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cent Crapanzano, Linda Dégh, Alan Dundes, Erving Goffman, Dell Hymes, and Victor Turner. This influence may mask some of the organic "Nordic Frontiers" one expects, and desires, given the title itself.

***Ethnicity in Eastern Europe: Questions of Migration, Language Rights & Education.* SUE WRIGHT, ed. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1994. 98 pp., tables, references.**

KAREN-SUE TAUSSIG
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This collection, also published as volume 1, number 1, of the journal *Current Issues in Language and Society*, intends to provide an "opportunity for linguists and scholars from other disciplines to meet and open up the sociolinguistic agenda so that it is truly the point where the study of language and the study of society meet" (p. 3). The volume contains an introduction and four essays that originated as papers for colloquia focusing on Central and Eastern Europe in March 1993 and January 1994. The papers provide a valuable resource for scholars interested in statistics and policy on ethnic minorities and languages in Central and Eastern Europe but yield less insight into the multiple meanings attached to language and its use in everyday life than might either a more reflexive or more ethnographically oriented sociolinguistics.

In the first essay, Oleg Shamshur, a Ukrainian political scientist and first secretary of the Ukrainian Permanent Mission to the United Nations, examines interactions among different ethnic groups in the newly emergent countries of the former Soviet Union and considers the factors that might affect migration decisions. Shamshur locates interethnic tensions operating in the successor states in a backlash against the linguistic and cultural domination of the Russian/Slavic inhabitants in "non-Slavic ethno-territorial entities of the former USSR" (p. 15).

Shamshur coauthors the collection's second essay with Tetiana Izhevskaya, a language specialist and presently a member of the Ukrainian mission to the United Nations. The paper provides a dry review of language policy and education in the Ukraine. The authors emphasize the decline of Ukrainian, the language of the majority, during the Soviet period and elaborate current moves to promote Ukrainian through policy and education while protecting the rights of ethnic and linguistic minorities within the Ukraine.

The third essay, by Hungarian linguist György Szépe, pays particular attention to Hungary in asserting the need to accommodate "linguistically diverse populations . . . within a democratic framework" (p. 41). Szépe distinguishes between political nations and cultural nations or language communities, arguing that while Hungary is a nation-state it is also "the homeland of a cultural nation . . . of Hungarian-speaking people all over the world which it has some right to represent" (p. 45).

In the final essay Zsófia Radnai, a Hungarian professor of foreign languages, rather improbably discusses Hungarian as a "language of Diaspora" (p. 65)—a language not only of Hungary but also of

national minorities in countries surrounding Hungary and of ethnic minority groups in Western Europe, the United States, and Australia. More interesting, perhaps, than Radnai's overbroad understanding of diaspora languages is the question of what social, political, and economic processes have led Hungarian scholars writing about education and language policy in Hungary to such a conceptualization at this particular historical moment.

The essays highlight the role of language in the formation of national and ethnic identities primarily as it pertains to producing distinctions between the former Soviet Union and the newly developing nation-states of Central and Eastern Europe. The collection contains information valuable for those with already well-developed interests in this region or in sociolinguistics. Ultimately, however, this volume's narrow focus and lack of attention to the role of language in daily practice—a focus that reifies society rather than conceptualizing it as something produced and reproduced by people living everyday life—prevents the realization of the broader goal of connecting the study of language with the study of society.

***The Power of Symbols against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland.* JAN KUBIK. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994. xiv + 322 pp., illustrations.**

JANINE R. WEDEL
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The humble, younger, and much thinner Lech Walesa of 15 years ago who appears on the cover of Jan Kubik's book harks back to an era that, from today's perspective, seems far more bygone than it is in actual years. When Walesa posed for his first official portrait after the end of the strike in the Lenin shipyard of Gdansk, which led to the legalization of Solidarity in 1980, he chose to stand under a cross. A conspicuous symbol of the strike, the cross later became a symbol of Solidarity's defiance of the Communist regime and a metaphor for national martyrdom.

To an observer of Poland, much is familiar about Kubik's story: the Roman Catholic Church pitted against the Communist Party-state; the party-state's "propaganda of success" of the 1970s juxtaposed with price increases followed by workers' strikes; and the socialist and Catholic undertones of the Solidarity movement. But Kubik goes deeper.

Looking at the political through the symbolic, Kubik tells the story of Poland's recent political history. He examines the symbolic and discursive polarization between the party-state on the one hand and the church and the organized opposition on the other as this was reflected in public ceremonies, speeches, and demonstrations. He shows us the symbolic aspects that shaped nearly all public events—from May Day celebrations to the unveiling of historical monuments. Following an abundance of dry tomes on Solidarity and Polish resistance (supplied primarily by political scientists) in which

the analysis of culture was typically neglected, Kubik's insightful book comes as a breath of fresh air.

