

From Dragon to Phoenix
Women, Social Capital, and the Making of Chinese Communities
in the Southwestern United States

by
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A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved November 2021 by the
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ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2021

ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on the psycho-cultural perceptions and social interactions among a sample of 58 Chinese immigrant women in the Maricopa County, the Phoenix metro area of, Arizona, and the manner in which they are able to negotiate multiple identity markers that in part influence and define their capacity to achieve and maintain self-referential growth. The central question this dissertation seeks to address is: what historical forms have emerged, accumulated and reproduced through the actions of women in spaces within and between households, networks and social relations, voluntary associations, political participation, economic and financial transactions, and educational, religious, and civic, recreational and artistic activities; and how are these symbolically represented?

This research is comprised of three stages. First, I show how a group of Chinese immigrant women living in, Arizona, combine the Eastern and Western connotations of the Phoenix metro area, to create a fourfold conceptual metaphor of the phoenix. Second, I demonstrate that how such symbolization and metaphORIZATION represent their personal immigration experience, femininity, ethnic identity, and geographic location. Third, I also highlight how they associate themselves with the heuristic of the phoenix as a tool for self-empowerment, virtue, well-being, and self-representation.

This dissertation concludes that the Chinese women living in the Phoenix area not only apply the metaphor of the phoenix to themselves, but also reference this mythical bird in their social media ID, clubs names, and themed events, and include it in their oral traditions. In contrast, they reject, negotiate, or resist the stigma and stereotypes attached

to the “dragon” symbol which often convey qualities of overpowering and irrational oppression in western mythology. Instead, they associate themselves with the heuristic of the phoenix as a tool for self-empowerment, virtue, well-being, and ethnic self-representation. Such metaphorization and symbolization contribute to their resistance to the symbolic violence by countering with their own powerful self-referential narratives, that have shaped their Chinese community.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my dissertation committee for their advice and support with my dissertation. No word can convey my gratitude to Dr. Maria Cruz-Torres, my committee chair and advisor. I always believe that being a student of Dr. Cruz-Torres is the best chapter of my life journey. Hesiod met the Muses when he was shepherding sheep on Mount Helicon, where the goddesses presented him with a laurel staff. Since then, Hesiod had learned to write poetry. How lucky I am to meet Dr. Cruz-Torres. She gave me a laurel staff from her and taught me how to write my own *Theogony*.

I have a deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Carlos Vélez-Ibáñez and Dr. Wei Li. Thanks to their extremely insightful feedback and ideas. In the past few years, I was learning how to be a scholar in Dr. Vélez-Ibáñez's classes, in his articles and books, and in the feedbacks he gave me. I really benefited from this process. Dr. Wei Li constantly inspired me with her dedication to critical and reflexive scholarship. I am especially grateful for the high standards to which she has held me, which has made me much more effective. Without her help, I could not complete my dissertation.

Brenda Mora-Castillo, my dear friend, has been a constant source of insight and knowledge about the history of immigrants in Arizona and feminism. Her ongoing feedback was invaluable to the process.

I am also very grateful to my parents who have kept me grounded and supported. No matter what was happening in the outside world, they always made sure that there is a place where my desk can be put down. I am always proud that I come from a family

where all my family members are PhDs. I would not pick such an academic path without my parents as my role models. I hope I have not let them down.

Thanks to Li Liu for the unconditional love and support. Thanks to him for being a source of great happiness and enthusiasm. Thanks to him for patiently burning out all my frustrations and fragility. In “To Fanny”, John Keats sang 5 characteristics of an ideal lover: guiltless, one-thoughted, withhold no atom’s atom, tantalizes not, and merciful. Thanks for being my Fanny. 爱是我们肝胆相照的恩义。

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INTRODUCTION

Although many areas of Arizona are sparsely populated (Luck & Wu, 2002), Phoenix, the capital city of the US state of Arizona, has become the fifth largest, and fastest growing city in the United States as it added 163,000 residents between 2010 and 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). It has also been the home of Chinese immigrants for more than one century. The early immigrants mainly engaged in mines, railway contractions, and small merchant enterprises (Fong, 1980). Many of them migrated to Arizona from California because of prejudice and exclusionary laws that hindered their ability to earn a decent living there. Despite being one of the earliest Chinese settlements (Tintle, 2004), women only accounted for a very small proportion of the total population of the Chinese pioneers in Arizona. The 1880 Federal Census tabulated that among the 1630 Chinese immigrants, only two were women. The number of Chinese women has increased exponentially since the 1880s. In 2017, Arizona was home to 27,187 Chinese immigrants. 14,137 of them were women (US Census, 2017). This fast-growing group has endured and remained on this sunny desert land, making remarkable contributions to the prosperity of the area and attaining memorable achievements in the development of the local community (Wang, 2001, p. 83).

This dissertation examines the lived and situated experiences of Chinese immigrant women, who live in the US now, but who were born in China (both mainland and Taiwan) and thus were not US citizens at birth, as they carve out their own niches within their adopted communities. It demonstrates the manner in which Chinese immigrant women reject, negotiate, and resist the stigma and stereotypes attached to the

dragon symbol which too often designates an overpowering and irrational position of oppression. This research, instead, argues that immigrant Chinese women should be more associated with a secondary heuristic or metaphorical sense of this cultural symbol in Phoenix, as a tool for self-empowerment, self-representation, and social interaction. I also argue that women gain a deeper self-consciousness as they become active and are able to exert more influence within their own communities by their expanding social capital, and figure prominently in the quotidian lives of others. In this manner, and only as a heuristic or metaphor the Phoenix symbol seems to be more closely aligned to reciprocal relations, self-worth regarding their positive identities, relations with others, expressions of worth and value, and also importantly, they could transmit a legacy of such actions and values to future generations. Considering their contributions and achievements, this dissertation research project focuses on the active, important, and often neglected, historical and contemporary roles of the Chinese immigrant women in the Maricopa county metro area, in Arizona, within the United States. It considers their contributions and achievements, while using the framework that involves Social Capital Theory, Symbolic Power, and Critical Race Theory.

Thus, a main goal of this study is to understand how gender perspectives shape the construction of social capital among immigrant Chinese women in Arizona, and especially in the Phoenix metropolitan area, and how this may reinforce the use of a common heuristic or metaphor. I will also investigate how women invest and use their social capital for political, social, educational, and cultural purposes. By exploring the dynamic interactions between social capital, symbolic capital, and women's self-empowerment, this dissertation contributes to a better understanding on how social

capital is gendered and why women's social capital plays a fundamental role in the making of a vibrant Chinese community.

My selection of the Phoenix metropolitan area as the research site is determined not only by its significant total Chinese-American population of 27,187 as of 2018, but also by many Chinese immigrant women's love for the multifaceted metaphors and symbols of the phoenix. The phoenix metaphors used to refer to ethnic identity, female identity, geographic location, and positive connotations extracted from Eastern and Western myths are perfectly integrated.

This dissertation illustrates a case in which a group of immigrants tacitly uses the alternative ethnic cultural marker—the phoenix—to metaphorize and symbolize their personal fates and ethnic identity by integrating it into daily life. This phenomenon is a response to symbolic violence, a type of power structure that results in the internalization of humiliations and legitimations of hierarchy (Lee, 2016, p. 113), and provides a defense against such an invisible but irresistible form of violence. I am not suggesting that the use of the symbol is constant but of sufficient importance in making a contribution to an identity, among others, and in part why they are able to shape the Chinese community.

Research Questions

Through the discussions here, I attempt to create a narrative of the experiences of immigrant Chinese women in Arizona, as they engage in the historical telling and retelling (Wolf, 1992) of their cultural group.

This study seeks to address the following central questions and their subsets:

What historical forms have emerged, accumulated and reproduced through the actions of women of arenas within and between households, networks and social relations, voluntary associations, political participations, economic and financial transactions, and educational, religious, and civic, recreational and artistic activities and how are they symbolically represented?

a. What capacity, size, norms and structure of social capital do these Chinese women partake in, as social actors, in the Phoenix metropolitan geographical target context?

b. In the process of the communal and social capital accumulation, how do Chinese cultural symbols and the corresponding applications behind them affect women's consciousness and behavior? How do they construct and revitalize the history and culture?

Background and Significance

Recent research demonstrates that the cultural roots of their countries of origin determine migrant women's social choices and behaviors greatly under certain circumstances (Polavieja, 2015). For some aging, first-generation migrant women, their cultural preferences and personal behavior are often unrelated to the receiving country (Obeng, 2017). Chinese immigrant women have been noticed to share similar characteristics (Almond & Milligan, 2009). For these women, Chinese culture has always survived in their spiritual world, shaping their daily life decisions, family relations and social behavior (Cervellon & Dubé, 2005). The importance of Chinese sociocultural

determinants is more pronounced among the elderly Chinese immigrants (Lai, 2004) and people who reported experiencing symptoms of depression (Yu & Cheah, 2016).

However, the question of how culture influences people's behavior has always been a question that social science research must pay attention to, despite not always having reported an appropriate answer. But, as Clifford Geertz (1973) proposed many years ago, the explanatory power of "culture" is both the strongest and the weakest since it explains everything, such that it cannot explain anything. To understand the important role that culture plays among a specific group of people it is first necessary to begin with an analysis of how a specific cultural trait is embedded and practiced within such a group. Previous research has shown that some aspects of the cultural behavior of Chinese immigrant women is often explained as a pathology (Lin, 2012), namely over-attentions to women's plight. It is within this context that Lin provides two main arguments to further explain their treatment as a pathological population. First, Chinese immigrant women are usually considered a vulnerable group with respect to their gender, class, and ethnicity faces, multiple difficulties and challenges. Scholars supporting this argument from a public health point of view, examine and analyze how variables such as gender, marital status, immigration, and economic resources impact their overall health (Frable, 1997; Hsu, 2015). The second argument is that their empowerment is rooted in their own ability to tackle socio-economic stress. Thus, a main strategy these women devise to deal with menial, insecure jobs, and unemployment is by becoming entrepreneurs (Man, 2004; Bao, 2011). One outcome is that Chinese immigrant women organize their abilities and skills individually and collectively in response, so that organizational cohesiveness and

group identity emerge as important adaptations to deal with racial discrimination and negotiate income inequality (Galabuzi, 2004, p. 91).

