

***Building Fortress Europe: The Polish-Ukrainian Frontier.* By Karolina S. Follis. *Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism*, ed. Roger M. Smith. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. iv, 284 pp. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Photographs. Figures. Table. Maps. \$69.95, cloth/ebook.**

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In *Building Fortress Europe: The Polish-Ukrainian Frontier*, anthropologist Karolina Follis examines the processes of “rebordering” in Eastern Europe in the wake of the collapse of state socialism and the Soviet Union and the subsequent expansion of the European Union (EU). Using the Polish-Ukrainian border as her case study, Follis focuses on the years 2003 to 2008, a time period in which Poland gradually tightened controls on its border with Ukraine in preparation for its 2004 EU accession and its required implementation of the Schengen Agreement—the EU’s common policies on cooperation in law enforcement, visas, and border security.

For Follis, the concept of rebordering “unfolds within public discourse as well as in concrete actions and practices of politicians and state officials. As discourse, rebordering refers to challenging, expanding or otherwise altering the idea of Europe in order at once to accommodate Eastern Europeans, and potentially other neighbors, as new citizens of the European Union, and to define its new spatial, cultural, and conceptual boundaries. As action, rebordering includes bureaucratic, legal and police practices aimed at establishing a tight perimeter around the European Union, while opening up the internal EU borders.” (12) This “tension between universalism and exclusionary tendencies. . . and between segregation and freedom of movement” (205) created by the concurrent opening of internal EU borders and closing of external EU borders is a central organizing theme of Follis’s book.

Approaching such a wide-ranging subject is a difficult methodological endeavor, and Follis appropriately chooses to pursue a multi-sited ethnography that understands borders as “dislocated and ubiquitous” objects that must be interrogated not only at the borderline itself, but also as situated practices for “sorting out people, things, and territory” that extend across many locales and institutions (18). Follis’s ethnography therefore includes fieldwork with migrant communities, border guards and immigration officials, and members of NGOs, as well as the examination of policy and legal documents and historical sources (described in detail in a methodological appendix).

*Building Fortress Europe* can be roughly divided into two parts (setting aside the introductory and concluding chapters—1 and 8, respectively). Chapters 2-3 examine the lived experiences of Ukrainian citizens who regularly circulate across the border for trade and employment. Through these narratives Follis demonstrates how visa policies structure time and

space by determining when, how, and how often the border can be crossed, as well as how Ukrainian workers strategically negotiate and manage their legal statuses as they attempt to balance a desire to maintain connections with their homes, friends, and families in Ukraine, with the economic realities that necessitate pursuing work in Poland.

Chapters 4-6 shift focus onto border officials and the technical apparatuses they employ to patrol and enforce the Schengen border regime, as well as how EU policy operates to externalize many of these practices into the territory of Ukraine. This view is especially informative, as relatively few ethnographers have obtained the permission and security clearances necessary to interview border guards and administrators as they work, and Follis's descriptions underscore the importance of studying the practices of individuals charged with securing and policing the borders "on the ground." By juxtaposing how different migrant categories are created and utilized—such as the "economic migrant," who is often viewed as quasi-legal necessity to the Polish labor market, and the "asylum seeker" who is often viewed with suspicion as a potential "illegal" who is attempting to exploit the system (120)—Follis shows not only how individuals' access to human rights provisions are structured and defined, but also how border guards and immigration officials exercise judgment over who does and does not enter the EU, sometimes circumventing official EU policies for border control.

While Follis discusses the interrelationship between the EU's common internal market and migrants' access to spaces, I believe even more emphasis could be placed on the commodification of rights within the EU policy, which has typically privileged economically-oriented definitions of citizenship and human rights and has historically supported the expansion of these rights as a way to support market integration. Similarly, the provocative topics of the possible neocolonial and imperial aspects of the EU's expansion into Eastern Europe, and the reapplication of old "civilizational" hierarchies to new social contexts within the EU, both addressed in Chapter 7, might have been made more prominent at earlier points in the text.

Throughout *Building Fortress Europe*, Follis does an admirable job of navigating between the multiple levels of governance (supranational, national, regional, and local) that require attention to fully explicate the processes of rebordering within the EU, as well as the difficult task of writing an accessible ethnography that examines both the complicated technical aspects of EU governance and the lived experience of these policies. Likewise, Follis effectively attends to the complex history of the Polish-Ukrainian borderlands, which have been subject to various configurations of nations, states, empires and other political entities over the last several hundred years.

*Building Fortress Europe* represents an excellent contribution to the literature on EU governance and European border studies. As a work that is appropriate for both advanced undergraduates and graduate students it will be a useful addition to courses on a range of topics including borders, post-socialism, security and governance, human rights, and migration.