

innovative sources and perspectives to reach his conclusion that the 'good cop, bad cop' double act of the EU and the US has been effective to some extent, but has also given proliferators an opportunity to exploit transatlantic divisions (p. 152). This leads into a discussion of homeland security cooperation, which highlights the book's main theme, namely that the EU and the US are largely in concert regarding policy objectives but frequently differ on the means by which they are to be achieved.

Rees's book sits well with recent writings on the EU, which tend to start from the assumption that the European Union is a partial political system, where institutions shape and guide intergovernmental bargains. The main shortfall in this well-written and well-researched book is a lack of emphasis on real-world outcomes. There is no chapter on the operational level, that is, the Common Security and Defence Policy missions around the world. I mention this because I suspect that there are a number of EU military missions that would—in the manner that they were carried out—go some way towards confirming Rees's hypothesis that the EU has so far been unable to fill effectively the vacuum left by the creeping US withdrawal from European security. These minor criticisms apart, this is an excellent book, which will make a beneficial addition to European studies curriculums at both undergraduate and graduate levels.

Asle Toje, University of Oslo, Norway

Cultures of border control: Schengen and the evolution of European frontiers. By **Ruben Zaiotti**. Chicago, IL, and London: University of Chicago Press. 2011. 280pp. Index. £58.00. ISBN 978 0 22697 786 7.

Immigration and conflict in Europe. By **Rafaela M. Dancygier**. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2010. 368pp. Index. Pb.: £17.99. ISBN 978 0 52115 023 1.

Border control and conflicts over migration are key contemporary issues. The inflow of immigrants from Libya, Tunisia and Egypt earlier this year, the France–Italy spat and Denmark's intent to re-establish border controls as well as the flaring up of right-wing populist sentiments in Europe are cases in point. The two books under review are thus very timely and their insights have been clearly missed in informing current debates. Both offer theoretically derived explanations: Ruben Zaiotti traces how collective European border control developed and Rafaela Dancygier addresses what causes immigrant conflict. Each book also challenges common assumptions and opens up new avenues for future research. Zaiotti takes on the intergovernmental reading of the development of Schengen and, instead, offers a cultural evolutionary framework that highlights how background assumptions and practices of border control changed via mechanisms of variation and selection. Dancygier, on the other hand, refutes the argument that ethnicity, religion or culture cause conflict, and instead outlines how the interplay of local economic scarcity and immigrants' electoral power determines conflict. While common in some ways, the theoretical and methodological accounts show a stark contrast: Zaiotti uses a constructivist, cultural and pragmatist account, whereas Dancygier uses explanations from the toolbox of political economy and behaviouralism.

In *Cultures of border control*, Zaiotti explains how national border controls among participating states were abolished, allowing the free movement of people across borders as stipulated by the Schengen agreement, signed in 1985. However, since then the process towards its implementation has been marked by fluctuating support and political will among the signatories, as assumptions and practices of border control began to shift and evolve. For France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, the Schengen regime has

been in effect since 1995. Its success shows in the inclusion of 18 additional members and the transition to the European Union with the Treaty of Maastricht, resulting in external borders now being 'de facto European borders, since their management is shared among EU governments and coordinated by an EU agency' (p. 219). The theoretical explanation suggests that the culture of national border control in the European governance systems was settled and uncontested, and only came under pressure when alternative governance systems and cultures were offered. This happened in the 1980s and 1990s when the idea of a European frontier instead of national borders offered a solution to collective problems that could not be satisfactorily tackled by one member state alone, such as migration and organized cross-border crime. Given that the alternative (a collective frontier) offered better performance for member states, the underpinning ideas, background assumptions and practices were institutionalized (in a process Zaiotti calls anchoring), which finally led to retention and acceptance of the new governance system and culture. Judging from a contemporary perspective, the aim of re-establishing border controls by Denmark in May 2011 challenged the 'Schengen culture', but the pressure not to do so by the other participants affirmed its prevalence.

