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### **Suhail Semsit: Europeanisation of Migration Policies in the EU Accession Process: A Comparative Analysis of Poland and Turkey**

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## Abstract

Poland and Turkey have traditionally been countries of emigration until recent decades and recently they have gradually been turning into countries of immigration and transit. One might expect that as a result of the current tendency of transforming into a country of immigration and transit, Turkey would become a country of immigration after accession, thereby increasing the pull factors for immigration in Turkey. As the main routes of east-west migration pass over these two countries, geopolitically, Poland and Turkey will be the key countries 'guarding' the Eastern borders of the EU should Turkey join the EU. Thus, as a conditionality to EU membership, Poland has strengthened its borders and Turkey will be facing this conditionality more strongly in the run up to accession.

In this process, as the Polish case shows, Turkey also will experience the Europeanisation process and transform its migration policies to comply with EU conditionality. In the light of this background, this paper will examine Europeanisation as EU-isation, in other words the Europeanisation of policy regarding migration issues in Poland and Turkey in the accession process.

It has been observed that security discourse has been dominant in the process of the Europeanisation of migration policies in the EU. Thus, this has been reflected in the policy making and one can see that EU candidate countries have been subject to the impact of this securitisation in the process of the Europeanisation of their migration policies. In this regard, Europeanisation of migration policies in Poland and Turkey and the impact of securitisation in this process will be analysed by examining mainly the regular reports prepared by the European Commission for Poland between 1998–2004 and for Turkey between 1998–2007. A comparative analysis will be made regarding the process of adopting the accession requirements on issues of visa policies, border controls and illegal immigration. Drawing on the theoretical framework of the Europeanisation process and securitisation theory of the Copenhagen School, the main topics addressed in this paper in a comparative perspective are as follows:

- Alignment with the EU Visa Regime: a Challenge for Poland and Turkey's Relations with Geographically and/or Culturally Close Countries
- Border Management: Expanding 'Fortress Europe'?
- 'Illegal' Migration and the Signing of Readmission Agreements

## 1. Introduction

In the fifth enlargement process of the EU, Poland was a country that was high on the agenda of the EU regarding migration issues such as 'illegal' migration, visa policy, border controls and its legal migration potential. Poland, the largest new EU member state, and its migration policy are definitely of crucial importance to the level of and trends in east-west migrations.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Turkey, which is the other country high on the agenda of Europe in this matter, started accession negotiations on 3 October 2005. Thus, as in other areas, Turkey has been in the process of aligning its migration policies with that of the EU. Actually, the size and challenging nature of the EU Acquis in this field makes the alignment process a 'complex' one.<sup>2</sup> Thus, one might expect migration issues to be one of the most significant and controversial areas in the accession negotiations.

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1 Kicingier, Anna: *Between Polish Interests and the EU Influence – Polish Migration Policy Development 1989–2004*, Central European Forum For Migration Research Working Paper, 2005, [http://www.cefmr.pan.pl/docs/cefmr\\_wp\\_2005-09.pdf](http://www.cefmr.pan.pl/docs/cefmr_wp_2005-09.pdf), p. 3.

2 Mitsilegas, Valsamis: *The Implementation of the EU Acquis on Illegal Immigration by the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe: Challenges and Contradictions*, in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2002 (Vol. 28, No. 4), pp. 665–682, here p. 678.

Turkey and Poland have traditionally been countries of emigration until recent decades and recently have gradually been turning into countries of immigration and transit.<sup>3</sup> Both countries will have the main responsibility for 'guarding' the eastern borders of the EU should Turkey join the EU. Poland, as a country of transit, faced some challenges in the Europeanisation of its migration policies in the run-up to accession. Thus, as a conditionality to EU membership, Poland has strengthened its borders and Turkey will be facing this conditionality more strongly in the run-up to accession. In this process, as can be seen from the Polish case, Turkey will also experience the Europeanisation process and transform its migration policies to conform with EU conditionality.

Therefore, given the significance and challenging characteristics of the issue, a comparative analysis of Poland and Turkey will be made regarding the process of adopting the accession requirements on issues of visa policies, border controls and illegal immigration. Drawing on the theoretical framework of the Europeanisation process and the securitisation theory of the Copenhagen School,<sup>4</sup> the main topics addressed in this paper from a comparative perspective are alignment with the EU visa regime, border management and 'illegal' migration, and the signing of readmission agreements. It should be noted that adaptation to asylum policies is not addressed in this study due to the comprehensiveness of the issues addressed.

