

Deconstructing the “Butterfly”: Teaching David Henry Hwang’s *M. Butterfly* in Cultural and Socio-political Contexts

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David Henry Hwang’s play, *M. Butterfly*, is perhaps one of the most known and highly acclaimed Asian American plays in the late twentieth century. The significance of David Henry Hwang’s plays and the new visibility of Asian American theater reflect the escalating attention given to the political, cultural, and intellectual issues: race, gender, ethnicity, sexualities, and particularly their intersectionsⁱ The critical strategies of understanding Hwang’s plays, especially *M. Butterfly*, rely on both the contexts of political histories between Europe, North America and China as well as on the cultural politics of Orientalism. Critical readings of this play range from debates over the representation(s) of ethnicity and sexualities, politics of Orientalism, theories of performance and the theatre, and the concept of the masquerade. This essay intends to explore critical angles and offer pedagogical suggestions for Hwang’s play. The first part of my discussion offers an exploration of the historical and cultural contextualization that has initiated and motivated the production of *M. Butterfly*, followed by a critical discussion on the play’s negotiations of race, gender, sexualities, and ethnicity that aims to offer pedagogical paradigms for teaching this play.

Cultural and Historical background:

Exploring the ideology of Orientalism that Hwang negotiates in his play, one must study the long history of colonial and imperial contexts between the East and the West. The image of the Orient as exotic, mysterious, and passive mirrors a wish-fulfilling fantasy that connects intimately to imperial and colonial sensibilities throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Thus, the first part of my discussion focuses on the international fronts, starting with the date of the first appearance of a cultural icon, the Oriental “Butterfly,” in the late 19th century. Civil unrest and famine in numerous parts of Asia (i.e. China, the Philippines, Vietnam) beginning the late 19th and going through most of the 20th century not only weakened Asia’s political status but also allowed wider access for Western infiltration and dominance in Asia. Western presence in Asia and Southeast Asia during this time developed into both western imperialism and colonialism, constituting gendered political relationships which Hwang’s *M. Butterfly* would come to capture as forms of international intrigue and sexual mis-recognition. The following section traces the complex international politics that link the

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cultural histories between European, America and the “Far East”—which has become the new Orient in the 20th century discourse in the West—at the strategic moments of the initiation of “Madame Butterfly” as a recognized character in the late 1890’s and later in the first staging of Hwang’s *M. Butterfly* in the late 1980’s.

One significant pedagogical approach to Hwang’s play situates in understanding the historical and political frameworks that address both the longstanding tradition of a “butterfly” story and Hwang’s authorial intent for subverting the “butterfly” persona. The character of “Madame Butterfly” was first created in a novelette by John Luther Long, which was published in the *American Century Magazine* in 1898. Long, who had never been to Japan, apparently was both inspired by gossip from his American missionary sister at Nagasaki and an Orientalist fantasy that tells a story of a European sailor’s temporary marriage to a Japanese geisha in Pierre Loti’s novel *Madame Chrysantheme* in 1887. Long and David Belasco, another playwright and theatrical producer, put on a one-act play titled “Madame Butterfly” in New York in 1900. This original play begins three years after the departure of Pinkerton, during Butterfly’s faithful vigil for his homecoming. Yet, Pinkerton returns with an American wife and a request to bring Butterfly’s child with Pinkerton back to America. The play ends with Butterfly relinquishing her child and then attempting to commit suicide.ⁱⁱ What popularized this story was the opera composed by Puccini after he had seen Long’s version in the summer of 1900. Hwang’s version of his play attempts to debunk this traditional construct of the “Butterfly” myth. The frame of the story is inspired by an anecdote Hwang heard in a casual conversation about a French diplomat’s love affair with a Chinese opera singer who subsequently turned out to be not only a spy, but a man, in Beijing and Paris during the 1960’s.

