Songs of the Caged, Songs of the Free: Music and the Vietnamese Refugee Experience. Adelaida Reyes. 1999. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. xix, 218 pp., photos, figures, musical examples, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $59.50; paper, $19.95.

Readers of *Ethnomusicology* are already familiar with the work of Adelaida Reyes whose Charles Seeger lecture (1997) appeared in this journal (1999). *Songs of the Caged, Songs of the Free*, based on fieldwork conducted intermittently beginning in 1982, is more comprehensive than her previous publications on Vietnamese refugees (1986, 1989, 1999). The subtitle, *Music and the Vietnamese Refugee Experience*, suggests the contextual and psycho-sociological emphasis of this definitive study of music in the post-1975 (the fall of Saigon) lives of selected groups of Vietnamese in two contrasting refugee camps in the Philippines and two contrasting resettlement locations in the United States. Although no four locations could reveal all the dimensions of music in the experiences of all Vietnamese refugees, those chosen for this study provide access to many issues of ethnomusicological significance.

Reyes begins with a challenge to ethnomusicology and ethnomusicologists: "Refugees barely cast a shadow on the ethnomusicological landscape." She points out that, in contrast, historians and memoirists have been informed by, and novelists, filmmakers and other artists inspired by "the wounds, the scars, the epiphanies, and revelations of human strength and ingenuity" of refugees who now number approximately 14,500,000 (1). Reyes continues by discussing why ethnomusicologists should study refugees and their musics, relevant methodological issues, and how this study relates to current trends in ethnomusicology. Through presenting the field data as "illustration of exacting principles by well-chosen particulars" (Stephen Jay Gould, quoted in 1990), she provides insight on how the physical, social, cultural, and psychological contexts determined where, when, and why the refugees listened to and/or performed musics, and how they identified and valued them.

The study of the four chosen locations reveals many aspects of how music functioned in the Vietnamese refugees' lives as they adapted to new environments. Some issues, including what music they consider "traditional" and relationships of music to political ideology, recur in several of the contexts. In a camp of first asylum on Palawan Island, overcrowded with Vietnamese who had survived perilous voyages on small boats, the refugees had little to do except undertake daily necessities while waiting months or years for their status to be determined. Throughout the daylight hours, radio broadcasts of Philippine and American musics and cassette recordings of tonal-harmony-based Vietnamese popular music pervaded the main areas shared by the refugees and the Philippine government and international non-government organization personnel. Only in the evenings, they felt free to listen in their billets to cassette recordings of songs with modal melodies and distinctively Vietnamese ornamentation that the non-Vietnamese disliked, or to sing them in small gatherings near the edge of the camp. In contrast, in a large processing center several hours distant from Manila, "boat people" from Palawan, together with other refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, participated in a structured program designed to prepare them for resettlement in the United States. Although the refugees had little time for optional activities, with the center's much greater resources than the Palawan camp, there was greater variety in live music making—church choirs, Buddhist ritual music, rock bands and song contests.

In the Jersey City-Hoboken area of New Jersey, the Vietnamese ranged from well educated, English-speaking employees of American companies who had been evacuated shortly before the fall of Saigon, to farmers and fishermen who arrived much later. With little shared experience even in Vietnam, they centered their efforts to establish a feeling of community on the most important traditional annual celebration, the Tet. In it, the music in the secular portion of the celebration—songs with a Latin beat that had been popular in South Vietnam before the war and new works by well known contemporary Vietnamese composers—brought forth shared feelings of nostalgia for the former homeland. In contrast, "Little Saigon" in Orange County, California, the largest Vietnamese community in the United States, is "the musical capital of overseas Vietnamese, a major producer of sound recordings distributed and heard worldwide, a small geographic space with a disproportionate number of Vietnam's best-known musicians" (105).

Reyes is a fine writer whose descriptions are compelling. She is also a fine scholar who, though her empathy for the refugees is apparent throughout, explains sympathetically why government officials failed to understand what the refugees most wanted and why some American communities were reluctant to receive large numbers of refugees. The book offers a reliable

base for many future studies including a time-depth study of Little Saigon, and studies comparing music in the lives of Little Saigon's residents with that of Orange County's several other ethnic communities—e.g. Chinese, Korean, Iranian, Latino and Marshallese—some established at about the same time. Reyes' emphasis on theoretical concerns—she even concludes with an "Epilogue" in which she reviews concepts and methodology applicable and/or adaptable to other ethnomusicological studies—enhances the book's value for ethnomusicologists, especially those designing fieldwork projects about migration, minorities and ethnic communities.

Barbara B. Smith University of Hawai'i

References

Reyes, Adelaida. 1986. "Tradition in the Guise of Innovation: Music Among a Refugee Population." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 18:91–101.

———. 1989. "Music and Tradition: From Native to Adopted Land Through the Refugee Experience." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 21:25–35.

———. 1990. "Music and the Refugee Experience." *The World of Music* 32(3):3–21.

———. 1999. "From Urban Area to Refugee Camp, How One Thing Leads to Another." *Ethnomusicology* 43:201–20.