## 2. Europeanisation and Securitisation of Migration Issues in the Accession Process of Poland and Turkey

Europeanisation can be defined as 'the reorientation and reshaping of aspects of politics and governance in the domestic arena in ways that reflect the policies, practices and preferences of European level actors'.<sup>5</sup> Radaelli states that Europeanisation consists of processes of 'construction, diffusion and institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures and public policies.'<sup>6</sup>

Europeanisation can be examined in its three dimensions which, following Diez, are known as internal, enlargement and external Europeanisation.<sup>7</sup> In this paper, enlargement Europeanisation will be examined with specific attention to Poland and Turkey. Enlargement Europeanisation is based on the 'export' of the *acquis communautaire* and secondary legislation and norms of the EU.<sup>8</sup> This kind of Europeanisation is mostly based on policy Europeanisation or, in other words, EU-isation in which the influence of the EU is very obvious.<sup>9</sup>

When one looks at developments in immigration policy in Poland, it can be stated that Poland's migration policy was isolationist between 1945 and the collapse of the Soviet Bloc in 1989.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Poland 'es-

3 Iglicka, Krystyna: EU Membership Highlights Poland's Migration Challenges, April 2005, <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=302>; Kirisci, Kemal: Turkey: A Transformation From Emigration to Immigration, 2003, <http://migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=176>

4 See Huysmans, Jef: The European Union and the Securitization of Migration, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies*, December 2000b (Vol. 38, No. 5); Buzan, Barry/ Waever, Ole/ De Wilde, Jaap: *Security: A New Framework For Analysis*, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998.

5 Bache, Ian/ Jordan, Andrew (eds.): *The Europeanization of British Politics?*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006.

6 Radaelli, Claudio M.: Europeanisation: Solution or problem?, in: *European Integration online Papers (EIoP)*, 2004 (Vol. 8, No. 16), <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2004-016a.htm>

7 Diez, Thomas: Wishful thinking or long-term strategy? Europeanization, EU Enlargement and Turkey, Lecture given at Dokuz Eylul University, Izmir Turkey, April 2007.

8 Bulmer, Simon J./ Radaelli, Claudio M.: The Europeanisation of National Policy?, in: *Queen's Papers on Europeanisation*, 2004 (No 1).

9 Diez, Thomas/ Agnantopoulos, Apostolos / Kaliber, Alper: File: Turkey, Europeanization And Civil Society, in: *South European Society & Politics*, April 2005 (Vol. 10, No. 1), pp. 1-2.

10 Iglicka, Krystyna: EU Membership Highlights Poland's Migration Challenges, April 2005, <http://www.migrationinformation.org>.

entially' did not have an immigration policy in the late 1980s.<sup>11</sup> After 1997, the evolution of Polish migration policy mostly depended upon European influences in the framework of EU membership conditionality.<sup>12</sup> However, national preferences, such as the repatriation of ethnic Poles residing in former Soviet countries, were also effective in the evolution of migration policies.<sup>13</sup>

As a general overview, it should be noted that Poland started accession negotiations on the Chapter 24 of Justice and Home Affairs in 2000 and became a member in 2004 after it had adopted the Schengen Acquis despite a number of difficulties.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, Turkey has not yet completed the screening process on Chapter 24 on Justice, Freedom and Security.

At the beginning of the negotiations in Poland on this Chapter, a 'policy Europeanisation' existed which worked on the basis of conditionality. The main channels of Europeanisation in these matters were screening meetings, accession negotiations and twinning projects which started with the beginning of the accession negotiations in 1998. Thus, Polish policy makers learned Europeanised policy making and 'norm diffusion mechanisms'. Kicinger et.al. argue that the common beliefs, ideas and norms of Polish policy-makers and the discourse on migration issues are well Europeanised compared to institutional Europeanisation. On the other hand, they assert that institutional Europeanisation and the Europeanisation of the 'ways of doing things' such as policy making procedures is weaker in Poland. They also emphasise that there has been lack of lobbies, NGOs and parties interested and participating in the formulation of migration policies.<sup>15</sup> However, Kicinger argues that the migration policy in Poland is 'not ideal, not widely discussed, not extremely efficient, not very well articulated and presented and not comprehensive', and still 'defending Polish interests; not only merely reacting to EU integration requirements'.<sup>16</sup>