Conspicuously, the time of the writing and production of Long’s story corresponded with the American-Spanish war in 1898, which ended with Guam and the Philippines being acquired by the United States in 1902. The ideology of American-white paternalism and benevolence had reached a new height as William McKinley convinced America to take on the duty of “educating” and “uplifting” the Filipinos. Yet, carrying the ‘white man’s burden,’ a term originally coined by Rudyard Kipling, has its limits. Even though the Filipinos were made “American Nationals,” they were denied numerous rights granted to U.S. citizens (i.e. voting), and were confronted with racial and class discrimination, like their Asian counterparts in America. Symbolically, the fate of the Filipino immigrants is analogous to “Butterfly”—she remains powerless, possessing no true “access” to the West or the ideology for which her lover stands. Thus, the ideology of American paternalism becomes another form of control, paralleling the American and European colonial relationship with Asia; the longstanding colonial and imperial history of British India, and later Britain’s opium trade from the Indies to China, and finally France’s involvement in Indo-China served as a few examples of colonial and imperial domination in Asia during the late 18th century. Such Western imperialist visions and ambitions in Asia further developed the fantastical construct of the Orient and the Oriental as something desirable, passive, and even dangerous. Most importantly, Asia as something “collectible” or claimable is metaphorically represented in heterosexual and interracial relationships in stories like *Madame Butterfly*.

While examining American colonial history in the Philippines serves as one form of historicist inquiry, the play's construction of China and the West represents another interesting forum for discussing inter-cultural relationship(s). Therefore, a discussion of Asian American immigration history and its cultural politics can serve as one of the major frameworks in the classroom. First, stereotypes of Asian American men and women resulted from numerous international and colonial politics. When communism reached a plateau during WWII, the image of the Butterfly became emphatically the cultural and sexual Other, as the West literally had to relinquish parts of Asia (i.e. China, Vietnam, Cambodia) to communist rules. In a way, Asia becomes much more inscrutable and dangerous in its otherness when it also represents the ideological opposition to the core of Western political ideology. Song Liling's disguise for the purpose of espionage in the act of patriotism (serving the Chinese government of a 'post-colonial' communist state) becomes complicated by his/her transgressive sexual identity that simultaneously subverts and reinforces an Orientalist stereotype of the exotic and deceitful Asian woman.

Such colonial and imperial intimacy within the international framework is clearly transcribed and re-enacted within the American cultural landscape, especially in the visual representation of Asians. This play can open discussion about the early presentation of Asian sexual identity of men and woman—de-sexualization of men and hyper-sexualization of women. First, the lack of positive heterosexual images of Asian men stems from numerous anti-Asian laws in the 19th and early 20th century. Yellow Peril—the fear of “yellow faced” people—was fueled by xenophobia with roots in the European fear of the Arabs and Mongolians in the early Middle Ages which grew with the anti-Asian sentiments throughout the 19th and 20th century. America's involvement in Asia has been extensive, especially during the 20th century. They occupied the Philippines, served as allies to China during WWII, were stationed in Japan after WWII, fought with South Koreans in their civil war, and finally become intimately involved in the warfare in Vietnam. Along with the continuous contacts with the East, the influx of immigrants from Asia seeking labor in America further escalated the inter-racial and class tensions in late 19th and early 20th century America. Exclusion Acts (the earliest were of the Chinese during the 1880's, later acts would include other Asian communities), anti-miscegenation laws (as early as 1661), and other discriminatory acts have limited the legal entry, the possibility of traditional family life, and the labor rights of Asians in America. Asian women were especially discouraged and at one time were even prohibited from immigrating to the U.S. Laws prohibiting Asian women from entering the country and Asian men marrying European Americans forced celibacy on many Asian men. A large number of Chinese and Filipino men formed “Bachelor Societies” where they would literally live and die among only men. Since the late 19th century, this cultural phenomenon of Asian men denied the chance to become husbands, lovers, and fathers has created the image of Asian men as emasculated.ⁱⁱⁱ

The image of Asian American represents a significant point of pedagogical discourse for this play. While a small percentage of men with better economic means (i.e. merchants) were able to bring wives to America, most of the women who came in the early years worked as prostitutes. For example, “in the 1870 census manuscripts, 61 percent of the 3536 Chinese women in California had

occupations listed as ‘prostitute’ (Takaki, 123). Aside from the Filipino women who were legally treated as “nationals” prior to the Philippine’s declaration of Independence, the few Japanese and Korean women coming in as “Picture Brides” and later as “War Brides,” Asian women were not visible in large numbers on the mainland U.S. until the middle of the 20th century, and even then not really in significant numbers until after the change in immigration policy in 1965.^{iv} The image of the women as prostitutes—sexually available and immoral—set the stage for the popular and “believable” role of the hyper-sexualized Oriental woman. Media personas of geisha, lotus blossom, and “Suzie Wong” coupled with the early image of the Dragon Lady played by Anna May Wong’s in the 1930’s have roughly promulgated the exotic and the sexually promiscuous Asian woman.