Although such studies contribute to one aspect of Chinese women's experience, they greatly simplify the complexity of a gender narrative (Lin, 2012). Therefore, my study seeks an understanding of immigrant Chinese women, not as a group who are overwhelmed by difficulties, neither commended simply for their ability and courage to face and solve their daily challenges, but instead as a subjective group aware of being responsible for the creation of knowledge and the re-construction and re-telling of their own histories. This path of "de-pathological" and remodeling narrative has been widely used by feminist anthropologists studying the role of Chinese women as mothers (Kenney & Müller, 2017; Nayar & Wright-St Clair, 2018; Zhang & Wang, 2019). These studies have effectively addressed the scientific understanding of the knowledge structure of Chinese women, and can also fairly evaluate their achievements (Kelley, 2017), but there are still gaps that need to be filled in.

The knowledge gap lies in the limited number of studies so far conducted on the role that social capital plays among Chinese women in Southwestern North America, and especially how it contributes to a better understanding of their processes of knowledge formation and its application. The research gap also constitutes a missing piece for deciphering how gender shapes their social capital. Scholars working on this topic, for example, highlight the importance of social capital as a "profitable commodity", necessary to improve women's lives (Raza, Beaujot, & Woldemicael, 2013). However, the notion of a profitable commodity fails to provide a comprehensive explanation of women's experiences as gendered subjects (Sands, 2004) regarding the formation and

usefulness of social capital in women's lives and agency. As my study will show, there are potential implications from social capital theory for women's empowerment (Alfred, 2009). Beyond being used to explain the improved women's performance, the growth of women's entrepreneurial outcomes, and the value derived from strategic alliances (Hitt et al., 2002), this approach can further account for the evolution of communities and how cultural elements (the symbols, language, beliefs, and values), and especially feminine cultural elements, combine with the effective functioning of interpersonal relationships to create a unique way of living for Chinese women and even for the entire Chinese community.

In this light, my dissertation is framed within Social Capital, Symbolic Power, and Critical Race Theory. It specifically examines the history of women's accumulation of social capital in immigrant communities, and the gendered construction of the community in Southwestern North America.

Outline of the Dissertation

The outline of the dissertation is described herewith. Chapter One offers an overview of how the Chinese gradually settled and in Arizona and developed their own community. Chapter Two details the theoretical frameworks employed in this study, as well as the relevant literature. Three main theoretical orientations are discussed: social capital, critical race theory, and symbolic power. Chapter Three explains the research methods employed in the dissertation. This chapter discusses in detail the research design, the recruitment of subjects, data collection, and the systematic analysis of the data. Initially, a pilot survey was conducted using 10 name generators in order to visualize

their social networks of subjects, as well as to characterize the composition and quality of their social capital. Also, as a mixed method study, I explain the three qualitative research techniques used in this study, namely, interviews, observations, and content analysis of archives.

Entitled *The Rebirth of the Phoenix among Chinese Immigrant Women: The Role of Self-made Symbols in Women's Social Capital*, Chapter Four analyzes the narratives involving the symbol of the phoenix in the lives of the participants, and examines why they use it to make sense of their life journeys. I demonstrate that the concept of reincarnation, the idea of rebirth, its specific reference to women's roles, and the overall symbolization of the Chinese identity represented by the phoenix inform their motivation and strategy for using this symbol in their daily lives and community participation.

Chapter Five, *The Phoenix Force: Social Capital Measuring*, tackles the concrete connection between the quality and quantity of social capital and the phoenix symbolism preferred by the Chinese immigrant women living in Phoenix. The participants' social networks, primary social relationships, and frequency and type of social participation provided the basis for the social network analysis. Results were generated using Gephi, and included variables such as emotional density and centrality, geodesic distance, interaction frequency. Based on these analytical results, I conducted a further analysis and discussion that incorporate the content of the documents concerning community activities and associations. In this way, I examine the influence of the communication of the neighborhood clubs on members' social interactions, as well as the small world phenomenon exemplified in these social graphs.

In the last chapter, I explore the everyday practices of three types of women (widows, working women, and housewives), and demonstrate how the concept of the phoenix is unconsciously integrated into their domestic activities and how it subsequently affects community dynamics.

Presenting the integrated results of all these analytical techniques, this dissertation offers a comprehensive panorama on the life experiences, social capital composition, and community participation of Chinese women immigrants residing in Phoenix who associate themselves with the symbol of the phoenix as a tool for self-empowerment, virtue, well-being, and ethnic- self-representation.

CHAPTER 1

Literature Review

This chapter provides the fundamental theories and concepts building within the context of the role of social capital in the shaping of the Chinese community. Out of the concern for the social integration of Chinese immigrant women into the Chinese community in Arizona and the tentative exploration of cultural symbols introduced in their social life, this dissertation uses critical race theory to guide analysis, and social capital and cultural capital as the main theoretical foundations.

A major concern in Asian American studies was the dearth of women empirical experience (Kalibatseva & Leong, 2011). Some researchers made a major contribution toward filling that gap. The literature that highlight the historical developments of women, especially during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has combined oral histories, analysis of census data, and archival research to build up a portrait of immigrant and American-born Chinese women, especially in shaping and reshaping their gendered roles amid the social changes taking place in the United States (Nagi, 1996). For example, Yung (1995) likens the process of women's efforts to liberate themselves from sexism within patriarchal Chinese culture and racism in American society to the metaphor of unbinding the feet; Ling (1998) traces the emergence of Chinese immigrant women in the United States and their struggle with racial and gender oppression in diverse ways.

These work shows that the lived experience of Chinese-American during the first half of the twentieth century is fundamental to understanding the American experience (Chen, 1976; Chow, 1982; Fong, 2000). By uncovering the history of Chinese American women through oral histories and interpretation, researchers have reevaluated the contributions of these women in their lives. Chinese American mothers came to be seen as the “backbone” of the family, provisioning the household (Chu, 1986, p. 98). Chinese women leaders who were active in the community proved to be valuable role models as organizers (Arminio et al., 2000; Okamoto, 2006). Also, as Chinese-American women emerge as a significant group, their experiences with acculturation and their relationships to self-concept formation are carefully examined (Fong, 1997).

This dissertation probes not only the meanings and consequences of women’s experience and their intersections with gendered constructions, but a positive redefinition of the Chinese-American women. Many topics under this framework are still worthy of further development. Analyses of social capital are based upon the considerations that patterns of sociability build up relations of trust and reciprocity. The resultant social capital enhances individuals’ capacity to jointogether in collective action to resolve common problems (Hunter, 2002). It is on this basis that many works investigate how scholars engage with social capital in different ways to express women’s creativity and participation (Bruegel, 2005). However, what is somewhat missing from these discussions are the attendant symbolic representation of such capital, and insufficient attention is paid to the nomenclature and symbols used that form common identities and part of the cultural glue for relations of reciprocity and mutual trust.

Social Capital

Social capital, as a network of social relations, is not a natural endowment or a social given, but something that must be created and reproduced on an ongoing basis. The term of “capital” was created to describe material embodiment of value so as to definite “relation of production pertaining to a particular historical social formation” (Marx, 1873/1981, p. 953). Marx (1873/1981) juxtaposes “social capital” and “individual capital” to evaluate the sense of accumulated wealth and property. As a result, although social capital has become a new interest in the academic literature over the past 20 years, “the term does not embody any idea really new” (Portes, 1998, p. 2). There are four theoretical perspectives of social capital (Zheng & Huan, 2003): the limited solidarity of the proletariat (Marx & Engels, 1873/1968), the “ultimate common value” proposed by Durkheim (1957) and Parson (1960), Weber’s theory of “elective affinity” (1917), and Simmel’s philosophy of trust and reciprocity (1908/1950).

Marx and Engels (1873/1968) argue that the “limited solidarity of the proletariat” is a prerequisite for the working class to shoulder the specific proletarian historical task of overthrowing capitalism by a socialist revolution.¹ They firmly believe in the social productivity contained in the solidarity of the working class, they are well aware of the potential contradictions. As Engels (1873/1968) points out in his letter:

“One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for ‘unity. ’[...] For this reason the greatest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues are at certain moments the loudest shouters for unity. Nobody in our lifetime has given us more trouble and been more treacherous than the unity shouters.”

¹ “After the Commune it had its colossal success. The bourgeoisie, struck all of a heap, ascribed omnipotence to it.” *Marx and Engels Correspondence*, International Publishers (1968).

However, not every theorist regards human interactions and class formation as the driving force of social revolution like Marx and Engels. Georg Simmel (1908/1950) understand the concept of social capital as a paradigm for explaining society facts. He advocates that the networks of relationships are based on trust and reciprocity. He discusses the importance of trust in *the Philosophy of Money* (1900/1990, p. 178-179): “Without the general trust that people have in each other, society itself would disintegrate, for very few relationships are based entirely upon what is known with certainty about another person, and very few relationships would endure if trust were not as strong as, or stronger than, rational proof or personal observation.”

Driven by their obsession with social holism, Emile Durkheim (1957) and Talcott Parson (1960) argue that the core of social capital is the “ultimate common value” of collective consciousness. As the “ultimate common value” of social capital facilitates collective action by producing conformity (Pfaff & Braithwaite, 2020), its role in building social capital is greater than social constructs and norms. Durkheim asserts that traditional society integrates members of a society who have common values and beliefs, while the division of labor provides a new connection path for society, namely relying on the need for one another’s services. Parson agrees with the coexistence of two social integration. He further points out, value-orientations had important implications for the stability of the social system (1951/1991, p. 22). Therefore, the two of them believe that the ultimate value and collective expressions recognized by a group are the embodiment of social capital.