On the other hand, in Turkey, which is still in the early stages of the Europeanisation process in migration issues, one can only observe EU-isation in these matters rather than Europeanisation. Because, one might argue, the negotiations on the Chapter of Justice, Freedom and Security have not started yet, there still exists a state of mind in Turkey that the Europeanisation in migration issues will mean the technical adoption of the Acquis on these matters.<sup>17</sup> Thus, in Turkey, EU-isation is mostly expected to take place in these matters, which presents a stark contrast to the developments observed in the case of Poland.

Migration policies are not only being Europeanised; drawing on the theoretical work on the securitisation of policy,<sup>18</sup> one can see how the securitisation of the EU's supranational policy making is also reflected in

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org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=302

- 11 Kicinger, Anna/ Agnieszka Weinar/ Agata Gorny: Advanced yet Uneven: The Europeanisation of Polish Immigration Policy, in: Faist, Thomas/ Ette, Andreas (Eds): The Europeanisation of National Policies and Politics of Immigration, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 181–200, here p. 181.
- 12 Kicinger, Anna: Between Polish Interests and the EU Influence – Polish Migration Policy Development 1989–2004, Central European Forum For Migration Research Working Paper, 2005, [http://www.cefmr.pan.pl/docs/cefmr\\_wp\\_2005-09.pdf](http://www.cefmr.pan.pl/docs/cefmr_wp_2005-09.pdf), p. 28.
- 13 Kicinger, Anna/ Agnieszka Weinar/ Agata Gorny: Advanced yet Uneven: The Europeanisation of Polish Immigration Policy, in: Faist, Thomas/ Ette, Andreas (Eds): The Europeanisation of National Policies and Politics of Immigration, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 181–200, here p. 186.
- 14 Ibid., p. 181.
- 15 Ibid., p. 181–183.
- 16 Kicinger, Anna: Between Polish Interests and the EU Influence – Polish Migration Policy Development 1989–2004, Central European Forum For Migration Research Working Paper, 2005, [http://www.cefmr.pan.pl/docs/cefmr\\_wp\\_2005-09.pdf](http://www.cefmr.pan.pl/docs/cefmr_wp_2005-09.pdf), p. 28.
- 17 Keser, Hasan: Justice and Home Affairs: Europeanisation of Turkish Asylum and Immigration Policy in the Light of the Central and Eastern European Experience, in: Ankara Review of European Studies, Spring 2006 (Vol. 5 , No. 3, pp. 115–130, here p. 129.
- 18 See Huysmans, Jef: The European Union and the Securitization of Migration, in: Journal of Common Market Studies, December 2000b(Vol. 38, No. 5); Buzan, Barry/ Waever, Ole/ De Wilde, Jaap: Security: A New Framework For Analysis, Colarado:Lynne Rienr Publishers, 1998.

the preconditions set for the candidate countries in the enlargement process; this has led to debates on the creation of a 'fortress Europe'.

The securitisation discourse has also been observed in Poland in the accession process. As asserted by Kicinger et. al., Europeanisation on migration issues is mainly evident in the securitised dimensions of migration policies such as 'illegal' migration and border security. This approach has focused on the fear of mass migration from post-Soviet countries in the early 1990s because Poland has a long border with these countries and it had a visa-free regime with these countries.<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, the topics addressed in this paper are included in Chapter 24 with other topics of judicial co-operation in criminal matters, police cooperation, the fight against organised crime, trafficking in human beings, the fight against terrorism, the fight against drugs and protection of the Euro against counterfeiting, all of which are mainly security issues. The inclusion of migration issues with these security issues is an obvious indicator of the securitisation of migration issues in the enlargement process as seen in the Acquis.

On the other hand, the use of the terminology of 'illegal' for identifying 'irregular' migration in the regular reports both for Poland and Turkey as seen in the Acquis could also be thought as an indicator of securitisation in this matter. As King stresses, 'the language of security needs to be deconstructed because of the emotiveness of the debate and its use of military terminologies of migrants constituting an "invading army" laying siege to the "European fortress"'<sup>20</sup>.

