

Book Review

Andrew Geddes (2008) *Immigration & European Integration: Beyond Fortress Europe?*

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Meng-Hsuan Chou

ARENA, University of Oslo

The second edition of *Immigration and European integration* by Andrew Geddes tackles a question central to the construction of a common European asylum and migration regime, namely, ‘how have changed border relations within and between EU member states affected understandings of and policy responses to international migration in its various forms?’ Geddes explains that the evolution of European cooperation is best seen as a process through which EU states confronted the diverse implications resulting from freer movement of persons, which remains a key objective of the market-building process that began more than fifty years ago. He argues that, whilst the move to the supranational level has indeed assisted the member states in resolving domestic conflicts and addressing issues related to growing interdependencies between them in the short- and medium-terms, the longer-term effect of European cooperation has led to policy convergence among them. Since the current work under discussion is an update, I will structure the review by identifying its new components before analysing how its contribution advances our understanding of European cooperation in these two fields and, European integration more generally.

A new analytical framework centred upon three distinct notions of ‘borders’ – territorial, organisational and conceptual – is at the heart of *Beyond Fortress Europe*. Geddes uses the concept of ‘borders’ to mean different ‘zones of interaction’ where the relationship between migrants and the societies to which they have moved is mediated. More specifically, territorial borders refer to the physical boundaries within which EU heads of state and government determine the entry and residence of non-nationals; organisational borders are defined as sites at which policy-makers decide migrants’ access to the labour market, welfare entitlement and citizenship; conceptual borders concern notions of identity, belonging and entitlement. He maintains that organising the analyses according to different configuration of ‘borders’ will help us understand how the member states could simultaneously cede regulatory competence to the European institutions, which are not under their direct control, whilst strengthening their dominance in these very fields. The ‘borders’ analytical framework departs from the new institutionalist approach used in the first edition insofar as it is not anchored in the theoretical debate between neofunctionalists and intergovernmentalists, which Geddes deems limiting to account for the complexities inherent within EU migration policy-making processes.

The book is divided into nine chapters. In the first two chapters, Geddes provides an overview of European and EU migration developments, explains the futility of using ‘immigration’ to encapsulate all forms of people movement, and presents the analytical

framework outlined above. Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 constitute a historical narrative of developments since the Rome Treaty and up to the (failed) Lisbon Treaty. Chapter 3 examines how the progressive constitutionalisation of free movement rights for workers who held the nationality of a member state did not lead to closer cooperation in external migration, but it did generate questions concerning the entry, movement and residence of migrant workers. These questions were intensely scrutinised in the immediate period prior to and after the signing of the Single European Act, which is the subject of Chapter 4. Geddes demonstrates that aspirations to transform the European Community, as the EU was then known, into an area without internal frontiers resulted in 'boundary build-up', whereby the member states reinforced the external frontiers and stepped up efforts to control migrant population perceived as a threat. He explains that these developments were results of 'intensive transgovernmentalism', which refers to the increased density of high-level activities among member state officials happening alongside a continual exclusion of the central institutions in these very matters. Chapters 5 and 6 illustrate how the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties, respectively, formalised the 'intensive transgovernmentalist' form of decision- and policy-making and contributed to the member states adopting security-driven responses to migration issues. Geddes stresses that European developments must be understood as motivated by national concerns but also that these concerns are embedded within the supranational structure of objectives and meanings.

Chapters 7 and 8 shift the analytical focus to questions concerning migrant inclusion and the impacts that the formation of an 'external dimension' have on the then accession states and countries in and beyond the European 'neighbourhood'. In Chapter 7, Geddes explains that in stark contrast to security-driven responses pervasive in European cooperation thus far migrant 'integration' efforts revealed a different set of dynamics at work. More specifically, he shows that debates concerning migrant 'integration' have widened the scope of intervention for central institutions and increased the mobilisation of (legal) expertise in policy elaboration and legitimisation. Turning to recent developments and the intensification of 'boundary shift' facilitated by the implementation of the Amsterdam Treaty, Geddes identifies the two 'phases' of exporting European asylum and migration policies to non-EU countries in the penultimate chapter. Here he finds strong evidence of policy convergence; through the mechanisms of conditionality for the new member states (phase 1) and migration 'clauses' and readmission agreements for several key sending and transit third countries (phase 2). In the final chapter, Geddes concludes that the evolution of European cooperation is a series of transformative developments through which the EU 'makes sense of itself' and 'defines its relations with the rest of the world'.

Geddes articulates his arguments lucidly and convincingly in *Immigration and European integration*. The book should be required reading for both beginning and advanced students of European integration, practitioners in the field, and those who are curious or concerned with how the perceived and anticipated changes in migratory flows inform public debates and affect political agendas, which in turn determine the timing, form and content of public policies concerning these two fields. Migration and European integration scholars should welcome the differentiation between territorial, organisational and conceptual borders because of the analytical purchase it brings to an examination of the evolving European asylum and migration cooperation. Indeed, by moving away from the central debate constructed by the intergovernmentalist-neofunctionalist divide, the 'borders' analytical framework allows for the capturing of multidimensional complexity inherent within EU decision-making and for illustrating how these decisions can then shape the contours of future developments.