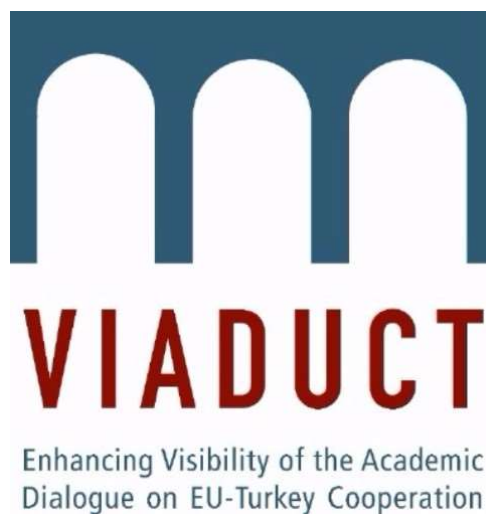




### Dear VIADUCT Friends,

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

In this **December 2018 Newsletter** you will find:

The **EDITORIAL** by Dr Angeliki Dimitriadi (ELIAMEP)

**NEWS** from the VIADUCT network

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

**VIADUCT LIBRARY**

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

and you will be able to **DISCOVER** the VIADUCT Network

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## EDITORIAL

A numbers game: EU Turkey relationship on migration

noted both Turkey's generosity towards the Syrians as well as the renewed commitment to maintain the **2016 EU-Turkey Statement**, which is portrayed as [a unique model of cooperation between Turkey and the EU by making an important contribution to managing irregular migration](#). The renewed commitment is closely linked to the increase in the number of arrivals to Greece, through the land border of Evros (not covered by the Statement) and the islands of northern Aegean. As Europe turns its eye to Africa to address irregular migration to Italy and Spain, it seeks to ensure that the Greek-Turkish corridor remains "closed".

As a model of cooperation, the Statement was triggered and is **maintained by numbers rather than shared norms**, values and interests. In fact, the Statement strips away the normative frame and focuses on the crux of the issue for EU policy makers: numbers. In this respect, it reduced Europe's normative power over Turkey, but also at a global level. Even though the Statement was framed around the need to reduce loss of life at sea, the **reduction in numbers** was a very clearly stated priority and indeed focus. While the two were linked by the European Commission, as the recent data show, policies that outsource migration management and seek to deter entry only succeed in making journeys more dangerous. Fewer numbers, however, do not mean fewer migrant deaths.

More crucially, the Statement has not in fact resulted in a full-fledged cooperation with Turkey on migration. Cooperation remains focused only on the **Syrian population in Turkey**, setting aside the significant number of irregular migrants from Afghanistan, Iran and sub-Saharan Africa. This is due to **its design being entirely transactional** in nature. The financial assistance of EUR 6 billion is only aimed to support Syrians in Turkey. The temporary protection framework only applies to these Syrians, as does the resettlement option through the 1+1. Turkey instrumentalized the presence of Syrians in the country to push for a closer political cooperation with the EU. The latter used money and visa liberalization as a leverage to make Turkey prevent refugees from arriving to Europe. However, cooperation has not resulted in visa liberalization, and **the accession process has all but stalled** giving the impression it is used to anchor

instrumentalize its position in the migratory corridor to Europe. The European Union, and Member States in turn, appeared unwilling to offer incentives that would enable Turkey to function as Europe's gatekeeper on irregular migration. Thus, when **the refugee crisis created the necessity** for cooperation with Turkey, it allowed for successful instrumentalization of migration by Turkey. Additionally, it allowed for the establishment of operational cooperation between Greece and Turkey, crucial and useful to both sides of the Aegean. And it did result in a temporary framework of protection for 3.5 million Syrian refugees, which should not be overlooked. However, the problems of the Statement and its long-term implications for now **outweigh the positive aspects**.

The transactional partnership serves as a powerful lesson to third countries that **their very geographical position may in fact be the key to exerting influence over the EU** and seek also transactional models of cooperation. Turkey gained considerable leverage from its position as a gatekeeper to Europe. It is a leverage other countries also hold and will seek to utilize. However, transactional partnerships can be fickle, since very often they require renegotiating what is on offer. The incentives for Turkey as regard migration will likely change over time. Whether Europeans will be able and willing to meet them is unknown. It is also unclear for how long European partners will continue to pay to ensure numbers of arrivals remain low, especially as they extend financial assistance to the broader neighbourhood for similar reasons.

In the end, the EU-Turkey relationship on migration is **likely to fluctuate between cooperation and mutual indifference**, so long as numbers determine the value of the partnership. The Statement was a pragmatic approach to an unprecedented event, but it also **came at a cost, financially and normatively**, and potentially also set a dangerous example for future partnerships.