In this securitised environment, it is striking that, as a result of Europeanisation, Polish policy makers have also started to share the fears on migration and adopt the securitisation and 'fortress Europe' approach, although Poland is currently a country with insignificant immigration compared to the EU-15 countries.<sup>21</sup> However, migration policy in Poland and Turkey still remains 'depoliticised' in contrast to the situation in the EU-15 countries, in which migration has is high on the political agenda.<sup>22</sup>

### 3. Alignment with the EU Visa Regime: A Challenge for Relations with Geographically and/or Culturally Close Countries

When one looks at Poland's progress in this area, one can claim that it has been one of the most challenging and politicised issues in the accession process.<sup>23</sup> By 2004, Poland had ended the visa exemption for countries such as Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Mongolia and Azerbaijan. It is striking that Poland waited until the accession to place visa obligations on Belarus, Russia and Ukraine.<sup>24</sup> The introduction of new visa regimes with these countries created a tension between the Europeanisation

19 Kicinger, Anna/ Agnieszka Weinar/ Agata Gorny: *Advanced yet Uneven: The Europeanisation of Polish Immigration Policy*, in: Faist, Thomas/ Ette, Andreas (Eds): *The Europeanisation of National Policies and Politics of Immigration*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 181–200, here pp. 183–184.

20 King, Russell: *Southern Europe in the Changing Global Map of Migration*, in: King, Russell/ Lazaridis, Gabriella/ Tsardanidis, Charalambos (eds): *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, London: Macmillan, 2000, pp. 1–26, here p. 24.

21 Kicinger, Anna/ Agnieszka Weinar/ Agata Gorny: *Advanced yet Uneven: The Europeanisation of Polish Immigration Policy*, in: Faist, Thomas/ Ette, Andreas (Eds): *The Europeanisation of National Policies and Politics of Immigration*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 181–200, here pp. 191, 196.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 192.

23 Mitsilegas, Valsamis: *The Implementation of the EU Acquis on Illegal Immigration by the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe: Challenges and Contradictions*, in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2002 (Vol. 28, No. 4), pp. 665–682, here p. 678.

24 European Commission, *Poland Scadplus*, 2005, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/e22106.htm>, p. 5; European Commission: *Comprehensive Monitoring Report on Poland's Preparations for Membership*, 2003, [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2003/cmr\\_pl\\_final\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2003/cmr_pl_final_en.pdf), p. 53.

of domestic politics and the national interests of Poland regarding these countries.<sup>25</sup> However, the visa regime was justified on the basis of EU conditionality discourse rather than securitisation.<sup>26</sup> In the end, Poland fulfilled both its national interests and the EU membership obligations by issuing visas liberally and with no fee for Ukraine citizens.<sup>27</sup> Visas to people from these countries were issued due to family ties, business relations and cooperation between institutions, such as academic and educational collaboration.<sup>28</sup>

As part of the accession process, Turkey also needs to align its visa regime with the positive and negative visa lists of the EU. Regarding the positive list, eight countries must be included in the positive list. Although Turkey has not raised problems about aligning with the positive visa list, there seems to be concerns about aligning with the negative visa list. There is still an inconsistency between the EU's negative visa list and that of Turkey since Turkey still does not want to introduce a visa obligation for Azerbaijan, Mongolia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan<sup>29</sup>. As Kirisci argues, this process would lead to a tightening of the visa system in Turkey, which used to apply a liberal visa system. Kirisci emphasises that, with regards to the Turkish Republics, the result could be 'a net cultural, economic, and social loss, as it may resemble the Cold War days when the movement of people between Turkey and these countries was absolutely minimal'. Moreover, this situation would probably fuel irregular migration movements by making it more difficult for these people to come to Turkey.<sup>30</sup>

In the enlargement process, there have been some reactions regarding the issue of visa, one of which is the statement by the Reflection Group stressing that these practices do not 'take into account the specific needs and interests of the new members in maintaining their existing links with their eastern neighbours'.<sup>31</sup> Regarding these tensions, flexibility in the visa system could be achieved on the borders of Poland and Ukraine and it might be expected that the same kind of flexibility could, to a certain extent, be provided for Turkey after accession takes place.<sup>32</sup>

#### 4. Border Management: Expanding 'Fortress Europe'?

Because the Schengen Area does not have internal borders, the strict management and vigilant 'guarding' of these borders is of utmost importance in order to manage 'illegal' migration and organised crime in the developing 'area of freedom, security and justice'.<sup>33</sup>

25 Vermeersch, Peter: EU Enlargement and Immigration Policy in Poland and Slovakia. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 38, 2005, pp. 71–88, here pp. 84, 85.