Dancygier's *Immigration and conflict in Europe* covers new ground in offering a parsimonious explanation of sustained and often violent conflict involving immigrants. Two main variables, local economic scarcity and electoral power of immigrants, can lead to two different stages of conflict: conflict between immigrants and natives or conflict between immigrants and the state. In contrast to explanations based on ethnicity, culture or religion, Dancygier's research findings show that conflict only occurs if immigrants and 'natives' compete for scarce resources at the local level. The higher the immigrant population, the more strain is on resources such as housing or state-provided accommodation, employment, education and social welfare. Second, she shows that if immigrants have no electoral power to make their voice heard, immigrant-state conflict occurs. On the other hand, if a locally dense immigrant population gains political power via the election of their own representatives or by gaining support from one party, the indigenous population often aims to fight back against the redistribution of scarce resources towards immigrants, leading to immigrant-native conflict. In compiling a vast amount of statistical information on immigrants, researching archival holdings about conflict in two London boroughs and two Midland cities as well as newspaper articles and expert interviews, this book compresses an enormous amount of information covering the period from 1950 to 2008. It is placed in the rational, political economy and methodologically 'positivist' research tradition, employing a range of qualitative and quantitative methods and meticulously establishing linkages at the local level to connect to the nationwide phenomenon of immigrant conflict in Great Britain. However, to increase reliability it goes further, discussing the case of Germany in one chapter and the remaining European countries in another concluding chapter. Given the density of the information presented, but aggregating it with only two main variables, a discussion of the limitations is missing. For example, only conflicts that appeared in the British newspapers *The Times* or the *Guardian* are counted as instances of large-scale violence, leaving one wondering if the results would be different if the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Sun* had been used.

Both books make an important contribution to their field and internal security more generally that is too often neglected by scholars of International Relations and comparative politics. Each author offers a clear line of argument and systematically adds knowledge towards, respectively, a theory of border control and immigrant conflict in Europe. And each pushes back the research frontier and opens multiple avenues for future research. For research inspired by Zaiotti this might well include exploring the implications of the 'Schengen culture' for the wider European enterprise and European security in detail. On

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the other hand, immigrant conflict is not confined to Europe, but is also an important topic in the United States or the oil-rich Middle Eastern countries with high immigrant populations.

Neither account can be done justice in a brief review. The purchase of and engagement with each of the books will be a highly rewarding and intellectually stimulating experience and will reveal to the reader the enthusiasm and dedication with which both authors have researched and presented their topic. Both books are a must-read, ideally in conjunction, for political scientists, historians or sociologists working on border control, internal security, immigration or causes of conflict, and are equally recommended to policy-makers and politicians.

Hubertus Jürgenliemk, University of Cambridge, UK

Les diplomates: derrière la façade des ambassades de France. By Franck Renaud. Paris: Nouveau Monde Editions. 2010. 394pp. Index. €21.00. ISBN 978 2 84736 518 4. [The diplomats: behind the facade of France's embassies.]

At the beginning of 2009, France, with its 160 bilateral embassies and about 16,000 full-time foreign ministry employees, had the world's second-largest diplomatic network, after the United States, which had 165 bilateral embassies. Franck Renaud's close look at the French diplomatic service blends serious research with many interesting, amusing and unpleasant stories, usually footnoted, although frequently only described as confidential interviews. The author covers in eight chapters the main activities and challenges facing French diplomats, sprinkling them occasionally with stories of diplomatic slip-ups.

Les diplomates was published just before Michèle Alliot-Marie became briefly the first ever female foreign minister of France, though the author's critical gender research of the ministry is still valid—France never had a female ambassador in the United Kingdom, Germany, Spain, Italy, Russia, the United States, Japan, India or China, although the number of female ambassadors increased from one in 1972 to about 20 in 2009. The author describes precisely and dispassionately the unusual case of Salome Zourabichvili, the French ambassador to Georgia who changed sides to become the host country's foreign minister, but he does not analyse potential security implications, or the general security awareness of the French diplomatic community and their democratically elected masters and supervisors. This lack of awareness is particularly evident in the chapter on intelligence- and security-related diplomatic challenges. Renaud is very good as a watcher of the careers and activities of the heads of the French civilian intelligence service DGSE, but is more complimentary about their less politicized military counterparts. The sub-chapter dedicated to French diplomacy in China would probably merit another book in itself, and should worry foreign policy managers, task masters and observers in Paris.

Eleven pages devoted to paedophile diplomats present the most troubling part of the book and, if the author is right, the most shocking aspect is that the problem is swept under the thick carpet of political and personal excuses.

The French global cultural campaign is covered selectively—Renaud ignores the French cultural campaign in the developed countries—but his description of the 'competition' between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Economy, Industry and Employment, although short, is to the point. The privatization, known in French administrative jargon as 'externalization' of the visa services and its implementation in China, is a perfect example of how things should not be done, and could be a timely warning to any foreign ministry contemplating such a move.