Angeliki Dimitriadi

*Research Fellow*

*Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)*

However, there were also **positive aspects** to the Statement. It offered an opportunity to initiate a wider cooperation on migration and asylum and a way forward for Turkey's further "Europeanization" of its migration and asylum system. It also initiated a period of **political and operational cooperation between the EU and Turkey** on migration that had not taken place before.



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## NEWS FROM THE VIADUCT NETWORK

### Submit your VIADUCT paper!

#### **VIADUCT student paper competition: deadline 15 January 2019**

The VIADUCT network is organising a student paper competition that seeks excellent contributions on EU-Turkey relations and shall offer students the opportunity to gain experience with academic publishing. [Find the call here.](#)

#### **VIADUCT policy paper competition: deadline 15 January 2019**

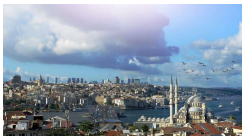
The VIADUCT network is organising a policy paper series with a focus on EU-Turkey relations offering young researchers to publish outstanding research via VIADUCT's dissemination platforms. [Find the call here.](#)

#### **VIADUCT teaching paper competition: deadline 1 February 2019**

The VIADUCT network's teaching papers target junior and senior researchers with expertise in how to teach EU-Turkey relations. The objective of the Teaching Paper Series is to enhance exchange between teachers and lecturers who work on EU-Turkey relations and contribute to the development of teaching curricula. [Find the call here.](#)

## UPCOMING ACTIVITIES

### **Call for Applications: VIADUCT PhD School, 18-20 March 2019, Istanbul**



On behalf of the VIADUCT network the ETH Zürich and Sabancı University Istanbul will organise a 3-day PhD Workshop on "**The EU and Turkey at a Crossroad? Crisis, Change, and Reform**". The workshop will cover both EU-Turkey relations and developments within the EU. We invite PhD candidates to discuss their research on the topics outlined above with their peers and senior academic colleagues. The workshop will take place on 18-20 March 2019 at Sabancı University in Istanbul, Turkey. **Applications are open until 2 January 2019!**

Find the call for applications [here](#).

### **VIADUCT 2nd Annual Conference, 20-21 March 2019, Istanbul**

Each year, VIADUCT holds an Annual Conference which marks the end of the annual VIADUCT weeks. The 2nd

## PAST ACTIVITIES

### VIADUCT Public Debate, 14 November 2018, Athens



On 14 November 2018 the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) organised a VIADUCT Public Debate on "The EU-Turkey Statement and the future of asylum". Discussants included Prof Ayhan Kaya (Bilgi University, Turkey), Dr Angeliki Dimitriadi (ELIAMEP, Greece) and Kövecsi-Oláh Péter (Migration Research Institute, Hungary)

[Read more](#)

### CETEUS Annual Meeting, 13-14 December 2018, Cologne



On 13-14 December 2018, CETEUS organised its Annual Meeting on the topic "Full steam ahead? Reflections on the Future of the European Union and Developments in EU-Turkey Relations". The meeting gathered researchers, practitioners and ministry officials for discussions on the Future of Europe, Narrations of EU-German/Turkish Relations and Scenarios for EU-Turkey Relations. In addition, Johannes Pollak from the Webster Vienna Private University delivered a speech on the Austrian Council Presidency.

[Read more](#)

### University of Ljubljana/TEPSA National Convention on the Future of Europe, 3 December 2018, Ljubljana



TEPSA and the Centre of International Relations (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia) organised on 3 December 2018 a National Convention on the Future of Europe under the Europe for Citizens programme. The event was hosted by the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.

[Read more](#)

### TEPSA EU@Work seminar for undergraduate students, 12-15 November 2018, Brussels



On 12-15 November 2018, the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA) organised a 4-day training on EU affairs, which gathered BA students and graduates and provided them with first-hand understanding of the functioning of the EU through lectures by leading experts and visits to EU institutions.

[Read more](#)

### FIIA event: "Developments in European Security", 11 November 2018, Helsinki



This event, organised by the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, shed light on Europe's security environment and on the premises for greater European responsibility in defence. Speakers included Bartosz Cichocki (Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland), Kristi Raik (Director, Estonian Foreign Policy Institute) and Juha Jokela, (Programme Director, FIIA).

[Read more](#)

### TEPSA event on "The Future of Europe – Views from the Capitals, 27 September 2018, Brussels



On 27 September 2018, TEPSA organized a public event on "The Future of Europe – Views from the Capitals" in cooperation with the Austrian Society for European Politics (ÖGfE). The event shed light on the different political dynamics of all EU Member States and Switzerland, and assessed how each of those countries could get more involved in the European project.