26 Weinar, Agnieszka: The Polish Experiences of Visa Policy in the context of Securitization, 2006, [http://www.libertysecurity.org/IMG/doc/The\\_Polish\\_experiences\\_of\\_visa\\_policy\\_in\\_the\\_context\\_of\\_securitization-1.doc](http://www.libertysecurity.org/IMG/doc/The_Polish_experiences_of_visa_policy_in_the_context_of_securitization-1.doc), p. 6.

27 Kicingier, Anna/ Agnieszka Weinar/ Agata Gorny: Advanced yet Uneven: The Europeanisation of Polish Immigration Policy, in: Faist, Thomas/ Ette, Andreas (Eds): *The Europeanisation of National Policies and Politics of Immigration*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 181–200, here p. 189; Kicingier, Anna: Between Polish Interests and the EU Influence – Polish Migration Policy Development 1989–2004, Central European Forum For Migration Research Working Paper, 2005, [http://www.cefmr.pan.pl/docs/cefmr\\_wp\\_2005-09.pdf](http://www.cefmr.pan.pl/docs/cefmr_wp_2005-09.pdf), p. 19.

28 Weinar, Agnieszka: The Polish Experiences of Visa Policy in the context of Securitization, 2006, [http://www.libertysecurity.org/IMG/doc/The\\_Polish\\_experiences\\_of\\_visa\\_policy\\_in\\_the\\_context\\_of\\_securitization-1.doc](http://www.libertysecurity.org/IMG/doc/The_Polish_experiences_of_visa_policy_in_the_context_of_securitization-1.doc), p. 7.

29 European Commission, Turkey 2007 Progress Report, 2007, [http://www.avrupa.info.tr/Files/File/ab\\_turkiye\\_reports/progress-reports-2007-en.pdf](http://www.avrupa.info.tr/Files/File/ab_turkiye_reports/progress-reports-2007-en.pdf), p. 64; Apap, Joanna/ Carrera, Sergio/ Kirisci, Kemal: Turkey in the European Area of Freedom, Security and Justice', CEPS EU-Turkey Working Papers, 2004 (No: 3), [http://shop.ceps.be/downfree.php?item\\_id=1145](http://shop.ceps.be/downfree.php?item_id=1145), pp. 37–41, here p. 29

30 Kirisci, Kemal: Turkey: A Transformation From Emigration to Immigration, 2003, <http://migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=176>

31 Reflection Group (1999) Final Report of the Reflection Group on the Long-term Implications of EU Enlargement: The Nature of the New Border, Fiesole: European University Institute, p. 56.

32 Apap, Joanna/ Carrera, Sergio/ Kirisci, Kemal: Turkey in the European Area of Freedom, Security and Justice', CEPS EU-Turkey Working Papers, 2004 (No: 3), [http://shop.ceps.be/downfree.php?item\\_id=1145](http://shop.ceps.be/downfree.php?item_id=1145), pp. 37–41, here pp. 37–41.

33 Mitsilegas, Valsamis: The Implementation of the EU Acquis on Illegal Immigration by the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe: Challenges and Contradictions', in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2002 (Vol. 28, No. 4),

The European Commission has stated that Poland has made important progress in this area despite financial restraints. In 2001, Poland adopted a Schengen Action Plan to implement the border management strategy. The significant problems in this process have been a lack of trained staff, administrative capacity and infrastructure at the borders.<sup>34</sup> Europeanisation in this area in Poland is still continuing since Poland is currently making preparations to enter the Schengen Area.<sup>35</sup>

As one can imagine based Poland's experience, border management would be one of the challenging issues for Turkey since it would be responsible for 'guarding' the south-eastern borders of the EU after accession.<sup>36</sup> The 2007 Regular Report on Turkey stresses that limited progress has been made on external borders and Schengen. It pointed out that the National Action Plan on integrated border management 'needs to be equipped with a more precise roadmap containing concrete actions, targets, realistic deadlines, responsible authorities and an estimated budget for each of the actions requiring important investment'. In addition, it is emphasised that there has been no tangible steps taken on the establishment of the new 'border law enforcement authority'. Moreover, it draw attention to the need for 'training and professionalism of border staff, risk analysis capacity and modernisation of checking equipment'.<sup>37</sup>

