and other activities:

[Başak Kale \(METU\)](#) gave a talk on "Turkey's Experience with Immigration in an Era of Political Polarization" at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver (Canada) on 5 April 2018, in the context of [an event](#) organized by the Institute of European Studies and the Migration Research Excellence Cluster

[Ayhan Kaya \(Bilgi University\)](#) is Lead Academic Coordinator in the Project, "Multi-stakeholder meetings and report on social cohesion between Syrian refugees and host societies (ASCAP II Project)", PROJECT, ICMPD, Directorate General of Migration Management, January-April 2018. In addition, he has recently been involved in the following research projects:

- ERC Advanced Grant: "Nativism, Islamophobia and Islamism in the Age of Populism: Culturalisation and Religionization of What is Social, Economic and Political in Europe" (2019-2024);

[Bahar Rumelili \(Koç University\)](#), presented the FEUTURE project during a [lecture at the University of British Columbia](#), in which she analyzed mutual identity representations in Turkey and Europe during select cultural encounters.



FEUTURE video: Senem Aydın-Düzgit (Sabanci University) presents the [FEUTURE Online Paper No. 15](#) on "Turkish and European Identity Constructions in the 1946-1999 Period"

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

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OTHER NEWS

- Call for papers: [VIADUCT Policy Papers](#) on EU-Turkey Relations, deadline 31 May 2018
- Call for papers: [VIADUCT Student Paper Competition](#), deadline 31 May 2018



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This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 692976.

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