Max Weber (1917) defines “social capital” as an embodiment of “elective affinity” and “mandatory trust”. According to his theory, the processes of rationalization

and intellectualization have resulted in the individual irrationality and meaning. As he contended, “the fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization, and, above all, by the disenchantment of the world. Precisely the ultimate and most sublime values have retreated from public life either into the transcendental realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal human relations” (1917, p. 155).

Apparently, the above theorists have provided four different perspectives on social capital. Simmel, Marx, and Engels affirm the role of social networks in social development. Simmel focuses on explaining social problems, and Marx and Engels use the concept of social capital to guide wage-workers’ revolution and commune movement. Weber, Durkheim and Parson attribute social problems to ethics, spirit, and morality. They all look forward to a society in which everyone abides by ethics and public spirit. But there are subtle differences between the two. According to Weber’s philosophy, individuals are subject to modern social rules, so he is obsessed with the pursuit and exploration of “spirit”, “trust”, and “affinity”. Believing that individuals can develop their own social networks, Durkheim expresses his concern about the relationship between the macro social division of labor and the value of individuals.

Social capital theories have been given long life by these social scientists (Fine, 1999). Pierre Bourdieu introduced the term of social capital into contemporary discourse (Portes, 1998). Bourdieu (1986, p. 251) defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition or in other words, to membership in a group”. These contemporary perspectives on social capital

have explored associational involvement and participatory behavior in a community afterwards.

Falk and Kilpatrick (2000) divide contemporary social capital research into three levels: micro, meso, and macro. The micro level of social capital has been conceptualized as the accessible resources associated with a person's networks that may provide benefits to their owners (Portes, 2000), which in turn may defend against possible resource losses (Lin, 2002). Burt (1992) holds that the size and quality of social network is the most important criterion of individual social capital. He argued that "bigger is better. People can expand their networks by adding more and more contacts. [...] Numerous books and self-help groups can assist them in 'networking' their way to success by putting them in contact with a large number of potentially useful, or helpful, or likeminded people" (p. 16). On this basis, Schiff (1992) further contributes to the far-reaching importance of social network. He believed that knowledge of social capital allows for the building of trust. At the meso level, social capital investigation highlights its properties of public goods. For instance, Coleman (1988) believes that social capital resides in the structure of interpersonal relations, and thereby provides convenience for individual actions within the structure. Macro social capital theory connects social capital with collective action and public policy by focusing on trust, membership, and social norms. Putnam (1995) argues that the concepts of social capital can answer questions about mechanisms that fuel the steady development of society. Fukuyama theorized social capital as "the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared norms" (1995, p. 27). Woolcock (2000) highly affirms the economic significance of social capital based on these principles. As he pointed out, the

trust and cooperation advocated by the social capital theory can increase social productivity. Giddens (1990), who is dedicated to the study of structuration and disembedding theory of society, also have realized the significance of social capital. In his research on trust and modernity, social capital is explained as an important resource for the economic recovery of low-income communities. Given that the social capital theory emphasizes the functionality of social capital and its role in social resource allocation, it avoids to a certain extent the shortcomings of the social theory schools such as functionalism, structuralism, and interaction theory (Sewell, 1992).

This dissertation uses Robert Putman's definition of social capital. According to Putnam, social capital refers to the "features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (1995, p. 67). Although Putnam's social capital study made no consideration of gender dynamics, he examines the social capital of different social groups with respect to the structural correlation of race, class and gender, and the interplay between power and trust manifested in the field of social capital (Brace, 2000). As a result, he offers a viable foundation to further consider the application of the social capital concept toward a better understanding of the nuances of women's social capital (Ganapati, 2012).

Many of the basic ideas behind social capital reflect a gendered concern with the ethics of care and criticisms of traditional neo-classical economics (Nelson, 1996; Blaxter & Hughes, 2000; Molyneux, 2002). Hence, the concept of social capital drawing on this perspectives was put forward to think about women's communal experiences (Franklin, 2005). The importance of the role that social capital plays among women is related to the three following aspects.

The first and foremost is the explanatory value the social capital theory places upon women's social relationships. There is some evidence that the effects of social capital on relationships vary by gender. Some women are more likely to spend more time in neighborhoods conducting domestic errands, which in turn have formed their neighborhood-based networks, social capital, and community participation (Imamura, 1987; Kavanagh et al., 2006; Pinkster, 2009). Similarly, Warr (2006) reports that women are also likely to be more capable of creating and maintaining local, social networks that connect families and communities, based on their personal degree of social role-playing of interpersonal caring and comforting. These authors also posited that social capital within a broader context of gender inequality could exacerbate women's disadvantages (Silvey & Elmhirst, 2003). Yet, there again seems to be an inattention to the symbolic bonding processes in the use of common signifiers.

The second aspect involves the role of social capital in promoting women's empowerment. As women remain excluded from the more powerful networks of trust and reciprocity most commonly found among men, they might need to depend more on a gender relational social capital (Westermann, Ashby, & Pretty, 2005). The use of gender-based social ties appears to be particularly important to women's advancement to higher hierarchical levels (Metz & Tharenou, 2001). Many quantitative researches have indicated that norms of reciprocity are more likely to operate in groups where women are present, and this hypothetically may be the result of women's work responsibilities that rely on frequent collaboration (Pasgaard et al., 2018; Aliyas, 2020). Similarly, the capacity for self-sustaining collective action increased with women's presence and was significantly higher in the women's groups (Padmaja, 2012; Weis & Lay, 2019).

The third is its role in promoting grassroots cultural capital and economic capital as a lever for development. The conversion of women's economic standing, cultural status or identity, social and symbolic capital, can all merge and meld to support grass-root sustainability and growth (Szalvai, 2008). For instance, Maclean's study (2010) exemplifies the way that social capital is assumed to support development. His findings show that women-targeted microfinance uses a group-based guarantee to support the development of sustainable financial facilities and promote income generation among members. Similarly, the mutual trust and reciprocal norms attached to social capital can filter the information obtained from various informal sources in business, which can ultimately be utilized by women entrepreneurs to create various innovations to meet the market demand (Setini, 2020). In addition to contributing to economic growth and poverty alleviation, the process of transforming social capital into cultural capital, the accumulation of knowledge, behaviors, and skills that a person can demonstrate as proof of one's cultural competence and accommodation, and social status (Prett et al., 2016).

As many researchers have noted, the social capital theory have identified women's creativity and participation in communities, recognizing and correcting its universal qualities and gender bias (Franklin 2005). Social capital plays an important role in promoting women's economic and cultural development in Chinese-American communities (Salaff & Greve, 2004; Wang, 2008), and articulating a common cohesive identity. Evidence indicates that Chinese immigrant women rely heavily on bonding through social capital, primarily through familial relations, ethnicity, and religious networks, as a survival resources during their initial settlement stages (Wu, 2017; Chai, Ueland, & Phiri, 2018). In addition, social capital emphasizes structural embeddedness,

in terms of the impersonal configuration of linkages between people or units (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998, p. 244). Ethnic social capital within Chinese immigrant women grants members access to community-based resources that facilitate business growth (Katila & Wahlbeck, 2012; Chuang, 2020).

Previous research has demonstrated that social capital constitutes an important part of the communal social networks of Chinese immigrant women, and could provide individuals with the needed resources and social support (Luo, 2018; Zhu et al., 2019)).

However, there is still much room for future investigation. The application of the psychocultural perceptions, cultural symbols, and identity markers in social participation and communication has not been regarded as a key strategy for the construction of social capital. This issue is seldom addressed in immigration scholarship. This dissertation dedicates to investigate how certain specific symbols, metaphors, and self-expressions affect their social actions and shape the social capital accumulation process of Chinese immigrant women.

Critical Race Theory

As immigrant women's social capital is always associated with social cohesion represented by growing immigration flows and ethnic diversity (Cheong et al., 2016), it is necessary to incorporate a critical framework in which race and the identity of women are foregrounded. Mari Matsuda (1995, p. 1331) defines Critical Race Theory (hereafter CRT) as “the work of progressive legal scholars of color who are attempting to develop a jurisprudence that accounts for the role of racism in American law and that work toward

the elimination of racism as part of a larger goal of eliminating all forms of subordination.”

For the study of ethnicity and gender issues, each era has its own emphasis, unique writing mode, and accurate interpretation of a specific society. At the time of the rise of American multiculturalism in the mid-1970s, the application of this theory in research had refreshed many understandings of ethnic issues, challenged many accustomed views, and provided a new perspective on ethnic issues so as to prevent the disadvantaged groups from losing their voice in the discourse of social rights. The critical function of Critical Race Theory have become a theoretical tool to improve social reality (Howard, et al., 2016).

This theory consists of four themes that form its basic perspectives, research methods, and pedagogy (Solorzano, 1997). The first, namely the intersectionality of racism, emphasizes the central role of racism in shaping contemporary society. CRT offers a framework that can theorize and examine the ways race, gender, and class “implicitly and explicitly impact social structures” (Gillborn, 2015, p. 278). Thus, it remedies contra to the various forms of injustices and challenges, including common assumptions about meritocracy and neutrality are used as camouflage for the interests of dominant groups (Tate, 1997, p. 235). Second, CRT questions the traditional claims of race neutrality with its overall commitment to social justice. Researchers have found that some beliefs, such as meritocracy, race neutrality, equal opportunity and color-blindness, may contribute to a collective ignorance and relieve individuals from fighting against the impact of racism (Rosenberg, 2004; Ullucci & Battey, 2011). Third, it recognizes the experiential knowledge and counter-storytelling and highlights the stories of often

marginalized voices. Last, it challenges ahistoricism and the uni-disciplinarity by placing lived experiences within a historical and contemporary context (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001).