The need to create a non-military border guard, in other words the 'demilitarisation of borders', raises the issue of the candidate country's lack of resources to ensure effective border management.<sup>38</sup> Although these borders would be EU borders after the accession, the European Commission has said that candidate countries would have to provide the necessary funds prior to accession.<sup>39</sup> Thus, as was seen in the previous rounds of enlargement, Turkey would have to overcome these difficulties in order to become a member, after which it would receive EU support, easing the situation.

The debates on the nature of EU migration policies and the demands on candidate countries regarding border management seem to show that enlargement is a process towards an expanding 'fortress Europe'. Lavenex defines the situation as follows:

*However tight border controls might be, they will never guarantee the prevention of (illegal) immigration. It is also politically questionable, as it threatens to undermine liberal freedoms and fundamental human rights for the individuals in question.*<sup>40</sup>

## 5. 'Illegal' Migration and the Signing of Readmission Agreements

'Illegal' migration has been one of the key issues on the internal agenda of the EU and for Turkey–EU and Poland–EU relations due to the fact that Turkey and Poland have increasingly become transit countries.

Actually, Turkey managed through a concerted effort to shift transit migration routes to the southern routes of Iraq–Syria–Lebanon and northern routes of Iran–Caucasus–Ukraine, especially in the years of

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pp. 665–682, here p. 665.

- 34 European Commission, Poland Scadplus; 2002 Regular Report on Poland, pp. 114, 115; 2003 Monitoring Report, p. 53.
- 35 Kicinger, Anna/ Agnieszka Weinar/ Agata Gorny: Advanced yet Uneven: The Europeanisation of Polish Immigration Policy, in: Faist, Thomas/ Ette, Andreas (Eds): The Europeanisation of National Policies and Politics of Immigration, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 181–200, here p. 189.
- 36 Apap, Joanna/ Carrera, Sergio/ Kirisci, Kemal: Turkey in the European Area of Freedom, Security and Justice', CEPS EU-Turkey Working Papers, 2004 (No: 3), [http://shop.ceps.be/downfree.php?item\\_id=1145](http://shop.ceps.be/downfree.php?item_id=1145), pp. 37–41, here p. 41.
- 37 European Commission, Turkey 2007 Progress Report, 2007, [http://www.avrupa.info.tr/Files/File/ab\\_turkiye\\_reports/progress-reports-2007-en.pdf](http://www.avrupa.info.tr/Files/File/ab_turkiye_reports/progress-reports-2007-en.pdf), p. 64.
- 38 Mitsilegas, Valsamis: The Implementation of the EU Acquis on Illegal Immigration by the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe: Challenges and Contradictions', in: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 2002 (Vol. 28, No. 4), pp. 665–682, here p. 675.
- 39 European Commission: Issues Arising from Turkey's Membership Perspective, Brussels, 6 October 2004, [http://ec.europa.eu/comm/enlargement/report\\_2004/pdf/issues\\_paper\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/comm/enlargement/report_2004/pdf/issues_paper_en.pdf), p. 42.
- 40 Lavenex, Sandra: Migration and the EU's New Eastern Border: Between Realism and Liberalism, in: Journal of European Public Policy, 2001 (Vol. 8, No. 1), pp. 24–42, here pp. 38–39.

2000 and 2001.<sup>41</sup> In the decade up to 2006, 580,000 illegal migrants were apprehended in Turkey. From 1998 to 2006, 5,500 organisers including smugglers have been captured.<sup>42</sup>

The other burning issue in this matter remains the signing of readmission agreements by Turkey. In the case of Poland, in 1991 and 1993, Poland signed a readmission agreements respectively with the Schengen group of countries and with Germany in order to gain visa-free entry to these countries.<sup>43</sup> The agreement started a 'chain reaction' of readmission agreements between Poland and its neighbours and among other EU member states and Central and Eastern European countries.<sup>44</sup> Polish policy makers strongly believed in the 'irreversible character of the transformation' and therefore recognised these agreements as a 'condition *sine qua non* of the confirmation of Poland's credibility on the international scene'.<sup>45</sup>

