

background in the interview situation. As any interviewer knows, however thick respondents' narratives are, they can also be incomplete and 'adapted' to the prevailing interpretive framework.

The final chapter looks at in-depth interviews from a different angle: the skills acquired as migrant workers. In the particular case of post-accession Polish movers, market demand was higher for jobs at the low end of the service sector in which, apparently, 'serving skills' are trained and appreciated. Such skills, Grabowska holds, nurture the practice of reflexivity through the monitoring of clients' emotions and interaction dynamics. Post-Fordist employment matches with the migration experience to raise 'awareness of one's self and others in the context of opportunities and constraints', endowing migrants with 'the skill of being mobile both mentally and physically' (pages 192 and 194). While suggestive, these conclusions are again not entirely warranted by the data at hand and could well be challenged in causal terms. It is indeed the same author who oscillates between considering 'reflexivity' sometimes a pre-requirement of migrant selectivity and sometimes an effect of the migration experience. Perhaps future research may seek to disentangle this dilemma with an appropriate (panel-like) research design.

The book suffers from some language imperfections and would have benefitted from more thorough editing. Moreover, it is made heavier by redundancies in discussing well-established concepts ('social structure', 'social mobility', 'career') that would be more appropriate in a PhD thesis or a handbook than in a research monograph. Literature reviews are also extremely detailed but perhaps occupy too large a space in the volume, taking centre stage where they should only form the backdrop to the original analyses. Overall, however, these are minor shortcomings that do not diminish the originality of this work, which launches a bridge between migration and social mobility research – two thriving domains of sociology from which there are surprisingly few examples of cross-fertilisation. *Movers and Stayers* poses an important question – what is the contribution of migrants to home and host societies' social

mobility? – with original materials and sensitivity. The answers may be partial and still tentative, but should not be neglected in future studies on this topic.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> 'Goldthorpe class scheme', in: *A Dictionary of Sociology*. Retrieved May 28, 2017 from Encyclopedia.com: <http://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/goldthorpe-class-scheme>.

**Michał P. Garapich (2016). *London's Polish Borders. Transnationalizing Class and Ethnicity Among Polish Migrants in London*. Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, pp. 343.**

This long-awaited book is a recent addition to the considerable volume of important research on post-enlargement Polish migration in the UK. Originally guided by a methodological nationalism paradigm, Garapich's study on Poles in London approaches the topic of migration and ethnic identity from a different perspective. In contrast to other works within this field, which prefer to study sameness and uniqueness, the author focuses on class and intra-ethnic divisions within migrants' boundaries, deploying other important concepts from related disciplines, such as 'imagined community' and discourse. But what makes this book even more special is its examination both of how Poles makes sense of the super-diverse locality of a global city with its own complex ethnic relationships, and of how they use, perform, thrive in, but also sometimes struggle with, transnational living. By the same token, a vigorous ethnographic methodology, rich sites of data collections, a thorough examination of multi-genre data (i.e., qualitative interviews and focus groups coupled with field notes from participant observations), as well as a richness of examples from the field to illustrate the author's point, all turn this book into a fine example

of a distinguished research monograph. The author chooses to collate and to blend data harvested from several of his ethnographic projects, including his original PhD thesis, spanning roughly the first decade of Polish EU membership between 2003 and 2013.

Thematically, the book is organised in eight chapters, and a preface, which sets the scene not only for Poles in London but also of the multicultural politics of the city. It draws on a range of settings, both institutional and formal (Westminster, Polish cultural centres) and informal (workplaces, homeless shelters). The author analyses the top-down hegemonic discourse of ethnic and national identity and its convergence with meta-narratives of Polish migratory ways, including those that are politically motivated. In addition, however, the volume brings together a multitude of bottom-up voices of migrants coming from diverse socio-spatial settings (*chłoporobotnicy, blokowiska*). Mobility is discussed as a strategy to cope with the social, economic and political changes of the Polish post-communist transformation, but also as a transnational way of life in the enlarged European Union. What brings these two types of discourse together is a notion of class and in-group power play within a migratory context.

