



## **EU Borders and Shifting Internal Security Technology, Externalization and Accountability by Raphael Bossong and Helena Carrapico (eds.) Heidelberg: Springer International Publishing, 2016.**

*Europe is currently undergoing its most serious refugee crisis since the Second World War. Yet, this volume has not been conceived as a direct intervention to this debate. Instead, the aim is to extend our understanding of the diversity and complexity of regular EU border and internal security policies. Just as much as we need to face up to the current refugee crises, it is necessary to assess developments that are not captured by the media and official discourse. All contributions look beyond the intentions or interests of policy-makers and foreground the partially unintended consequences or deficient control mechanisms of the evolving technological, institutional and legal structures for European internal security cooperation. The analytical emphasis on borders helps to elucidate particularly significant processes and practices in this regard. Borders highlight physical challenges as well as normative grey areas beyond the central policy-making process in Brussels.*



Borders underline three major trends in EU internal security, which are reflected in the structure of the edited volume.

The first part of the book demonstrates how security technology takes on ever greater roles in EU border management, be it through data fusion, collection of biometric information or extension of EU space policy. Duez and Bellanova, thus, show how the so-called EUROSUR system is supposed to further the surveillance of external borders, while also rhetorically contributing to the saving of lives. Drawing inspiration from Foucault and Actor-Network-Theory, their contribution investigates EUROSUR as a continuous, but always incomplete and incoherent, effort to make sense of disparate human and nonhuman elements. Next, the chapter by Kuster and Tsianos use the example of EURODAC to highlight similarly fragmented and paradoxical

effects of the digitization of European border controls. By aiming to reconstruct the one and only responsible member state per asylum application, EURODAC regulates the mobility of non-EU-citizens without a valid visa within the EU. However, the chapter contextualizes the current crisis of this regime in its prior development and at three different spots: From Athens via Iqoumenitsa to Bari and from there back and forth into European control centers. The third contribution by Frankowski and Słomczyńska discusses the EU as an emerging space power and its relation to border control. They note that the available research on that subject is primarily focused on its economic part or political bargains. Therefore, the chapter shows how empirical questions of technological capacity, image resolution and time-lag contrasts with political statements about situational awareness for EU border surveillance. In the fourth chapter Lopez-Sala and Godenau then dissect related developments in Spain. Spain has played an active role in the design of the so-called Integrated Border Management from

the beginning and experienced related shifts of migratory pressures from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Canary Islands and back to the Mediterranean, particularly Ceuta and Melilla. Thus, the chapter provides rich empirical evidence of how institutional as technological changes in national border control prepared the ground for later European trends.

The second part focuses on the ongoing externalization of security governance beyond the EU's borders. The contribution by Merheim-Eyre reviews how citizens of the Union have been increasingly seen in need of protection beyond EU, prompting respective formal and informal mechanisms for consular assistance. European visa policy, in contrast, is ever more clearly linked to aid or accession conditionality, whereby third countries implement far-reaching security and border management reforms to externalize the borders of Fortress Europe. The chapter by Yakouchyk and Schmid provides a more optimistic perspective on the intended policy transfer in border management issues from the EU to Belarus. Considering difficult relations between the EU and Belarus, this technical cooperation is one of the most successful cases of cooperation, which may also be defended on the grounds of relative consistency of EU diplomatic sanctions and the transparent use of funds. The chapter by O'Neill then analyses a different vector of security externalization, namely the extra-territorial effect of EU law. This can be seen in the bi-lateral agreements under the EU's European Neighbourhood Policy, Euro-Mediterranean policy, but also via more indirect transnational standard-setting. Thus, she introduces this form of legal analysis to the political science literature on the shifting borders of European internal security. Gruszczak concludes the second part of the volume with a discussion of so-called Police and Customs Cooperation Centres (PCCCs) that reinforce cross-border law enforcement cooperation inside Schengen, but potentially also beyond the EU. PCCs also represent the trend towards "fusion centres", which marks another erosion of boundaries between different kinds of intelligence and evidence for criminal investigations and police operations.

The third part deals with questions of accountability for EU internal security cooperation. Tacea addresses a new research agenda on the respective role of national parliaments, where she shows in the case of the 2013 Schengen reforms that – contrary to many expectations – such democratic scrutiny has only a very contingent impact for civil rights. At the same time, bureaucratic actors and their routine operations constitute the daily practice of EU border and internal security. The chapter by Koch shows how the forced returns of migrants, while formally respecting human rights standards, have in fact substantially expanded via administrative channels and with the help of international organizations. This is illustrated by the ambivalent roles of the European Commission and International Organisation of Migration, which defend the fundamental right to freedom of movements, but also provide technical assistance for returns operations beyond legal remedy. The final chapter by Jeandesboz then delves deeper into political debates over the costs, feasibility and priorities of European border control. Asking how, rather than whether, a given measure is justified shifts the discussion on EU borders and security more generally in two ways. First, he highlights the political work that mundane and proliferating policy practices such as impact assessments or feasibility studies do. Second, thinking with justification he shows the ways in which EU border control is not only about adopting the 'right' measure – the efficient, proportionate or acceptable measure – but also involves shifting the boundaries of what is considered justifiable.



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