In the Turkish case, the EU officially requested that Turkey sign a readmission agreement with the EU in March 2003.<sup>46</sup> Due to the concerns of Turkish officials that Turkey would be a 'dumping ground for unwanted immigrants by the EU',<sup>47</sup> a compromise on signing the agreement could not be reached by March 2004,<sup>48</sup> and negotiations started in May 2005.<sup>49</sup>

Actually, Turkey has been waiting for replies from many countries and negotiations have been underway with many countries. It should be noted that these facts show how the candidate countries have difficulties in convincing the third countries to sign these agreements. Turkey's declared official policy on this issue is that readmission agreements would be signed firstly with source countries, then with transit countries and lastly with destination countries.<sup>50</sup> Thus, with this strategy, Turkey seems to be aiming to ensure that agreements as a whole function properly as 'chains of removals' as defined by Phuong<sup>51</sup>. The last round of negotiations on a readmission agreement between Turkey and the EU was in December 2006. However, there has been no recent progress in the negotiations.<sup>52</sup>

41 Turkish National Action Plan for the Adoption of the EU Acquis in the Field of Asylum And Migration, 15 March 2005, <http://www.egm.gov.tr/duyurular/english.zip>, p. 26.

42 Agenda Item 1b: Illegal Migration, Analytical examination of the Acquis Chapter 24 – Justice, Freedom And Security, Turkey Country session, 13.–15.02.2006, [http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/tarama/tarama\\_files/24/SC24DET\\_ILLEGAL%20MIGRATION%20.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/tarama/tarama_files/24/SC24DET_ILLEGAL%20MIGRATION%20.pdf), pp. 5–6.

43 Vermeersch, Peter: EU Enlargement and Immigration Policy in Poland and Slovakia. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 38, 2005, pp. 71–88, here p. 81; Kicinger, Anna/ Agnieszka Weinar/ Agata Gorny: Advanced yet Uneven: The Europeanisation of Polish Immigration Policy, in: Faist, Thomas/ Ette, Andreas (Eds): *The Europeanisation of National Policies and Politics of Immigration*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 181–200, here pp. 184–185.

44 Kicinger, Anna: Between Polish Interests and the EU Influence – Polish Migration Policy Development 1989–2004, Central European Forum For Migration Research Working Paper, 2005, [http://www.cefmr.pan.pl/docs/cefmr\\_wp\\_2005-09.pdf](http://www.cefmr.pan.pl/docs/cefmr_wp_2005-09.pdf), p. 5.

45 Weinar, Agnieszka: The Polish Experiences of Visa Policy in the context of Securitization, 2006, [http://www.libertysecurity.org/IMG/doc/The\\_Polish\\_experiences\\_of\\_visa\\_policy\\_in\\_the\\_context\\_of\\_securitization-1.doc](http://www.libertysecurity.org/IMG/doc/The_Polish_experiences_of_visa_policy_in_the_context_of_securitization-1.doc), p. 2.

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## 6. Conclusion

In conclusion, in the case of Poland, 'policy Europeanisation' or EU-isation was evident at the beginning of accession negotiations on the issues of visa policy, border management and illegal migration as a result of strong conditionality. It could be argued that this transformed into 'real Europeanisation' when the negotiations proceeded and accession took place. Moreover, Poland has been affected by the securitisation process in the EU on these matters as Europeanisation increased. A carrot and stick approach is apparent, whereby full membership served as an attractive and motivating carrot. Thus, the incentive of full membership was very influential in the evolution of migration policies in Poland. Therefore, Poland has overcome tough challenges affecting the relations with its neighbours that created economic and institutional burdens.

In the Turkish case, as the negotiations have not started on these issues, concrete Europeanisation cannot be seen yet. As in the Polish case, Turkey's possible future role as one of the significant 'gatekeepers' of the EU is expected to make Turkey's adaptation process to EU migration policies more difficult. Turkey is expected to face similar challenges as Poland with regard to visa issues, border management and illegal migration. However, since the carrot of full membership is still not as strong as it was for Poland, it is hard to expect that the Europeanisation process in this area would follow the similar path with Poland. As Poland's experience shows, Europeanisation in the most challenging matters is directly dependent on the incentive of full membership; therefore, one would expect that the policy transfer in Turkey will go in slow-motion given the current environment of EU-Turkey relations.