These four themes reflect the criticism and deep reflections of the traditional theory of ethnic cognition. This theory criticizes liberalist “color blindness” as an analytical method to explain the framework of social problems, believing that the constitutional principles of “color blindness,” equality, and neutrality ignore the different historical experiences of different groups. It also criticizes revisionist historical views, black and white dualism, and Eurocentrism. By criticizing these ideas, CRT advocates that ethnic minorities unite to resist the rationality of oppressions by obtaining social and political support. It is precisely because of this critical perspective that some Asian racial critical theorists pay attention to the myth of “model minority.”

The framework of CRT thereby facilitates the accumulation of knowledge about how Asian immigrants’ participation in their immigrant networks have become “a form of cultural enfranchisement and a pathway towards wider civic participation” (Clair & Nayar, 2017). It also challenges many accustomed perceptions, including the changing relationship between race, social development, and power. This is especially important for those in “multiple minority individuals” (Abu-Laban & Couture, 2010). In view of its utility of interdisciplinary perspectives and the validity of experiential knowledge, CRT is frequently used to assess the social capital of immigrant women. As Moi (2002, p. 23) concludes, systemic critical race theory, critical class analysis, post-colonial reflection, and gender critiques are natural allies. They all contend that the experiences of immigrant women must be better understood by the larger society (Asch, 2013). What CRT and

women's studies share in common are their tenets about how social relations and cultural configurations intertwine with considerations of power. They also share a common overall goal of developing theory from the voices and experiences of people of color and the oppressed.

For CRT, race is not just an additional variable in the equation; instead, it is at the center of the research enterprise (Vargas, 2003, p. 2). CRT posits race as a ubiquitous social experience that various social groups understand race in different ways. Understanding how Chinese immigrant women relate and understand their experiences and emotions is therefore needed for further investigation. This dissertation explains the phenomenon of “from dragon to phoenix”, namely, the Chinese women living in the Phoenix metro area apply the metaphor and symbol of the Phoenix to themselves meanwhile reject the stigma and stereotypes attached to the symbol of the Dragon. In order to avoid the potential racialization of the symbol of the Dragon and its negative impact on the image of Chinese immigrants, they replace it with the symbol of the Phoenix as an individual identity marker as well as a community symbolic representation. This phenomenon implies the participants' forward-looking concerns about the image Chinese immigrants, and also reflects that the dialogue of race permeates every aspect of social life.

Therefore, CRT describes and theorizes about participants racial experiences and their understanding of race at an unconscious level. The principles of CRT contribute to a better understanding of Chinese women lived experiences and can uncover Chinese immigrant women's constructions in the arena of social capital with, however, attention to the use of symbolic expressions of that capital.

Ethnic Symbols and Metaphors

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) identify metaphors as an approach to understanding one thing in terms of another, since “our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (p. 4). According to their theory, conceptual metaphors are not just a component of human language, but also “a fundamental part of human thought (Gibbs, 2011, p. 529). However, all metaphorically used words, meanings, and expressions are highly culture-dependent, as they vary considerably across different cultures, languages, and social contexts (Kövecses, 2010). This argument is also reflected in Duck’s (1994) opinion that, metaphors, signs, symbols exist within, and gain meaning from, culture; therefore, they have meaning only within a specific cultural context.

Similarly, Bourdieu apprehends the importance of the specific cultural environment. He proposes that symbols produce the power to construct a hegemonic version of reality, so that symbols can give rise to violence and discrimination (1996). Symbolic violence naturalizes the discourse about things and legitimates the domination system (Recuero, 2015). Symbolic power maintains its effect through the recognition of power relations situated in the social matrix of a given field since each field prescribes its particular values and possesses its own regulative principles (Haimes, 2003). Roland Barthes (1973) divides such symbolic power into two levels: denotation and connotation. Denotation is the fundamental meaning of a symbol, that is, everyone, regardless of nationality, religion, race, gender, or age, will usually reach a consensus with respect to their understanding of its meaning. Connotation refers to the cultural elements that must

be decoded in a specific cultural context that otherwise may result in different, or even opposite, interpretations. On account of these distinctions, some researches have pointed out that the approach of Bourdieu and Barthes can be considered “having been not only eminently on the right track and ahead of its time, but also a still relatively underexplored source of fundamental insights into the relation of culture, action, and cognition” (Lizardo, 2004, p. 14). Their discussions of metaphors and symbols are essentially an anticipation of the Lakoff-Johnson conception of metaphor (Gibbs, 2011).

Although many conceptual metaphors appear in a wide range of languages (Kovecses, 2010) with universal denotations, there are still a large number of signs, symbols, and metaphors that have specific connotations, application ranges, and cultural limitations. The symbols and metaphors used by some immigrants as self- and ethnic-referral markers transgress their original cultural and geographical boundaries due to the changes in the fields the users occupy, and provoke disagreement, conflict, and misunderstanding (Bosman, 2019). How to resist and reinscribe the symbolic violence generated in this way plagues many immigrants whose ethnic culture is different from that of mainstream American society. A mismatch between dominant culture and identity symbols of immigrants can lead to their placement of the symbols in resocialized space, which is humiliating and damaging to immigrants (Zine, 2001; Kayaalp, 2016). The most typical example is veils worn by female Muslim immigrants. The veils serve as an outward sign of a Muslim identity, but are often been associated with terrorism by the host culture, and, so have become a symbol of oppression and the violence toward Islamic culture (Zeiger, 2008; Blakeman, 2014).

Chinese immigrants are also plagued by such symbolic violence. The Chinese consider the dragon—a symbol of power, strength, and good luck (Chen, 2018)—as a national symbol (Sleeboom, 2002). Many Chinese immigrants rely on this symbol and its extensive metaphors in their daily lives to give cues and meanings about their culture, identity, and emotions to the people with whom they live and interact (Le Poire & Yoshimura, 1999; Duck, 2014). They describe themselves as “descendants of the dragon” (Su, 1997); compare their parental expectations and parenting to “wishing for dragon children”(Wu, 2004); metaphorize their achievement of difficult as “jumping through the Dragon Gate” (Curtis et al., 2018; Craig, 2020); and celebrate folk sports at festivals in terms of dragon themes, such as Dragon Boat and Dragon Dance (Harrison, Moyo, & Yang, 2012). However, the symbol of the dragon in Western cultures is an embodiment of arbitrariness and offensiveness (Babbage, 2020). As described in *Revelations* 12:9, “the great dragon was hurled down—that ancient serpent called the devil, or Satan, who leads the whole world astray.” A collective concern of overseas Chinese immigrants is that the negative connotations of the dragon metaphor in Western culture has produced stigmatization and misunderstandings about Chinese culture (i. e., Kelly, Chin, & Fagan, 1993; Prasso, 2005; Wang, 2007; Ren, 2007). Therefore, Chinese immigrants have experienced ambivalent feelings with respect to their application of ethnic metaphors, storytelling, and symbolic representation. The dislocation of this East Asian symbol not only reproduces and reinforces systemic racism, but also generates various racialized identity, racial solidarity amongst Chinese immigrants (Cui & Worrell, 2019).

For this reason, many researchers draw an analogy between immigrants and “the best container for all kinds of metaphors,” to illustrate the fact that they are often targets

and victims of symbolic violence (Hannon & Escamilla, 1999; Charteris-Black, 2006). On the one hand, they are usually systematically attacked and treated with hostility (Smarick & LaFree, 2012), through both policies and public opinion. On the other hand, symbols and metaphors have meaning only within a given cultural context (Duck, 1994). Bourdieu (2002) conceptualized such a given cultural context as a “field”, and pointed out that, once a symbol is transplanted to a new field, it will inevitably result in misrecognition and condescension. For immigrant groups, their proprietary national culture as well as related cultural elements, symbols, and metaphors unavoidably suffer symbolic violence consisting of such misrecognition and condescension in tandem with their transnational migration.

In response to this, linguists and other experts in researching metaphors hope to solve the problem caused by the incompatibility between the fields of immigrants and that of the host society through the reprocessing of conceptual metaphors. The former proposed to translate the Chinese dragon as “Loong” in order to avoid the stigma of the word “dragon.” They believe that, instead of allowing others to interpret the symbols of their ethnic culture, it is better to abandon the dragon metaphor that merely strengthens the stereotyped thinking that dominates by Western media, and, so, mitigate the misunderstanding towards the Chinese (Huang, 2006; Yan, 2013; Chen & Jiang, 2013; Lu, 2017). Scholars who study metaphors continue to ask whether the dragon is a suitable symbolic and metaphorical representation for China (Yao, 2006). They have attempted to create hybrid symbols and stories, such as “the Celtic tiger and hidden dragon” (Yau, 2007), “the Chinese dragon and eagle of Anáhuac” (González, 2013), and “the dragon brings the golden coins to the host country” (Wang, 2007). They believe that by offering

them to the media they could promote racial equality and influence how Chinese immigrants re-create their identify (Cui & Worrell, 2019).

However, these scholars also admit that such methods are not effective enough because the dominant structures of symbolic violence reach so deeply into the understanding (Chambers, 2005; Lu, 2017). Under the premise of lack of cultural capital such as support from recreational media, art and literary, changes to an image or linguistic translation may make the new symbol or metaphor “the next stigmatized dragon (Huang, 2006).” When these new metaphors and symbols are not extracted from collective habitus or cognition, they are unable to eventually become linguistic conventions.