The image of the Asian woman as both sensual and dangerous is significant. The conflict in this combination of desire for and fear of Oriental women sheds light on the ways in which inter-racial relationships are seen in America. The plot of an inter-racial romance, found in stories like *Madame Butterfly*, about a European American man’s unfortunate love affair with a woman from another race and culture, almost always ends in the nonwhite woman’s tragic pregnancy and/or her final sacrifice/death. It presents the “best of two worlds”: as Gina Machetti asserts “while ostensibly confirming an absolute separation of the races, it also allows for the possibility of assimilation through the adoption of the mixed-race child” (78). This type of always unfulfilled love between Asian women and white men becomes an effective cultural mean of “accepting” inter-racial relationship; it is a formula that highlights the magnificence of love as an ideology and, simultaneously, institutes the transitory and tragic nature of inter-racial love. The image of “Butterfly” well serves the cultural trends of her—and perhaps our—time: she mirrors the pervasive fantasy about the exotic, submissive, and hyper-sexualized Oriental woman, but at the same time, her quiet noble act of self-effacement through death guarantees and maintains the belief and myth of racial purity.

Critical and Theoretical Approaches:

The most significant construct in *M. Butterfly*, according to Hwang himself, is the figure of “Butterfly” as an Orientalist fantasy of a beautiful Asian woman who will sacrifice herself for the love of a white man. Driving down Santa Monica Boulevard on the afternoon of 1986, Hwang envisioned a play that would deconstruct *Madame Butterfly*. Thus, one of the first essential pedagogical approaches to this play is to understand how the play first performs and then debunks the wish-projection of Western masculinist imagination about an Oriental woman. As Andrew Shin states aptly, *M. Butterfly* “dislocate[s] moral and sexual agency from a normative white male body and offer[s] provocation to postcolonial and queer discourses by reconceiving notions of acting and imposture” (179). The second critical issue is to see this move of gender subversion not only as a means to complicate the construction of race and ethnicity but also to represent a symbolic counter-resistance to Western patriarchy and Orientalism. In an attempt to offer a clearer pedagogy in teaching this play, I’d like to suggest approaching it in the following three categories:

reflexivity between gender and ethnicity, cultural subversion as resistance, and gender/sexuality as performance and masquerade.

The play's dismantling of Orientalist mythology begins with its confirmation of the cultural constructivism of gender and the fictionalization of ethnic/racial fantasy in relation to Orientalist discourse. The racialized and gendered experiences of Asians in America have generated a crisis about sexual identity for both women and men. On one hand, Asian/American women are challenged by the process of hyper-sexualization and exoticization as objects of sexual desire; Asian American men, on the other hand, experience emasculation when they, confronted with historical discrimination that disallowed them to be defined within a heterosexual context, are effeminized. In fact, one often finds 'Asian' and 'male' to be incongruent terms, proving what Sau-ling Wong calls "the ethnicizing of gender": "the attribution of allegedly natural ethnic essences such as 'Chineseness' or 'Americanness' to 'masculine' and 'feminine' behaviors" (122-123). The characterization of Butterfly's desire for a white man, even in the figure of Hwang's revision of the Butterfly image, according to some Asian American male scholars (i.e. Frank Chin, and his *Aiiieeee!* co-editors) further inflames and extends the historical emasculation of Asian men already in progress. Because one cannot separate the sexual and ethnic identities in reading texts about and by Asian Americans, it is essential to point out the passages that clearly demonstrate the reflexive nature of ethnic and gender constructions. One of the most revealing moments that demonstrate the interconnected nature between race and ethnicity in the play is found in Song's Second Rule about the "secret knowledge" of his "success" at playing a woman:

Song: Rule Two: As soon as a Western man comes into contact with the East—he's already confused. The West has sort of an international rape mentality towards the East . . . The West thinks of itself as masculine—big guns, big industry, big money—so the East is feminine—weak, delicate, poor . . . but good at art, and full of inscrutable wisdom—the feminine mystique (83).

Song's speech supports the assertion that ethnic distinction is tinted with gender polarization. The Orientalist version of the East is one of feminization, denying Asian men the signs of masculinity. In fact, Song's declaration that "I am an Oriental. And being an Oriental, I could never be completely a man" reveals the foundation of her/his "success" as an Asian man playing an Asian woman (83). Hwang clearly plays with this stereotype with a satirical twist.

