

issues associated with colonialism, identity construction, knowledge and power, language, hybridity, complicity, and the interrelatedness inherent among them. *White Love* is also highly successful in showing the usefulness and value of adopting an interdisciplinary approach in redefining and reconfiguring the historical terrain. However, despite these inroads, there is room for improvement. For one, the validity and strength of the author's major thesis fails to be sustained throughout all of the chapters. Second and more importantly, the book falls short of establishing a firm epistemological foundation upon which to ground many of its conclusions. And without this, the text, exhibiting the ambivalence to which it refers so much, finds itself occupying a tenuous position between academic scholarship and popular reading.

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Songs of the Caged, Songs of the Free: Music and the Vietnamese Refugee Experience.

By ADELAIDA REYES. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999. xix, 218 pp. \$61.50 (cloth); \$21.95 (paper).

Immigrant and transplanted musics have been a topic of interest in American ethnomusicology for some time. As the population make-up of the United States became ethnically more diverse with the influx of people from all over the world in the period after World War II and continuing on in the post-Cold War era, ethnomusicologists discovered they need not look farther than their own communities to study music cultures that previously would have necessitated traveling to remote parts of the globe for fieldwork. Instead, they could do fieldwork "at home." The development spurred by the changing human demographics has lent credence to urban ethnomusicology—the focused study of music cultures in highly cosmopolitan cities like New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, where immigrants to the U.S. tend to congregate—which Adelaida Reyes pioneered and helped promote.

Unlike studies of immigrant music in the United States that examine the musical life of settled minority populations, Reyes's monograph looks at music in transit as it travels with Vietnamese refugees on their way to and during the process of resettlement and adaptation in the U.S. after having fled South Vietnam following its take-over by the communist North in 1975. In doing so, she puts the condition of forced migration squarely on the ethnomusicological map as an important factor to be considered in the study of migrant musics. Previous studies, including a group research project Reyes participated in and which reportedly led her to rethink and modify her theoretical framework and subsequently to write this book, have overlooked this variable. They persisted in what she describes as a "debilitating premise" (p. xii) based on the failure to make the crucial distinction between voluntary and involuntary migrants. As she cogently illustrates ethnographically in this book, the contrastive features and internal relationships associated with each of these two types of migrants have bearing upon the external actions and behavior which produce and give meaning to their music. Glossing over these differences has resulted in the incapacity of many previous studies to explain certain seeming contradictions in the music of many refugee-turned-immigrants such as those of Vietnamese-Americans, thus ultimately leading to a grossly inaccurate picture of the American musical landscape.

The book follows the common path taken by many Vietnamese who made their

way into the U.S. as refugees. It is divided into two main parts. Part 1, "The Journey," is composed of two chapters. Together they describe the situation typically encountered and experienced by the Vietnamese at a place of first asylum in Bataan and a refugee processing center in Palawan (both in the Philippines) and the kind of music that they produced under the conditions imposed by their liminal status in each of these two places. Reyes details how the Vietnamese negotiated their way from asylees to refugees within the system put in place by governments in association with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for efficiently sending refugees to their countries of final resettlement. At each stage of the journey, the involuntary nature of their displacement, the heightened awareness of the political and ideological nature of the events that brought them to that point, and their perceived transience of place all exerted a strong influence on their behavior. In terms of musical behavior, for example, their preference for love songs and songs nostalgic for pre-1975 Vietnam may be taken as acts of defiance of the communist government's earlier ban of these types of music. The ad hoc nature with which musical activities take place and the separation of Western-influenced and more traditional styles into public and private spheres of music-making, respectively, also derive from their condition as forced migrants. Reyes observes that overall, their behavior seems to be geared toward achieving the state of stability represented by resettlement at the earliest possible time.