A fact overlooked in the exploration of resisting symbolic violence is that the Chinese national totem system is composed of two gendered symbols: dragon and phoenix. The dragon is the embodiment of masculinity, while the phoenix is paired with the dragon as a symbol of femininity. The phoenix, along with the dragon, not only symbolizes auspiciousness, heralding a glorious period of peace and prosperity for the people and the country, but also uniquely represents the beautiful virtues, roles, and responsibilities of women. Although images of both the dragon and phoenix are revered and appreciated, the role of the latter as a symbol of the Chinese is little known. In the East, the connotations of the phoenix is the virtue of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and sincerity of women, while in Western cultures it refers to sun, immortality, and rebirth.² There are subtle connotative differences between the phoenix

² The Greek historian Herodotus said: “There is also another sacred bird called the phoenix which I did not myself see except in painting, for in truth he comes to them very rarely, at intervals, as the people of

in the Eastern and Western fields, but in both the phoenix is the embodiment of positive metaphors. Given that the phoenix is a positive symbol in both the East and the West, in the two-way process of outward community building and inward self-motivation, a group of Chinese immigrant women living around Phoenix, Arizona, combine the Eastern and Western connotations of the phoenix, and creates a fourfold conceptual metaphor of the phoenix, which conceptualizes their personal immigration experience, femininity, ethnic identity, and geographic location. On the other hand, they reject, negotiate, and resist the stigma and stereotypes attached to the “dragon” symbol that too often designates an overpowering and irrational image of oppression. Instead, they associate themselves with the heuristic of the phoenix as a tool for self-empowerment, virtue, well-being, and self-representation.

Researchers who pay attention to the causal relationship between the change of cultural field caused by the dislocation of immigrants and symbolic violence have offered two pathways for resisting and reinscribing symbolic violence so as to address racial justice. First, they attempt to describe how the imperceptible violence and resistance to it have visible and observable dimensions by making efforts to investigate the social movements of immigrants, including activism, marches, boycotts, and strikes (Stalker, 2006; Wiegmann, 2017; Dlamini, Helman, & Malherbe, 2018). Second, they argue that it is necessary to learn from the feminist approach to deconstruct the social order via

Heliopolis say, of five hundred years; and these say that he comes regularly when his father dies; and if he be like the painting, he is of this size and nature, that is to say, some of his feathers are of gold color and others red, and in outline and size he is as nearly as possible like an eagle.” In *Herodotus, Histories*, (II, 73). Shakespeare depicted the image of the phoenix in *Henry VIII*: “The bird of wonder dies, the maiden phoenix, her ashes new create another heir, as great in admiration as herself.” The monk Tacitus (1872) argued that the phoenix was resurrected every three hundred years. It had been reborn five times in total, the last time was in 34 AD, which happened to be the year when Jesus came back to life.

consciousness-raising. They believe that internalized social interactions and “the ways of life” (Sandoval, 2011; Torres & Ubeda, 2015) could complement new habitus, actions, knowledge, and cultural consensus (O’Reilly, 2012). The basis for this argument lies in that cultural concepts such as habitus and knowledge, forge the link between individual experience and social structure (MacKinnon, 1989, p. 334), which could thereby disrupt the symbolic violence inherent to the host society.

According to Bourdieu’s own analysis (2002), the second pathway is more effective because the daily behaviors and actions of individuals are generated by overarching social rules and patterns, which in turn provide insights into these rules and patterns. This thinking inspired the project of interviewing Chinese immigrant women in the Phoenix metro area of Arizona in order to elucidate the practice of Chinese-born women’s use of the “phoenix” metaphor, previously little-known to them, as a powerful self- and ethnic- referential marker of representation, and the basis of social interaction with significant others. Their doing so exemplifies the immigrants’ spontaneous creation and display of specific conceptual metaphors as a means of resisting unconscious stigma and symbolic violence towards them as well as promoting racial justice. To achieve this goal, two research questions had to be answered: First, in the process of the communal and social capital accumulation, how do Chinese cultural symbols and the metaphorical content behind them affect women’s consciousness and behavior? Second, how do they construct and revitalize the history and culture of their transplanted collective?

CHAPTER 2

Research Methods and Approaches

This research relies on a mixed-method approach. The qualitative data, spanning from a period of five months, is drawn from an ethnographic study conducted in the Maricopa County, the main part of the Phoenix metro area in the state of Arizona, within the USA, from January 2021 to June 2021. Additionally, a survey (n=58) measuring the social capital capacity, social network, and community engagement of the participants was also designed and executed. Descriptive statistical analyses were extracted from this survey to support the present ethnographic findings, about how the Chinese community has developed through the contributions of women.

Study Sample and Recruitment

Reviews of community-based research suggest that community engagement is crucial to achieving successful recruitment and the increased enrollment of participants (Sapienza, Corbie-Smith, Keim, & Fleischman, 2007; Promislow, 2014). I have undertaken a community engagement strategy to approach, identify, and recruit qualified participants. Such a community engagement included participation in community events, contact with community organizations, interactions with community members, and media outreach.

The sampling technique is a combination of probability-based sampling and non-probability sampling, that employed emails, texts, and Wechat³. Since the summer of 2019, I have participated in festivals and cultural activities in the Chinese community, where I met some organizers and active community members. Subsequently, I participated in activities of some member-only clubs and interest groups, as well as some social events, initiated by invitations from these people. With their help, I established primary connections with the Chinese community in Phoenix. In the next two years, my in-depth participation and engagement in the community allowed me to develop close, trusting relationships with these potential participants. Four of them became participants and initial informants of this study. Owing to this process of my community participation, a dozen of my respondents were recruited through snowball sampling. At my request, a total of 17 qualified participants were sought out and referred to me.

However, snowball sampling is usually criticized for its lack of sample diversity and representativeness. On the one hand, this recruitment strategy may lead to over-representations of individuals “who share similar characteristics” (Sadler et al., 2010, p. 370). On the other hand, under-representation materializes in key informants’ self-selection bias, since this strategy excludes potential informants that are the least keen to cooperate (Penrod, 2003). Based on a demand for generalization, representativeness, and data literacy, random sampling was employed as well. To achieve this goal, I joined three women’s clubs in the Phoenix metropolitan area. The three clubs are: Phoenix Teahouse, Phoenix’s Nest of the Women’s Academy, and Phoenixes Having Nests. Detailed information about these clubs have been analyzed in detail in the next chapter. With the

³ A Chinese popular multi-purpose messaging and social media platform.

permission of club organizers, I announced the research project to the members and organizers of these clubs and invited them to participate.

The Participants

All the participants were advised that they had the right of withdrawal unconditionally from the study. The selected participants met four criteria: all were women; all were born in China; all were current residents of the Phoenix metro area, Arizona; and all displayed or discussed the symbolic and metaphorical phoenix (the mythical bird) in a positive way either on social media or in face-to-face communication. In total 58 participants were recruited. Their ages ranged from 34 to 92 (Mean=59; SD=14.4). Their residency in Phoenix ranged from 3 to 73 years (Mean=21 years; SD=16.3). At the time of the interview, 39 of my interviewees were married, 8 were divorced, 8 were widowed, and 3 were single. The following table summarizes the main characteristics of my sample. In order to ensure anonymity, the participants were identified numerically as P1 through P58. The names of their friends and families, those which the participants mentioned, have also been systematically modified and replaced with pseudonyms.

Table 1

Demographic Information

Variable (n=58)

Education	19% high school diploma (n=12) 26% some college/ associate's degree (n=14) 34% Bachelor's degree (n=20) 16% Master's degree (n=9) 5% doctorate (n=3)
Occupation (according to The International Standard Classification of Occupations)	14% managers (n=8) 14% professionals (n=8) 19% service and sales workers (n=11) 19% clerical support workers (n=11) 17% housewives (n=10) 16% service and sales workers (n=9) 2% armed forces occupations (n=1)
Age	32-92 (59 on average)
Years in the US	12% 0-5 years (n=7) 38% 6-15 years (n=22) 31% 16-25 years (n=18) 19% >26 years (n=11)
Language	Bilingual Mandarin-English: 49 Bilingual Cantonese-English: 4 Mandarin only: 5
Marital status	5% single (n=3) 67% married (n=39) 14% divorced or separated (n=8) 14% widowed (n=8)

Virtual Interviews

The qualitative data collection was collective through 58 semi-structured interviews. All of the interviews were conducted during Spring of 2021. According to the data provided by the Arizona Department of Health Services, COVID-19 test positivity

continued to increase until March 16. Vaccines were not open to all in Arizona until March 24. Given the outbreak's severity at the time, all the participants chose to do remote interviews rather than traditional face-to-face interviews. Three virtual tools for interviewing, cell phone calls, Zoom (for e-video conferencing), and WeChat, were used according to the participants' preferences.

Although the remote interviewing was an alternative mode in response to the restrictions brought in by the epidemic's progression, it unexpectedly had improved the efficiency of the interview process, since it facilitated the collaborations between the participants and me. First, as since some interviewees have been working from home since the outbreak of the global COVID-19 respiratory virus in 2020, their schedules (including available times for interviews) were then more flexible, so they had more personal time at their disposal. Some participants (P2, 4, 14, 19, 27, 41, 49, 50) sent the electronic version of signed consensus forms to me (via either Wechat or an email) within 10 minutes after the participatory invitation letter was sent to them, stating that they were ready for an interview. Second, due to the monotonous social life caused by the epidemic, the participants showed strong interest in self-expression and communication. According to their accounts, the COVID-19 quarantine, and general self-isolation due to the social distancing motivated them to communicate with the outside world. An explicit signal is the extraordinary length of some of the interviews. Twelve interviews lasted more than two hours, among which four were longer than three hours. As P53 said: "No hurry. We can talk for a bit more. I haven't had much chance to chat with people since the outbreak."

The interviews lasted between 47 minutes and 230 minutes, and they consisted of four main components: demographic information and personal experiences, their understanding of the Phoenix as a symbolic and metaphorical object, their strategies for establishing metaphorical connections between the Phoenix and themselves, as well as their social networks and community engagement. The interviews, of which 50 were conducted in Mandarin and 8 in English, were audio-recorded, and then transcribed verbatim. To ensure the consistent transcription of the interviews, the 50 Mandarin interviews were translated into English by a professional translator.