The further expansion on the concept of cultural representation through the construction of Communist China in this play through both the references made by Song in the Western masculine suit and Comrade Chin seems problematic. Song's comments that "the Chinese, they are stingy" and complaints about "four years on a fucking commune in Nowhereville, China" seem to emphasize not only Song's already seemingly devious and now dishonorable nature, but also demean China in a racist framework. Chin's persona as a communist leader presents an androgynous, emotionless, and homophobic Chinese government official who only cares about the information Song gets from Gallimard and the Great Proletarian State of China. Song even mocks her, "what passes for a woman in modern China" (II, v.). In other words, while Gallimard's vision of the East is constructed by Orientalist fantasy, Song's East seems to be based on a racial and cultural stereotype of Communist China

that the play seems to muddle through without clearly defining the position of the Third World subject. Hwang's China seems to take on a hypermasculinity in his attempt to challenge the exaggerated femininity found in stereotypes of Asian America. However, the construction of China can be an interesting pedagogical debate in the classroom about how Asia becomes further compromised in various attempts to define its images of overseas communities, especially within the contexts of colonialism, imperialism, and global politics.

Similar to the author's intent to destabilize assumed categories of genders, the distinctions between East and West are first stressed and then deconstructed. The character Song, once again, represents the body of performance and deconstruction. S/he plays up the difference between herself and Western women:

Song: Please. Hard as I try to . . . hold a Western woman's strong face up to my own . . . in the end, I fail. A small frightened heart beats too quickly and gives me away. Monsieur Gallimard, I'm a Chinese girl. (30-1)

Song's success thus relies on her/his successful inscription of the East/West transcription in relation to Feminine/Masculine. It both supports and mirrors Gallimard's Orientalist fantasy in which racialized gender sustains his Western, essentializing gaze.

If the play serves as a means to counter-resist the Orientalist vision of and domination over the East, then the art of resistance is embodied by Song's performance that contradicts the polarization of genders (Man/Woman) and races (West/East). The power of Song's subversion is her/his ability to manipulate and exploit the ideology that governs the West in their relationships with the East. Song's self-empowerment is the very performative nature of her identity; she takes the construction of her gender into her own hands. While the construction of "Butterfly" is demeaning and self-effacing, Song's performance reminds us of the power of parody which s/he acts, imitates, and personifies with self-consciousness and difference.

Self-consciousness is seen in his awareness of the role as an actor. Not only does Song tell Gallimard that he was his "greatest acting challenge," Song also reminds Comrade Chin that he is an "actor" when his integrity as a spy is questioned. Song also imitates with difference in that whenever s/he reinforces a "Butterfly" trait, s/he proceeds to alter and contradict it. After playing Butterfly, Gallimard's fantasy, on stage, Song states, "I will never do Butterfly again, Monsieur Gallimard. If you wish to see some real theatre, come to the Peking opera sometimes. Expand your mind" (17). Continuing with their conversation about fantasies, Gallimard and Song debate about mutual fascinations between Caucasian men and Asian women:

Gallimard: But . . . that fascination is imperialist, or so you tell me.

Song: Do you believe everything I tell you? Yes. It is always imperialist. But sometimes . . ., it is also mutual. (22)

Both examples demonstrate Song's intent and ability to subvert their "assumed" positions as Asian butterfly/Caucasian man, fantasy/believer, imperialist/colonizer. The first example undermines Gallimard's ability to both differentiate between Japanese and Chinese and to appreciate true Asian art. The second passage alludes to Gallimard's fundamentally imperialist view. If imperialism is about power and domination, Song's own admission—as either

falsehood or truth—about her “mutual” fascination with white men / imperialist sentimentality allows Song to assume the “same” power position, in which s/he is allowed to gaze, fantasize, control and dominate the Other/Man/West. Both Song’s outright criticism of Gallimard’s narrow mindedness and more subtle reminder of his/her power as a “woman” subvert the relationships of power momentarily. The ultimate subversion, of course, comes at the closure of the play: Song strips, forcing Gallimard to correct his “mis-recognition” and Gallimard performs, allowing himself to become the Oriental fantasy he desires.

