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Moya, Jose C. *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1998. Pages, 567. Illustrations, maps, bibliography.

Jose Moya presents Spaniards of Buenos Aires as those who were not "other" enough, the "invisible" immigrants who represented the "charter group", the bestowers of the original culture, the "cousins" of the Argentine, but also the "uncultured" new arrivals, the "strangers" in a land that until 1810 had been part of the Spanish Empire. Focusing on the connection between structure and individual agency, the analytical framework Moya proposes is macro-micro and dialectical. The author examines how the interaction between macrostructural forces and microsocial networks shaped emigration and adaptation patterns.

The first chapters are focused on the macrostructural aspects of emigration. They examine the larger context within which the individual decisions were taken by potential Spanish emigrants, and analyze the forces that made Spain a country of emigration and helped to turn Argentina into a country of immigrants.

In the third chapter Moya shifts the focus from macrostructural approach to the microsocial mechanisms of migration and examines how the interaction of the two created a particular emigration pattern. The most original and illuminating idea of this chapter — and maybe of the whole book — is Moya's attempt to trace the social networks back to the pre-independent period. By presenting "the dormant chain" phenomenon, the author argues that the transoceanic microsocial networks could survive prolonged periods when macrostructural conditions obstructed emigration and direct contact. During this time the chain became less active and carried occasional information or simply preserved family memories; but once the general situation became less adverse, it reactivated itself and began to convey larger flows of information, assistance, and people.

In the three following chapters the author studies the adaptation patterns of Spanish immigrants. In this part of the book Moya devotes a great deal of his effort to discuss with classical approaches to the problem of ethnic residential patterns and urban ecology. By examining the residential choices of Spanish immigrants, the author also tries to prove that the findings of the Chicago school's model and the class-blind concept of chain migration prove ineffective to analyze the evolution of Buenos Aires' social ecology and the formation of Spanish neighborhoods. Moya uses both the Chicago model and the chain migration concept as theoretical possibilities of integrating urban ecology, immigrant networks, social class, and ethnic culture in the study of the dialectic between Spanish settlements and the evolution of the urban ecology of the Argentine capital city. According to Moya, individual agency played as an import-

ant role as impersonal and external forces (labor and housing market, transportation systems, etc.) did in the adjustment of Spaniards to the new urban environment.

One of the last chapters is devoted to the examination of the formation and function of community organizations along with other sources of contention in the community such as class, regionalism, and conflict ideologies. Here the author intends to prove the existence of a Spanish national identity that went beyond regional identifications (Galicians, Basques, Catalans). Regional loyalties are presented as the concern of the community leaders who failed to transcend the confines of a small intellectual elite. Moya argues that a resistant and durable Pan-Hispanic nationalism anteceded regionalism in the organized community. Notwithstanding, his conclusions are drawn a bit too broadly. For example, when he asserts that Spanish immigrants who arrived in Buenos Aires carried in their cultural baggage — a concept that is uncertain — a weak but prior sense of nationality that helped develop Spanishness beyond regional identities. (304)

In the final part of the book the author shifts the focus from adaptation to an intellectual history of the continuities and changes in the attitudes of Argentine society toward the Spaniards, and in the Spaniards' responses. Employing the same macro-micro framework, Moya intends to shed light on the dual collective personality of Spanish immigrants in Argentina: foreigners and relatives, cousins and strangers.

In a sharp comment on the privileged place the micro approach occupies in part of the Italian contemporary historiography, Jacques Revel has wondered whether historians should cling to a single scale (micro) to elucidate past realities. Instead he has proposed a "jeux d'echelles", an approach that uses both alternatives, the micro and the macro, and that examines the problem in a double perspective, narrowing and opening the lens to view the historical scenes. Moya's book also proposes an interplay of macro and micro forces. Nonetheless, most of the problems are elucidated in the micro approach and in individual agency. Even when his finely detailed analysis of the data is convincing, one wonders how his conclusions would have been viewed in the broader context of the aggregate data. That said, however, Moya's work makes an important contribution to the fields of ethnicity and immigration.

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