The three chapters that make up part 2, "The Transplanted Life," portray the experience of many Vietnamese refugees in trying to adapt to and become integrated with American society after their arrival in the U.S. Through case studies of two Vietnamese communities—one in New Jersey and the other in Orange County, California, with the latter taking up a greater portion given the larger Vietnamese immigrant population in California—they tell of the engagement by the newcomers with the social realities of the specific sites they have since found themselves in and how this engagement has informed their musical practices. A frequent and prominent refrain in this part of the book concerns the new immigrants' coming to terms with their dual identity as Vietnamese-Americans and their expression of the Vietnamese half of that identity in musical terms. In particular, Reyes notes their frequent reference to and reinterpretation of some popular forms that are clearly Western in style as "traditional" or "Vietnamese" music. The Vietnamese-Americans, however, are not alone in this practice; one can find similar examples involving the music of immigrants from some other Asian countries. But Reyes manages persuasively to draw a link between it and the refugee experience. She points, for one, to the inclination of many refugees fleeing communist regimes to cling to cultural traditions as they had known them prior to the advent of communist rule. Latin American-style dance music, being a legacy of the French colonial era in Vietnam, is part of pre-communist Vietnamese culture and thus we can understand labeling of it as "Vietnamese" and "traditional."

Reyes also notes the proliferation and ubiquity of *tân nhạc* (modern, Western-influenced popular music) and the retrenchment of *cải lương* (reformed musical theater) in Orange County and ascribes them to the break from the cultural past resulting from transplantation and forced migration. However, since the same situation is now also to be found in South Vietnam itself, judging from what I have observed during fieldwork in Ho Chi Minh City in 1996, one has to question the extent to which forced migration, resettlement, and adaptation by Vietnamese refugee-turned immigrants to their new surroundings have played a major part in the situation she describes. Perhaps in this case, it is more accurate to look toward

the temporal and cultural rupture caused by the Vietnam War as a whole for an explanation.

This is an elegant, well-written book, full of vivid details of the Vietnamese refugee experience and the musical life born of that experience. General readers and non-music specialists will find it very interesting and accessible. At the same time, scholars will find it to be theoretically rigorous. By calling attention to the importance of forced migration as a variable, it contributes immensely to the refinement of the framework with which immigrant music cultures could be analyzed. It should be made required reading for everyone interested in the study of diasporic cultures and music and migration.

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The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines. By MICHAEL SALMAN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001. xi, 335 pp. \$45.00 (cloth).

In the early twentieth century, Americans and Filipinos alike found the existence—or even a hint of the possible existence—of slavery an embarrassment. Beyond its implication for the morally charged political debates between imperialists and anti-imperialists, as well as those between proponents of continued American colonial rule versus Filipino advocates of independence, the slavery debate did much to reveal the character, perspectives, and darker undersides of all parties. Steadfast advocates of the American imperial venture such as William Howard Taft, William Cameron Forbes, Episcopal Bishop Charles Brent, and, most especially, Dean C. Worcester played on the slave raiding and trading tradition of the Islamic peoples of the southern islands and the slave/debt bondage practices of the peoples of the Central Cordillera to cast aspersions on suggestions that Filipinos were worthy of independence.

American anti-imperialists opposed to slavery were even more so opposed to imperialism, but found themselves in the embarrassing position of critiquing imperial expansion for reasons that were clearly racist: they did not want America poisoned by contact with slave-holding peoples. For Philippine nationalists, the embarrassment of slavery was the selective way in which it was applied against them. As long as the United States was consumed with crushing Aguinaldo's government and ending armed resistance, Muslim slavery did not become an issue and the Bates treaty of 1899 even extended tacit recognition to the practice in clear violation of the American constitution. Meanwhile, Philippine nationalists used the example of slavery to vilify their Spanish colonial past, even while fighting to maintain their newly won freedom. Once wide-scale organized resistance to American rule had been defeated, however, the issue of Muslim slave practices gained increased attention, as did the headhunting, animist spirituality, and human bondage associated with tribal peoples of the north. But it was slavery that became a special mark of shame from which nationalists had to disassociate themselves, either by distinguishing Christian Filipinos from Muslims and upland minority peoples, or by maintaining that these kinds of slavery were humane and familial in contrast to the cruel American experience.

Critical to Salman's study is the theoretical, historical, and ethnographic work of many other scholars. He builds on the earlier work of prominent scholars of the