

repression. These are protests, he shows, that are anchored in fields of meaning that draw on both indigenous symbolic repertoires and a more globalized language of rights and democracy.

In conclusion, Ørnulf Gulbrandsen's *The State and the Social: State Formation in Botswana and its Precolonial and Colonial Genealogies* is a very important contribution to the study of Botswana, the anthropology of southern Africa, and political anthropology. I may have preferred a bit more consistent nuance in conceptual argument at times, but find the overall argument and substantive examples to provide enduring importance which will offer much to African Studies specialists and scholars in political and legal anthropology.

Madeleine Reeves

University of Manchester

Building Fortress Europe: The Polish-Ukrainian Frontier

Karolina S. Follis (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012)

How is social life governed and human movement regulated in the name of the EU's mandate to secure freedom, justice, and security for its citizens? Karolina Follis's ethnography of European rebordering provides a compelling and devastating response. Follis shows how the Schengen agreement's logic of free movement for EU citizens coincides with harsh and often arbitrary forms of exclusion along the Union's external borders, drawing on ethnography in several sites where a border is being (re-)institutionalized along the Polish-Ukrainian frontier (in Warsaw offices, in 'capacity building' seminars, in detention camps and on border patrol).

More significantly, Follis shows how the practical and institutional logics of the Schengen agreement unfold "faster than, and to a large extent independent from, the political debate about constitutional treaties, the future of Europe and the role and place of immigrants within it" (p. 16). It is these logics, for instance, which consign large numbers of Ukrainian seasonal workers to a condition of legal precariousness and spatio-temporal uncertainty (obliged to leave the country after three months of work or risk administrative violation), and which ascribe to a majority of asylum seekers deemed not to qualify for refugee status under the Geneva Conventions the institutionalized invisibility of 'tolerated stay': un-deported but unable legitimately to look for work (p. 130).

To interrogate this dialectic, Follis conducts ethnography "on an awkward scale" (p. 18). This approach means that she jumps site and scale between chapters, and there is little connection between the characters we meet in one chapter and those who figure in the next. Nonetheless, this approach allows Follis to question the conceit that bordering occurs only at the territorial limits of the nation-state. After setting the scene in opening chapters, Follis explores how this social and institutional

work occurs. She begins with the experiences of female Ukrainian migrant workers in Poland. Between 1991 and 2004, the Ukrainian-Polish border was more open than it had been at any time in the post-war period, and border crossings increased tenfold. Competing nationalisms “ebbed into the background” as a new narrative of commonality and the pragmatic need for cheap labor on the one hand, and migrant remittances on the other, gave both states incentives to institute visa-free travel between them (p. 50). This changed after 2004, when, upon adopting the Schengen agreement, Poland instituted a visa regime with Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. Such mobility regulation did little to stem the flow of people looking for work, but it meant that Ukrainian workers were in an increasingly precarious situation, able to work for only limited periods before having to leave the country again to apply for a new visa (p. 64–66).

In the fourth and fifth chapters, Follis moves from the experience of Ukrainian women in the Polish labor market to the fraught work of manning the Polish-Ukrainian border. Policing Poland’s eastern border in a manner consonant with Schengen policy is not simply a technocratic process of upgrading laws and state service, but as Follis notes, “an inherent part of the complex cultural and technological shift of rebordering” (p. 92). At stake here are the questions of who should be granted asylum, whose presence should be quietly ‘tolerated’ without the accordance of refugee status, and who should be deported. Such decisions are politically fraught because many requesting asylum are Chechens from the Russian Federation (and hence Russian citizens). In this situation, should Russia be acknowledged as a country from which Chechens might legitimately wish to flee persecution?

In these chapters Follis deftly unpacks this social work of discrimination by examining institutions rarely subject to ethnographic enquiry. Chapter 4 follows Polish border guards on patrol as they use sophisticated EU-funded equipment to track down perceived illegals. The guards want their Ukrainian counterparts to apprehend the prospective border-crossers so that they become Ukraine’s problem rather than Poland’s. Chapter 5 explores the political work of granting and denying asylum, through a detailed ethnography of the Warsaw Aliens’ Bureau. In both cases, what emerge are the situated discriminations that fall to office workers and border guards alike to determine whose entry is legitimate.

Such logics unfold, precisely *not* through deliberate malfeasance of individual officials. Indeed, what emerges, with rich ethnographic detail, are the human faces of those charged with enforcing migration and asylum policies. Structural violence occurs, rather, through the tensions that emerge between national and supranational modes of governing territory and population (p. 20). Practically, this means that the Ukraine has become enrolled in the process of apprehending and detaining prospective illegal immigrants. As Follis argues brilliantly in chapter 6, which explores the architecture of this emergent border regime in Ukrainian-run but EU-resourced detention centers, the EU “[has] conditioned its promises of easing the visa requirement for Ukrainians on their willingness to, in effect, become a holder of the unwanted” (p. 162).

Follis has crafted a masterly work, which deserves to be widely read by scholars of citizenship, migration, and borders, as well as by political and legal anthropologists interested in understanding contemporary mutations in state and sovereignty. With feet in both anthropology and political theory, *Building Fortress Europe* demonstrates the capacity of ethnography to intervene in contemporary politico-legal debates, by revealing the multiple situated discriminations that fall to those charged with policing and protecting the new EU. At the same time, the book highlights the tendency for well-intentioned principles to be subordinated to the pragmatism of best practice and migration management as well as the ambiguous imperatives of national security. Some readers may find that they crave a little more ethnography, particularly in Chapter 7, which expands back out from the work of rebordering, to the contexts of research. Nonetheless, this is a highly readable work, and Follis's conceptual framework, while carefully elaborated, is never heavy or imposing. As a prompt to unsettle how scholars think about when, where, and by whom Europe's borders get made, this text deserves to be widely taken up in advanced undergraduate courses. I hope that it will also become compulsory reading for EU officials charged with determining the institutional architecture of an expanding Europe, and a provocation to reflect on whom this rebordering excludes.

Peter Benson

Washington University in St. Louis

Balkan Smoke: Tobacco and the Making of Modern Bulgaria

Mary C. Neuburger (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012)

Balkan Smoke is a remarkable achievement. Mary Neuburger succeeds in presenting a valuable historical assessment of tobacco's rootedness and spread in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union at the same time as she provides a nuanced perspective on the wider politics of health, consumption, and state regulation during socialism and in the post-socialist period. The specific focus of the book is the tobacco trade in Bulgaria, which has been a main source of tobacco leaf and tobacco products for decades in the Soviet Union, home to a large-scale state tobacco monopoly. Bulgaria was once the world's leading cigarette exporter. By telling this story and looking in nuanced ways at politics and culture, this book adds greatly to our knowledge of tobacco's history.

The reader learns many vivid things about the history of tobacco in Bulgaria and what this lens illuminates when it comes to understanding life under the Soviet Union. Neuburger shows how producer and consumer histories overlap, tracing how the rise of tobacco agriculture and production in Bulgaria in the nineteenth century was linked to the growth of local and global consumer markets, including across segments of Ottoman and post-Ottoman Bulgarian society. The book probingly analyzes key contradictions of health and politics in the last century, while looking