[Read more](#)

## Students on EU Asylum and Migration Policies, 4-7 December 2018, Brussels



On 4-7 December 2018, TEPSA organised a seminar for Master's students and graduates on EU Asylum and Migration policies. This training offered participants an opportunity to gain first-hand insights from researchers, EU practitioners, policymakers, and officials on the current state of play of the migration challenge, including the Turkey-EU Statement.

[Read more](#)

## FIIA event: "Kurds and Turkey's Presidential System", 27 November 2018, Helsinki



On 27 November 2018, FIIA organised a debate on "Kurds and Turkey's Presidential System" with Anu Leinonen (Executive officer, The Foundation of the Finnish Institute in the Middle East), Imren Borsuk Eroglu (Postdoctoral fellow, Stockholm University Institute for Turkish Studies), Esin Düzel (socio-cultural anthropologist), Toni Alaranta (Senior Research Fellow, FIIA), and Juha Jokela (Programme Director, FIIA).

[Read more](#)

## EUNIC: "Between Rapprochement and Rejection: Identity and Culture Drivers in the Europe-Turkey Relations", 14-15 September 2018, Istanbul



VIADUCT partners Koc University and Sabanci University organised a joint dissemination event in cooperation with EUNIC (EU National Institutes of Culture) on 14-15 September 2018 in Istanbul. The event provided a unique forum of specialised exchange between academics and policymakers working on identity and cultural dimension of Europe-Turkey relations.

[Read more](#)

## NEWS FROM VIADUCT RESEARCHERS

- A research group at ARENA headed by **Prof. John Erik Fossum** will lead a [H2020 project on the Future of Europe](#). Prof. Fossum's team will build a theory to account for fundamental aspects of Europe's political development, and will conduct a comprehensive analysis of EU reform proposals.
- **Michael Kaeding (TEPSA)** spoke in the event ["The Future of Europe – National Perspectives"](#) on 21 September 2018 at the SIEPS in Stockholm.
- **Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zürich)** and the European University Institute (EUI) will lead a [H2020 project on "Integrating Diversity in the European Union \(InDivEU\)"](#) that aims to create a comprehensive knowledge base on differentiated integration. VIADUCT partner **TEPSA** is also a partner in this project.

Alaranta, T. (2018), [\*Turkey's presidential system and the Kurds: Increased resentment, fragmentation, or deal-making?\*](#), FIIA Briefing Paper 251, November 2018

Helwig, N. (2018), [\*Germany and European defence cooperation: A post-Atlantic turn?\*](#), FIIA Briefing Paper 245, September 2018

Raik, K. (2018), [\*EU Foreign Policy in a Networked World: Webs against power politics\*](#), FIIA Analysis 9, October 2018

Soler i Lecha, E. (2018), [\*"Arabia Saudi y nosotros"\*](#), in *Estudios de Polica Exterior*, November 2018

Üstübici, A., & İçduygu, A. (2018), [\*"Border closures and the externalization of immigration controls in the Mediterranean: A comparative analysis of Morocco and Turkey"\*](#), *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 59, 7-31, doi:10.1017/npt.2018.21

## OTHER NEWS

Call for applications: [\*\*IPC-Stiftung Mercator Fellowship Program 2019 at SWP Berlin\*\*](#)

Publication: **Dorothee Schmid, "La Turquie en 100 questions"**

Publication: [\*\*FEUTURE Online Paper No. 25: "EU Public Opinion on Turkish EU Membership"\*\*](#)

Publication: [\*\*FEUTURE Online Paper No. 26 "Turkish Public Opinion and the EU Membership: between Support and Mistrust"\*\*](#)

Publication: **Mohanad Hage Ali, "A new migrant crisis for Europe?"**, Carnegie Middle East Centre

Publication: **Emanuela Roman, "Beyond unilateral securitization: what civil society actors want from migration, asylum and mobility policies in the Mediterranean"**, Medreset Policy Paper

## DISCOVER THE VIADUCT NETWORK

In this issue we are happy to introduce:

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CENTRE FOR  
INTERNATIONAL  
AFFAIRS



**THE AMERICAN  
UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO**  
الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة



**UiO : ARENA Centre for European Studies**  
University of Oslo



Enhancing Visibility of the Academic  
Dialogue on EU-Turkey Cooperation

*The VIADUCT network wishes all of you festive holidays and  
a happy new year! Mutlu yıllar!*



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Erasmus+ Programme  
of the European Union

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

**Darius Ribbe**

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