The English language interview transcripts were then uploaded to NVivo, a software for coding. Following the suggestion of Mackey and Gass (2005), the data coding was repeated two different times (technically coded for this present effort as Time 1 and Time 2 respectively) to guarantee reliability and validity. The Time 1 interview transcriptions were coded applying the principles of thematic analysis, which is a method for systematically identifying, then organizing and offering insight into patterns of meaning across a data set (Clarke & Braun, 2017). One month later, I repeated the coding process (marked as Time 2). The results in Time 1 and Time 2 are mostly consistent. The codes were refined and reviewed, and then mapped into three interrelated main thematic categories: (1) metaphORIZING personal experiences with the Phoenix, (2) metaphORIZING women's roles related to the phoenix, as well as (3) metaphORIZING the local Chinese community with the phoenix. To ensure the rigor of the analysis, the coded transcripts were checked by a research assistant who was trained on qualitative research training. Following the review of the research assistant, references that did not fit the themes were

imported back into the original interview transcript, so as to ensure that the participants' accounts were represented accurately.

Observations

Virtual observation, as an expanding ethnographic methodology in today's technologically connected society, is increasingly utilized to gather data on respondents' social life (Compley, 2007; Steinmetz, 2012). Online communication and gatherings have become preferred options for the Chinese community in Phoenix in response to the COVID-19 outbreak. As the organizers of some community online gatherings have agreed to be virtually observed, virtual observation is another method of collecting data. Zoom, YouTube live, and Facebook live are the most widely used platforms for this immigrant community's online gatherings.

I attended online festivals (for instance, Lantern Festival, Phoenix Night, and Phoenix Spring), as well as events and meetings (such as mini concerts, seminars, informal lectures). I took detailed field notes during observations. I also recorded participant-observations of WeChat groups of Chinese immigrants in Phoenix with the permissions of the owners of these virtual chatting groups. Its functionalities include instant messaging (one-to-one private chat, group chat) and "Moments" that allow users to share text-based updates, images, and short videos or articles with their friends (Knockel et al., 2018). All of my participants were active on WeChat. They posted photos of their family and friends, videos, and comments about their everyday lives, in much the same way that today's people are doing. I joined eight WeChat groups in total. These groups are member-only. Only users who have been authenticated by the group

owner would be invited to enter the group. I observed the incidents, discussions, and shared opinions in these online social groups.

Archives

The quantitative data collecting was furthermore accompanied by the content and archival analysis of documents that the participants shared with me and their social media posts.

The collected social media posts and comments obtained from the participants were analyzed for their communicative practices. Social media posts and online textual-based chats are classified here in two different data categories. The former falls under the category of archives, while the latter belongs to observation (Lomborg, 2012). Steinmetz (2012) argues that there is essential difference between the two, since social links are often missing in content analysis and archival research, but online messaging contains the immediacy, the emotions, and the connection to other users, which a researcher can feel and experience in the virtual field, much like they would in person. In addition, the participants produced and shared their personal writings (letters, articles, diaries, and autobiographies) and homemade, textual materials (including posters, fliers, and brochures). These private archives are an important part of my content and archival analysis.

In addition to the personal archives provided by the participants, this study referred to historical documents obtained from the archives. Chinese immigrants' Arizonian living history has lasted for nearly 160 years (Tintle, 2004). To trace the changes in social capital accumulation at different times as well as the history of Chinese

immigrants in Arizona, I rely on the archives at the following four institutions: special collections at the University of Arizona, Arizona State University library, the Arizona Historical Society, Arizona's Chinese History Association. Their collections are available for public use, containing a wealth of private transoceanic letters, photos, house deeds, and immigrational documents regarding exclusive Chinese history in Arizona.

Survey

I conducted online social network surveys with the participants. The multi-sampling approach not only called for recruiting recruited 58 participants, but also plotted their returned surveys, which had contained descriptive data. Appendix B has a record of the survey instrument. The survey starts with a name generator question. Name generators can form an accurate picture of what the social actors had actually experienced (Bidart & Charbonneau, 2012). As an important survey item, name generator question usually asks the respondents to name a certain number of other actors with whom they had shared, at that point, a particular type of social relation (Burt et al., 2012). My respondents were asked to identify up to 10 women who are important in their social network in the community. They only needed to list their first names or initials.

Social network surveys also often include name interpreters, which are questions that ask respondents about the attributes of individuals they named in response to the name generator (Campbell & Lee, 1991). Name interpreters consist of the intimacy, relationship type, along with the interactional frequency they have had with the nominated persons.

Data was collected using Excel and was examined with Gephi, a visualization software for graphs and social networks. I have further explained the network with respect to the above indicators in Chapter 4, so as to answer the research sub-question A, which was the following: what capacity, size, norms and structure of social capital do these Chinese women partake in, as social actors, in the Phoenix metropolitan geographical target context?

CHAPTER 3

The History of the Chinese Community of Arizona

Immigration to the US border states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas has often been characterized as disproportionately Latin American immigrants. Asian migration and specifically Chinese migration is overshadowed by more contemporary popular sentiment toward Latinx communities in the USA. However, historically Chinese migration was just as prominent and to a great degree just as contested. Historically, the Chinese played an integral part in developing the “unsettled interior” (Murray & Solliday, 2007, p. 8) of the country represented by Arizona, while forced to live and work in a restrictive environment shaped by discrimination and segregation. More recently Asian communities have experienced a similar social phenomenon in the midst of the COVID global pandemic. Nationally, Asians and Asian-Americans have seen a surge in violence perpetuated against them because of their racial and/or ethnic identity. Although Arizona is typically not considered a destination site for most international immigration, Chinese migration to the US state of Arizona do not occur within a historical vacuum. Quite the contrary, evidence of rich historical material culture and social organization of the group in Arizona has been documented by historians and sociologists.

Yet, there is still room for further historical research. There are many personal collections and official archives worthy of further exploration. In this chapter, I investigate the history of the Chinese immigrants of Arizona from 1880s onwards.

Combining demographic data, previous research, family genealogy provided by the participants, and public archives, I offer an overview of the history of the Chinese community of Arizona.

Moving to Arizona

Early emigration of the Chinese to the United States was, for the most part, to the West Coast they settling in San Francisco and other areas in California. According to the 1890 U.S. Census, over 75,000 Chinese settled in California, and 10,000 of them in San Francisco alone. Initially much of the attraction was the need for labor: They worked in the territory as miners, cooks, and laundrymen (Keane, Rogge, & Luckingham, 1992, p. 5-9).

Hundreds of Chinese arrived as employed laborers for the construction of the Southern Pacific Railroad between 1860s–1880s (Fong, 1980). The 1880 US Census indicated that of the 1,630 Chinese in Arizona, 850 were railroad laborers. They not only contributed to the Southern Pacific Railroad project, one of the most significant transitory rail lines on the west coast, but also initiated a new route of migration within the US, which brought them into Arizona's towns provided them with better opportunities for employment (Chen, 1923). Since the 1880s, more and more Chinese immigrants have moved to Arizona from California, especially from San Francisco because of prejudice and exclusionary laws represented by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (Tittle, 2004). The prohibitive effects of those federal laws prompted many illegal Chinese to move away from California to Arizona so as to avoid penalties such as imprisonment or

deportation (Fong, 1980). Some other sojourners traveled to Arizona to join successful established members of their clan (Dames & Moor, 1992).

This migration route of moving from other states to Arizona is reflected in both public and private archives as well personal narratives. The earliest historical record of such Chinese migration route was an obituary of an Arizona Chinese pioneer *Tie Wong* published in “Arizona Daily Star” in March 7, 1940 (Figure 1). The obituary explains that Wong was “a native of China,” and he came to the United States while he was young and spent several years living in California first. Later, he traveled eastward to Arizona with the influx of pioneer settlers and miners who sought to search precious materials in 1880s. As “Arizona Daily Star” reported, “Wong lived in various parts of Arizona, including Tombstone during its boom-town heyday, Prescott and Tucson, finally coming to Phoenix in around the 1900s.”

In many ways his migration story is the template of most Chinese pioneers in Arizona. He was born in southeast China and immigrated to the US state of California as a youth. Like many other Chinese immigrants, Wong sited anti-Chinese sentiment before and after the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act as a factor in the decision to migrate to Arizona. Wong also closely followed restaurant business and aimed to establish a place of his own. After traveling through many cities in Arizona, he finally decided that Phoenix was the most suitable for the fomentation of his restaurant business, that is to say his decision to settle in Phoenix was also influenced by the opportunity for economic well-being. Wong settled and rooted in the city of Phoenix for the remaining 35 years of his life.



Figure 1

The Obituary of Arizona Chinese pioneer Tie Wong, Arizona Daily Star (March 7, 1940)

Repository: Arizona History Museum, Chinese History Collection

Akin to Wong, Participant 5's father-in-law initially settled in San Francisco, California instead of Arizona. Due to the strong local anti-Chinese atmosphere and restrictions on career options, he decided to move to Arizona to seek self-development, realize his dreams and eventually chose to run a grocery store in Phoenix, Arizona.

According to the family genealogy book provided by Participant 5, her father-in-law's migration story shares other similar features. She recounts that (see Figure 2),

“Upon arriving in San Francisco in 1907, he [...] worked as chef in various

Chinese restaurants. This was not a passion of his, he earned a living like so, just to survive. He did not like it, so he came to Phoenix when Arizona was still a Territory around 1909-1910, and worked for some relatives, saving enough to eventually start his own business in Phoenix.”

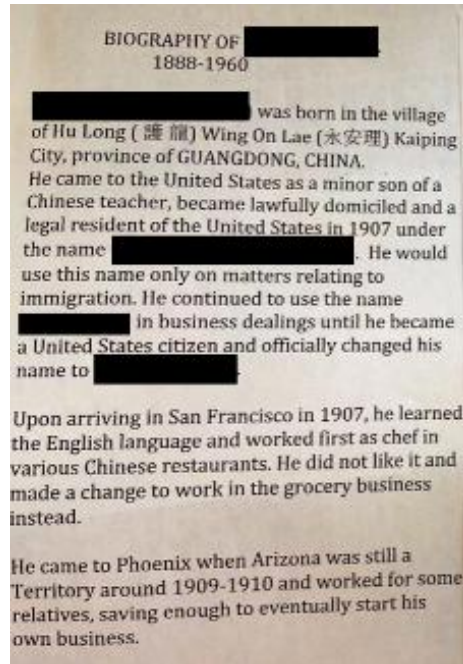


Figure 2

The Family Genealogy Book of Participant 5

These two stories highlight the incentives to migrate from traditional destination sites to adjacent localities like Arizona. Aside from the individuals who were forced to move to Arizona because of prejudice and exclusionary, the opportunity for growth in Arizona attracted a large group of immigrants seeking a place to establish community and

invest in economic endeavors. In essence a combination of economic and popular sentiment leveraged Arizona's developing communities as an attractive site for beginning again.