Clearly, the success of Hwang’s re-writing of the *Madame Butterfly* and the French diplomat’s “mis-placed” love for a Chinese opera singer relies on the understanding of gender as a “performance.” The notion of performance aligns with concepts of the masquerade, stemming from the context of cultural subversion in the discourses of feminism and gay and lesbian studies.^v This is most visible and significant for Song Liling, a Chinese male spy who plays a female opera singer and whose persona attracts the attention of the French diplomat Renee Gallimard. The “success” of Song’s ability to play out the role of a woman is based on an essentialist belief that being a woman/feminine is about fulfilling social expectations of womanhood. Hwang interrogates and deconstructs the one to one correspondence between gender and biological sex by creating a character that shifts and transgresses borders of “genders.” It is not coincidental in the play that Gallimard’s first meeting with Song takes place in a theater where Song is playing the role of the Butterfly. Gallimard’s monologue as he watches Song’s performance emphasizes the art of “body language”—the act or acting itself fulfills an expectation or belief based on gender ideology:

Gallimard: They say in opera the voice is everything. That’s probably why I’d never before enjoyed opera. Here . . . here was a Butterfly with little or no voice—but she had the grace, the delicacy . . . I believed this girl (15).

This passage points to Gallimard’s vision of a woman—one that he “believed” in. One of the first rules which Song explains to the French Judge about his “success” as a woman relies on such an assumed masculine vision of the world: “Rule one is: Men always believe what they want to hear,” “One, because when he finally met his fantasy woman, he wanted more than anything to believe that she was, in fact, a woman” (82, 83). Song’s performative nature of Song’s identity is further highlighted in the play when she declares to Gallimard, “I’m an artist, Rene. You were my greatest . . . acting challenge (63). Song’s chameleon-like persona from his/her acting as female Cio-Cio-San in Kimono, female Peking Opera singer in traditional Chinese theater custom, male Chinese spy in communist uniform, to finally a Chinese man in Armani suit exemplifies the fluidity of the performance of different gender and cultural roles. The guise of “femaleness”—or “maleness”—should be treated as a self-conscious act of performance. Song’s shedding his male/masculine costume in Act Three further challenges and destabilized the fixed conception of gender as biological and essentialist.

The play’s ultimate visual and textual marks of performances are found at the climax of the play when Gallimard transforms himself into a woman as the dancers on stage helped him to wash, make up his face, put on the Butterfly wig, don the Kimono, and finally hand him a knife. His transformation and suicide are also accompanied by his reiteration of the Orientalist myth:

There is a vision of the Orient that I have. Of slender women in chong sams and kimonos who die for the love of unworthy foreign devils. Who are born and raised to be the perfect women. Who take whatever punishment we give them, and bounce back, strengthened by love, unconditionally. It is a vision that has become my life (91).

Gallimard's gender transformation represents the ultimate message about the performing nature of gender and the self-destructiveness of Orientalism. Notwithstanding the subversive effect of the Western man's gender transformation and suicide as a proof of the destructive power of his delusion, the play ends with the two troubling aspects: one, the Western man's denial and continual mis-recognition of the reality of the East; two, the final image still sustains the myth of the love of a "Butterfly" as an image of the Oriental Woman—even if it is performed by Gallimard in disguise—killing herself. Gallimard's refusal to accept Song as both Asian and male and his ultimate decision to choose fantasy appear to undermine the success of Song's "education." Furthermore, the sacrificial image of Gallimard as Butterfly may suggest a complete racial and gender reversal as a deconstructive move, it nevertheless allows the last message to be coded with gender violence and sacrifice. Some Asian American critics have also raised concerns about the cultural positioning of the characters, especially in the final scene. James Moy argues that by inverting the cultural position of Song and Gallimard as Gallimard literally becomes Song, the play further reinforces its "laughable and grossly disfigured" Asian characters. Quentin Lee also feels uneasy about the ending as he questions the play's affirmation of Western masculinity—Song's becoming of the Western man in Armani suit—as a form of "Occidentalism."^{vi} The play continues to impose an image of a sacrificial Asian woman in the name of love for a Western man.

Finally, recent scholarship has begun to explore the ideological construct of homosexuality. Is the dichotomy between straight and gay also as blurred as the binarism of Man/Woman, West/East? Aside from examining the significance of what it means to read Song not only as an actor/performer but a "true" cross-dresser, what does it mean to have Gallimard treated as not only an Orientalist but also a self-denying homosexual? In other words, how does Gallimard's sexual self-image both support Song's performance as an Orientalist icon of "Butterfly" and complete his own self realization of his own sexual orientation as he literally "comes out of closet" as a woman at the end? Shin's article best articulates the issue:

The French Diplomat's fantasy of the perfect Oriental Women mediates homosexual desire in the face of pervasive homophobia, masking the wish to be the woman with the more acceptable desire for possession (180).