Thus, in Chapter 1, Garapich presents relevant sociological and anthropological concepts, and their application to his ethnographic material. He writes: ‘My theoretical position followed here is based on a classical notion of an anthropological enquiry as a search for the meaning of people’s actions, practices, discursive performances, and agency’ (p. 21). Such meaning can only be understood in a certain time and place. Therefore, the complex historical discourse of Polish migration and its present manifestation is not only shaped by a notion of ethnicity and class, but also contextualised in globalisation and transnational modernity. As the historical roots of Polish settlement in the UK cannot be marginalised in a discussion about present-day Polish Londoners, the continuity of consecutive waves of Polish migrants, seen through a lens of class, moral obligation and political responsibility, is scrutinised and challenged in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 connects the topic of post-Second

World War groups with present migrants, focusing on the early 1990s and the process of EU enlargement. The chapter describes how both processes influenced and shaped development of the ethnic community. The following chapters (4, 5 and 6) are devoted to a detailed examination of the everyday practices of post-enlargement migrants in a transnational social field; here individuals and their agency become a core topic of this study. Next, in-group power play, competitive discourses of hierarchy and moral rights of representation, together with internal forces of group-making, are explored in Chapter 7. Finally Garapich once more shifts his interest from the group to the individual in Chapter 8. Here, the reader learns that ‘the major conclusion of this book is that from the perspective of social actors, this transnational reflexivity through physical and mental manoeuvring across borders and the complex reconstructions of social class and ethnicity combine ways of being and ways of belonging, which paradoxically reproduce national borders’ (p. 318).

I am particularly interested in how this conclusion raises the question of individual migrants’ subjectivity and agency, as well as their ability and power in the context of (social) change making (Grabowska, Garapich, Jaźwińska and Radziwinowiczówna 2016). As Garapich argues, there is a duality of potential in transnational social fields. First, they can be seen as an arena that provides an opportunity for an individual to take action, which weakens the influence of the nation-state. Second, on the other hand, the nation-state has the ability to fire back with a dominant nationalistic discourse that penetrates both ‘leaver’ and ‘stayer’ groups. This kind of discourse influences the competing narratives about post-enlargement migration that are produced and circulated within public as well as private and semi-private spheres, both at home and abroad (see also Galasinska and Horolets 2012). The complex interdependence of these forces creates tensions between the dominant narratives and their everyday practices, and this book elegantly depicts how people negotiate, challenge and indeed succeed in easing these tensions.

The diversity of topics considered by the author in this book, as well as the broad range of rich ethnographic data, make the volume a good point of reference for academics and students interested in a specific case study of post-enlargement Polish migration. But this diversity, while a clear strength of the book, is also its shortcoming. At times the text drifts between historical underpinnings of the recent wave of Polish Londoners evaluated by the author and his take on the present-day practices of migrants; between the lens of the group and that of the individual; between the local and the transnational; between the macro and the micro. Having offered this minor critique, I do wonder whether a more robust and clear thematic cohesion is possible when one is trying to depict the complexity of the field. However, I would definitely welcome a more focused methodological approach in the application of terms such as ‘discourse’ and ‘narrative’, which at times are taken for granted by Garapich. Indeed, while investigating developments of the discursive construction of ethnicity and identity within the migratory context, researchers do pay particular attention to political processes influencing and shaping the discourses under investigation and see discourse *inter alia* as ‘integrating various different positions and voices’ (Wodak 2009: 39). Such positioning should be acknowledged and discussed further by the author. Regrettably, this interesting volume is pitted with editorial and technical errors which are quite irritating and spoil its enjoyment.

Overall, I recommend the book as an important and informative contribution to the current debates on both Polish migration and transnationalism, where issues of class and ethnicity within the migratory context of a global city are explored in interesting and intellectually stimulating ways.

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- Informal Trade, Gender and the Border Experience*  
provides a significant contribution to the existing the-  
oretical, methodological and empirical literature on  
trade and border studies with a post-positivist ap-  
proach.
- Professor Sasunkevich states that economic glob-  
alisation has advanced rapidly over the past three  
decades, albeit with a slowdown following the global  
economic crisis. Trade and foreign direct investment  
flows increased from 17 per cent and 0.9 per cent of  
global GDP respectively in 1990 to 28 per cent and  
3.2 per cent in 2016, while cross-border movements  
of people have also been on the rise, with about one  
in ten people now living in OECD countries born  
abroad. These developments have facilitated produc-  
tivity gains and global economic growth, the integra-  
tion of emerging economies into global markets and  
the lifting out of poverty of hundreds of millions of  
people, while also bringing important non-economic  
gains including increased linkages between our soci-  
eties and better knowledge of other cultures (p. 24).
- Globalisation has also been a vector for the dis-  
semination of technological advances, in particular  
digitalisation, which in many cases have been trans-  
formative. Digitalisation vastly reduces the transaction  
costs of communicating and coordinating globally, en-  
abling fragmented production processes that take ad-  
vantage of expertise and comparative advantages that  
exist globally. It can also improve access to health