Another overland immigration route accessible to Chinese immigrants was moving from Mexico to the US state of Arizona. The US-Mexico geopolitical border was established in the mid-19th century, however physical barriers were not established until decades later. Essentially, the US-Mexico border at this time did not exist as a precise line of socio-ecological division (Alegria, 1989). It was a transition zone that included territories in both countries, where the practices of production and social reproduction of the ancient inhabitants of those areas converged and the practices of those who arrived from the consolidated places, both from Mexico and the United States (Vélez-Ibáñez, 2017). Many Chinese immigrants were able to enter the United States from Mexico smoothly. According to the oral history data preserved in the University of Arizona Library, a Hong Kong native named Lee Wah set out from Hong Kong in 1900 and arrived in Guaymas, Sonora, Mexico. Afterwards, he took the Southern Pacific Railroad constructed by his compatriots from Guaymas to Nogales (Vélez-Ibáñez, 2017), and then walked across the border into Tucson. It is estimated that more than 17,300 Chinese immigrants regarded Mexico as a back door to enter the United States from 1882 to 1920 (Lee, 2002).

They could successfully take root in Arizona to some extent thanks to their proximity to this border. Between 1887 and 1913, Arizona miscegenation law prohibited "all marriages of persons of Caucasian blood, or their descendants, with negroes, Mongolians or Indians, and their descendants" (Struckmeyer, 1930, p. 522). Except for

some immigrants who were married before immigrating and had children who chose to remain single, many single men chose to intermarry with Mexicans. In his work “Unlawful Love: a History of Arizona’s Miscegenation Law,” Hardaway (1986) found that a Chinese man named Hi Wo married a Mexican woman in the 1900s, this couple operated a grocery store in Benson and give all the children Spanish first names: Soledad, Felicia, Isabel, José, y Victoria. Keane and Melissa (1992) considered this was the first Chinese man who married a Mexican woman. However, in 1906, a Tombstone resident Ah Lum remarried a Mexican woman Antonia Gomez born at Chihuahua, Mexico. The couple ran a company called Six Companies in Boothill, specializing in the service of returning the bones of Chinese who died in the United States to their hometown. It is difficult to determine which of the two was the first Chinese to begin intermarriage with Mexicans. The descendants of these earliest Chinese-Mexico families are rare people in the local English-Spanish bilingual communities who could speak Spanish, English, and Chinese. However, over time, their great-grandchildren gradually lost the ability to speak Chinese and became bilinguals of Spanish and English.

In this type of work that studies Chinese people in Arizona history, such as that of Fong (1980), Traywick (1989), as well as Lister and Lister (1989a; 1989b), there are many detailed introductions of such Mexican-Chinese family cases. This suffices to show that during their initial migrations and accommodations throughout Arizona, they benefited from the Mexican community and thereby were able to pass the initial difficult years smoothly. As analyzed by Fong (1980), married Chinese were more readily acceptable to Arizona settlers than bachelors, in turn marriage gave them a sense of security and stability.

These pioneers who were driven by various reasons and arrived in Arizona through different overland migration routes have become an important part of the local society. Keane and Melissa (1992, p. 22) pointed out, the Chinese occupied four percent of the entire population of Arizona in 1880s, “never again has the percentage of Chinese in Arizona been so high.” Without a doubt the early decades of Chinese migration to Arizona paved the way for the community’s growth and set a precedent for the significance of Chinese immigrants in the state of Arizona.

It is generally understood that the arrival of early Chinese pioneers coincided with mounting Euro-American antagonism, meeting immigrants with some unfair treatment as a result (Lister & Lister, 2015). Fong (1980) asserted that the underpopulation and the lack of consciousness and strategies of resistance are two reasons the Chinese in Arizona did not develop into self-sufficient Chinatowns as those appeared in California. This assertion has been corrected with the continuous excavation of subsequent archaeology and archives.

First, archaeological data from several cities can demonstrate that Chinese settlements have once formed. In 1990, nearly two thousand relics of Chinese immigrants were found near the first street in Phoenix, including not only wine bottles, medicine bottles and other daily necessities, but also Ming Dynasty porcelain, copper coins and buttons from the Kangxi period of Qing Dynasty (1662-1722). Archaeological experts concluded that these relics can prove that Phoenix had a mature Chinese community long before the Phoenix City Council was established in 1863 (Zhang, 2015). This early Phoenix Chinatown was located between 1st Street and 3rd Street, with Madison and Jefferson as the boundary between the north and the south. Lister and Lister (1989a) have

described in detail the scene of how about 200 Chinese workers marched to Tucson and how they gradually settled in west and south of the ancient presidio gate. Other cities, such as Tombstone and Prescott, also have historical evidence of the existence of established Chinese communities.

Mutual assistance among the immigrants played a key role in the formation of such early communities. Some capable immigrants and associations successively provided support and shelter for latecomers. According to documents collected by the Arizona Chinese Historical Association, in the early 20th century, a man named Kangzhong Yu once ran a Citi restaurant on Central Avenue in Phoenix. As one of the few Chinese entrepreneurs who could maintain a good relationship with the political and business circles at the time, he provided many Chinese newcomers to Phoenix with restaurant job opportunities and residences. The Ying On Association acted as an important buffer zone for early Chinese people in the pioneering era, and helped the new arrivals adjust to the local conditions in Arizona. Many of them joined this association as to seek refuge from threats of unfair and discriminatory business practices. It is undeniable that underpopulation did not prevent Chinese immigrants from forming settlements.

In the face of anti-Chinese sentiment, they have developed coping strategies and even prepared for armed resistance. To express late-19th-century Euro-American male anxiety over job insecurity, anti-Chinese sentiment gradually grew. In some cases, strong sentiments were translated into violent action (Hu-DeHart, 1980). It is recorded that Euro-Americans wielded big sticks, assaulting Chinese laborers in several Arizona towns, including Bisbee, Clifton, Flagstaff, and Tombstone throughout 1880s to 1910s (Lister &

Lister, 1989b, p. 57). In 1901, a group of young boys burst into a Tombstone candy store and the owner Foo Kee was stabbed to death in this accident (Traywick, 1989). Some local Euro-American groups such as the Anti-Chinese League of Tombstone came into being. They organized related activities to express their attitudes. The Daily Tombstone reported an intense anti-Chinese activity. On 22 March 1886, “a stand was erected facing the Occidental Hotel, and sounds of music and the announcement that there would be an Anti-Chinese meeting attracted an audience of over 500 people.”

However, “despite appearances, an anxious vulnerability surrounded Euro-American parades and a smoldering resolve permeated Chinese silence” (Cheung, 2002, p. 40). Arizona Chinese militias trained secretly and formed some self-defense organizations, the most famous are the Chee Kung Tong (Active Justice Society) of Tucson and the Chinese Masonic Lodge of Tombstone. During the closed-door meetings, Chinese miners, farmers, laundrymen, cooks, and railroad workers “acted as warriors during elaborate martial rituals” (Lau-Fong, 1988). Cheung (2002) believe that such martial training empowered them to enact resistance.

In his novel *The Last Days of the Republic* published in 1880, Pierton Dooner was keenly aware of the potential danger of this type of armed Chinese secret societies in the 19th-century overseas settlements. He created some Chinese characters with martial ability to remind everyone to pay attention to the anger and the spirit of rebellion under the appearance of Chinese immigrants’ silence and obedience.

Upon facing the hostility and strangeness of the local society, these immigrants hope to let the locals understand their harmlessness by organizing Chinese cultural activities. Chinese communities in Phoenix, Prescott and Tucson all had held New Year’s

Festivals in the early 20th century. They provided free entertainment and food provided at such events, and advertised in local newspapers. The Arizona Weekly Miner published an event advertisement for the Chinese community during the During New Year's Day on 8 February 1908: "the stranger, no matter of what nationality [...] was welcomed, treated to choice Chinese delicacies". Given that these events can improve the relationship between different races, Lister and Lister (1989a, p.8) summarized them as an "expression of solidarity." This type of activity is also essentially an ambiguous form of resistance (Cheung, 202), which uses performances and food to bring this silent group into the public eye, thereby implying the harmlessness of the Chinese community and welcome to friendly exchanges (Vennman, 1992).

Living in Arizona

The general sentiment in regards to Chinese immigrants in Arizona is of a people who worked hard in the few occupations open to them contributing to relatively precarious living conditions (Keane & Melissa, 1992, p. 21). Many scholars have thoroughly analyzed the living conditions of these early immigrants. In response to this, I use the transnational epistolary between the immigrants and their left-behind family to complement and echo previous research. Throughout the 20th century, most immigrants and their left-behind family members had the historical tradition of using letter writing to maintain ties and visualize their intimacy (Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011). Many early Chinese immigrants in Arizona similarly highly relied on transnational letters to communicate and maintain ties with their left-behind families. The letters that were

fortunately preserved thus truly portray the real life of immigrants and stories that are rare recorded by historical documents.