The book's most serious flaw is that it fails to appreciate sufficiently the importance of the social organizational and relational aspects of Polish politics. And yet the story that Kubik sets out to tell can hardly be told only in terms of symbols and discourse. From many years of extensive research in this field, I am aware that a major part of the story of power, opposition, and Solidarity is a story of relationships.

To Kubik's credit, he suggests that Solidarity forged "a new cultural-political class" (p. 238) and that the "organization of oppositional networks" (p. 241) was "one of the main reasons of Solidarity's success" (p. 241). Although these points are not developed in the book, Kubik's instincts are correct. Unfortunately, however, there is a "cognitive disconnect" because these passages contradict what Kubik has to say on the subject elsewhere in the book, where he invokes the "social vacuum" theory developed by an eminent Polish sociologist, the late Stefan Nowak. Nowak's theory conceives of post-war Poland as an "atomized" society: family endures in harsh dichotomy to the state; an overgrown public sphere presses heavily against the private.

If Nowak were right, however, how did Solidarity, which grew to encompass one-third of the labor force, arise, given such a vast social vacuum? The Nowak model overlooks the fact that Polish society has long been organized by a complex system of informal relationships. In fact, institutions and groups were "integrated" far more extensively than the official and romantic ideologies and discourse of the party, the church, and the opposition conceded. Thus, although absolutely critical to understanding Polish politics, the "symbolic war" between party-state, church, and opposition breaks down and even misleads when it extends beyond the realm of cultural anthropology into that of social anthropology. For an important part of the story of Polish politics is of "entangled affiliations": for example, despite the "symbolic war" between the party-state and the opposition, roughly one-third of Poland's Communist Party members joined Solidarity during its legal period. I observed party members participating in church activities, not to mention securing the release of colleagues interned for Solidarity underground activities under martial law in 1982.

Further, although Kubik grapples with much of the relevant literature, in places one gets the impression that some of the "theoretical" literature is cited for purposes of impressing colleagues in political science. This clutters the manuscript.

Despite these shortcomings, Kubik has made a valuable contribution to the cultural anthropology of Poland. I highly recommend the book for use in social science courses on Eastern Europe, as well as courses in the anthropology of language, and in cultural and symbolic anthropology.

***Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe.* YASEMIN NUHOGLU SOYSAL. Chicago: University of Chicago**

Press, 1994. xi + 244 pp., tables, notes, bibliography, appendix, index.

DAVID I. KERTZER
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Problems associated with the incorporation of immigrants into Western European societies have recently drawn a great deal of attention from both scholars and politicians. *Limits of Citizenship* is a stimulating book by a sociologist who argues against the prevailing view that the behavior of immigrants in adapting to their new environment is attributable either to cultural characteristics they bring with them or to the economic conditions they encounter in the receiving society.

Soysal argues that what determines the ways in which immigrants participate in the host society consists above all in the institutional arrangements developed in that society for dealing with immigrants. Focusing on Germany, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, she distinguishes among those countries that have centralized systems for dealing with migrants and those that do not. She also distinguishes between those that treat immigrants as individuals and those that treat them as groups, the latter implying some kind of system of immigrant organizations seen by the powers-that-be to represent their ethnic constituency and hence reinforcing ethnic divisions. Employing materials on Turkish immigrants during the period 1989-91, she looks at each of these countries to examine the nature of the adjustment made by the immigrants.

Yet even more notable than the differences among European countries in how immigrants are incorporated is what Soysal finds to be common to all of them. Following the theoretical perspective developed by sociologist John Meyer, who points to the spread of international norms regarding what states should properly do and what rights people are to have, Soysal argues that there is a worldwide convergence taking place in concepts of citizenship. In the new view, which she labels "postnational," an individual's rights do not flow from citizenship; rather, they are thought to be based on universal rights accorded to them as persons. Individuals and groups, by extension, can now make claims not only to various "human rights" but to new "cultural rights" as well. The latter are evident in the controversy over the right of children to wear head coverings in school in France. The former are painfully evident today in the battles over migration in California (not discussed in this book), with their debates over "human" rights to public schooling and health care. Countries face strong international pressures to accord immigrants rights that were previously reserved for citizens; these pressures are embodied in a developing corpus of international statements on human rights.

The author's zest for using Weberian-style categorization schemes is likely to make many anthropologists uneasy, and the book's cataloging, country by country, of national policies and bureaucracies for dealing with immigrants can become tedious. Moreover, the range of behavior of interest to Soysal—confined largely to governmental policy