Shin argues that instead of celebrating "Western masculinity as a model to be imitated," the play, on one hand, exposes the deconstructiveness of heterosexism; on the other hand, presents a narrative of marginalized sexuality and repressed homoeroticism. The topic of queer subjectivity and performativity in relation to *M. Butterfly* has attracted scholars from film studies who grapple with ways to both supplement and intercept the representations of gayness and transvestitism in films and drama.^{vii} This play both challenges and re-inscribes gender and sexual crises within racial and colonial contexts. The symbolic act of

becoming Oriental and female, undoubtedly, is fraught with anxiety that continues to incite scholarly debates about the effectiveness of *M. Butterfly's* political and cultural intentions. Pedagogically, one must ensure that the readers of the play understand the critical inter-play between gender politics within racial paradigms in the Asian American context.

Project and paper suggestions are offered to develop some of the points discussed in the paper:

- I. Explore the connection between gender and racial/ethnic constructions in the play. Write an argumentative paper about the degree of success of Hwang's subversive effort, and/or the significance of the international political history as a context in reading this play.
- II. A larger project may be formed on a comparative work between the visual performance and textual reading of this play or other Asian American dramatic performances (i.e. "Flower Drum Song," "Miss Saigon"). Aside from a comparative study on thematic issues related to Asian American studies (i.e. identity formation, intersection of race/ethnicity and gender), students can raise issues about the process of translation and interpretation visually, or the signification of spatial organization.
- III. Due to the limited availability of a live performance of the play, *M. Butterfly*, one may find David Cronenberg's film *M. Butterfly* a provocative substitute of a performance. Not only can one take the thematic and theoretical issues that I've discussed within the visual dimension, but it would also be helpful to study the discrepancy between the characterizations of Song and Gallimard, change in tones, the loss of humor and dramatic irony, and the blurring of boundaries between fantasy and realism. It's a good idea to think about how the stylistic and narrative changes impact the receptions of the story.
- IV. Examine the usage of different literary elements in this play (i.e. humor and satire). How do these elements help to support and define the political and cultural agenda in this play?
- V. Another place to take the students could be the film's attempt to create illusion and/or delusion through deliberate plays with the "gaze." How characters and camera "look" at one another or through other media (i.e. mirrors) become a crucial moment to discuss the dichotomy between reality and illusion or delusion. This dichotomy can also be linked to the thematic issues about delusion/fantasy vs. reality.

ⁱ As the Asian American movement in the 60s helped to create the pan-ethnic category of Asian American, artists began to organize theatre groups; for example, in 1965 the East West Players was founded in Los Angeles which, according to Esther Kim Lee's, *A History of Asian American Theatre*, "marks the beginning of 'Asian American theatre.'"

ⁱⁱ See Carner Mosco's *Puccini: A Critical Biography* for a more detailed study of the origin of *Madame Butterfly*.

ⁱⁱⁱ Aside from Takaki's historical study, there is other scholarship about Asian American masculinity from the cultural and/or psychoanalytical perspectives: the Introduction of *The Big Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Chinese American and Japanese American Literature* by Jeffery Paul Chan et al., "Bachelor Society: Deviant Heterosexuality and Asian American Historiography" by Jennifer Ting, "Looking for My Penis: The Eroticized Asian in Gay Porn Video" by Richard Fung, and finally, *Racial Castration: Managing Masculinity in Asian America* by David Eng.

^{iv} The immigration Act of 1965 "abolished the national-origins quotas and provided for the annual admission of 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere. Twenty thousand immigrants per country would be allowed to enter . . .exempted from the quota would be immediate family members . . . Immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere were to be admitted on the first-come, first-served basis by preference categories for adult family members, professionals and artists, needed skilled and unskilled laborer, and refugees" (419). For more details, see Ronald Takaki's discussion on page 419-422.

^v See discussion in Andrew Shin's article, "Projected Bodies in David Henry Hwang's *M. Butterfly* and *Golden Gate*, where he explores feminist and psychoanalytical tradition of masquerade.

^{vi} Lee and Moy raised critical issues about appropriate cultural role models. Such debates articulate the continual significance over identity politics, especially gay Asian American desire.

^{vii} For examples, see Chong-suk Han's "Gay Asian-American Male Seeks Home," Leighton Grist's "it's Only a Piece of Meat": Gender Ambiguity, Sexuality, and Politics in *The Crying Game* and *M. Butterfly*," and Lai Sai Acon Chan's "From Opera Queens and Rice Queens: Questions of Ethnic and Gender identity."

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