To do so, I analyze the rhetoric about the life challenges of early Chinese immigrants in Arizona as revealed in 244 private letters written by the left-behind families sent to their emigrant relatives living in Arizona. These private letters were originally collected and preserved by the Ying On Association, a historical Chinese-American community of merchants founded in many cities in Arizona, for the purpose of providing assistance to members of the Chinese community on all aspects (Zhang, 2015). When immigrants died in this foreign land or chose to return back to China, the Ying On Association served as an ethnic non-governmental archive, collecting and organizing the documents, photos, and letters they left, which were eventually donated to the Library of the University of Arizona. The bountiful historical material highlights more than a couple trends and shared experiences amongst Chinese immigrants.

First, these immigrants were burdened with heavy economic pressure to support the entire left-behind family in their place of origin. From the middle of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, the history of rural Chinese history was one of hard struggle for survival (Wang, 2006). Some scholars believe that every early Arizona Chinese immigrant had a “troubled hometown” (Keane & Melissa, 1992, p. 12) for this reason. Therefore, it is no surprise that some of the motivations to move to Arizona was the desire to establish and foment income and economic growth. The lives of most rural families were very difficult, many pleaded with the emigrated family members in regards to the circumstances in their place of origin and for remittances:

The only food we can afford is porridge. I deeply sighed for this. So I borrowed 500 Hong Kong dollars from our nephew Run Ting and divided the money between our two sons for the purchase of rice. I hope you, my husband, will send some money back as soon as you receive my letter.⁴

Grandpa, we are at the time of temporary shortage of food; there are no grain reserves at home because our harvest is very limited. I think we will starve to death soon.⁵

The immigrants were well aware of the hardships of their families in the hometown. They knew that without their remittance, all of their families may starve to death. This is why they were willing to cross the ocean alone and work in a foreign country. Therefore, they need to work hard to shoulder the burden of supporting the entire family.

Secondly, limited by their occupations, they were often troubled by overwork and injuries. Chinese in Arizona were famous for long hours, hard work, and success in laundries, restaurants, and groceries all over the state (Keane & Melissa, 1992). Such long-term overworked lifestyle consumed their health greatly. In the letters, their relatives in China often asked about their illness and physical condition:

“I received a letter from you in October, stating that your illness was caused by excessive fatigue and anger and in December 1959, you were admitted to the hospital for a few months. You said that you have to use four iron sticks to support your waist. I read this letter from you, I was very sad at night. I feel your suffering staying outside. [...] Can you treat your illness in the future?”⁶

⁴ The original text is: 儿孙成群，粥也难得。其困苦之状非笔墨所能述矣。最可惜者，你母亲年高，令其抵饥受饿度日，心更难过耳。各人粥水度日，深为叹息，乃由润婷侄手借来港币五百元。分为两儿子暂购米粮之用。祈望夫君接我信后即要付回此款。交回润庭侄收为要 (1936)。Translated by the author.

⁵ The original text is: 父亲在家担泥是辛苦的工作，……现家中收割近青黄不接的时候米粮没有，我看一定会有饿死之日 (October 24, 1955)。Translated by the author.

⁶ The original text is: 我在 10 月接到你的来信一封，内说明你的病是劳恼而病。在 1959 年 12 月再入医院几个月。你说你现在要用四条铁仔来帮助腰力。我看到你这封信，我是非常

Due to overwork and various unpredictable accidents, many people suffer from chronic diseases and often need to stop work, rest or even be hospitalized. This will not only cause mental and physical double torture, but also loss of income. What's more, many immigrants died from serious illness or encountered unexpected events, and thereby completely lose contact with their families. In a letter, a girl asked a friend of her emigrant father:

“Everyone asserts that my father was very sick, and has died in Tucson. Can you please help to find out if he is still alive? If he still be alive, please let him write to me soon. I am very worried about him.”⁷

Finally, most of them had left home for decades, and cannot meet their family members. The longing tortured both the immigrants and their families. One left-behind wife sighed:

“It has been more than twenty years since you left home. No matter what, I hope you will come back soon to reunite with family, lest I stand by the door waiting for you all day long. I haven't seen you in decades, I miss you deeply.”⁸

From the narratives in these letters sent from left-behind families in China to the hands of Chinese male immigrants in Arizona, we can deduct that early Chinese immigrants in Arizona experienced a multitude of hardship. Many missed decades of

难过。我在夜间觉你在外的痛苦。[...]你这的病，将来有能理好吗 (December 17, 1961)?
Translated by the author.

⁷ The original text is: 因久未接我家父有信寄归，侄以渴望万分，上星期又闻人家传说，我家父已经重病去世于祖笋，所以我们在家，极度挂念，各人行坐不安，希望能得我家父一些消息。今日来信腾叔你，请你百忙之中助我。查问我家父实情如何。[...]代叫他速速至信回家 (June 19, 1936). Translated by the author.

⁸ The original text is: 况且旅外二十余年，又年老迈，应理范家园，享娱晚岁，是为子者，尽天伦之乐，夫妇母子团叙。今来能知愿此情此景回忆挂念也。无论如何，父子返家，夫妇母子见面方遂心愿，免我终日倚门盼望几十年未见，想念殊深 (April 30, no reference to year). Translated by the author.

their families lives while the majority never reunited with their kin. Additionally, the mental pressure leveraged by economic uncertainty of themselves and their families in the place of origin bore extremely heavy. The lack of social and economic benefits at the time made it extremely important that immigrants be able-bodied. However, once one's body was plagued by grave ailments and could no longer continue to work, not only will he not be able to survive in the United States, but even his family will starve back home was jeopardized.

Women in Arizona

The immigration history of Chinese women in Arizona is almost as long as that of their male counterparts. Male immigrants first appeared in 1868 (Keane & Melissa, 1992). About 20 miners were found working in Vulture Mine in Wickenburg in that year. Only three years later, the first First Chinese woman appeared in Prescott. In the 1900 Census, the number of this group became 32, and 10 of them lived in Phoenix. These women were all married, all mothers (Keane & Melissa, 1992). Since then, this number has continued to rise, and as of 1950, the Chinese female population had grown to 448 (Kwoh, 2019).

Although the information on the Arizona immigration history of Chinese women is not as abundant as that of men, the existence of these women was not only present in the demographic data. In the 1880s, a Chinese woman named Sing Choy, better known as China Mary, once appeared in Tombstone. She was later revered as Dragon Lady. She made money by running a general store, controlling opium trade, prostitution, and gambling, as well as offering security of jobs for Chinese laborers in the white

community, and thus gained the awe and dependence of the whole town. But she also reaped the respect and love of the denizens of Tombstone for her loyalty, honesty and generosity to help people in difficulties. After doing a detailed study, Traywick (1989, p. 31) came to the conclusion:

China Marry was the absolute ruler of Tombstone's Hoptown and all its denizens, not only ruled them but virtually owned them body, life, and soul. Her word and her decisions were undisputed law and non dares disobey. It was extremely unusual for a woman - any woman- to occupy such a position in the American West.

The emergence of Dragon Lady is not an isolated case. Another Chinese woman named Lai Ngan who settled in Nogales in 1903 was also recorded because of her ability to run a grocery independently.

With Chinese exclusion laws was repealed by the Magnuson Act in 1943, the living environment of the Chinese gradually improved. Since this period, some bachelors gradually chose to return to their hometown to marry with local Chinese women of the right age and then bring their wives to the United States. Such phenomena are recorded in the letters of immigrants. On September 11, 1948, a girl named Ru Yang wrote to her uncle, reporting her marriage decision:

“I was engaged to Cao'cong Wong, a man from our hometown, on September 11. His parents run a laundry in Phoenix of the United States. His family is well-off. He is the only child. I will migrate to the United States with him after we get married. As an educated and knowledgeable woman, it would be best if I can support myself and don't need to rely on any other people. But considering grandmother is old, I have decided to give up my freedom, and enter into marriage life to seek for an alternative happiness.”⁹

⁹ The original text is: “侄女于九月十一日与黄草聪在乡订婚，他父母均在美国凤城经营洗衣店，家庭亦可以过去，独子，结婚后赴美，本来一个有知识文化之女子，能够自立不靠他人是最好的，但是念祖母年老，故亦厚此失去自由之生活，走向家庭方面去求幸福” (September 11, 1948)。Translated by the author.

According to the content of the letter, some “educated and knowledgeable” women from Southeast China judged these immigrated men to be trustworthy husbands based on their parents’ occupations in the United States and family size. They thereby decided to settle in the United States with their husbands after marriage considering that this type of family had already settled there and had a stable income. Participant 5 and her sister-in-law also came to the United States because of similar stories. Their husbands were already second-generation, but still chose to return to their hometown to find a wife. The two of them came to the United States for this reason and have lived in Phoenix, Arizona for almost their entire lives.

The coming of these women not only has greatly expanded the size and growth rate of the Arizona Chinese community, but also promoted the formation of patriarchal clans among Chinese immigrants in Arizona and corresponding family ties. Several families gradually accumulated financial power, prestige, and continued to grow. The Chinese pioneers called these influential families who shouldered the responsibility of uniting Chinese immigrants as “The Big Four Families,” who were Ong, Yee, Wong, and Chung (related by Participant 2).

After a century of growth, the population peaked in recent years at 27,187 Chinese immigrants (US Census Bureau, 2018). 14,137 of them were women. As the backgrounds of these immigrants have become more complex and diverse, the Chinese community no longer takes the family they belong to as a consideration of social interaction, the communication and interaction are therefore, now more flexible. Women are also more active and independent in community participation than before.

Conclusion

From the history of the Chinese community in Arizona, this community already arrived here to live and work when Arizona was still a territory. In the face of huge financial pressure, they explored employment that were available to engage in so as to support themselves and their families in the midst of loneliness, discrimination, and injuries. They have participated in the construction of South Pacific Railroad, the local mining industry, and the service industry. By their diligent work, they have won the reputation of working hard and long hours as well as living frugally, but have also left the impression of “making accommodations to American life styles only as necessary for existence or to accomplish certain economic goals” (Lister & Lister, 1989b).

In the historical data, the number of early women is very scarce, and the relevant information is not much. Most people exist in historical archives as a demographic number, a name, or a black and white photo. However, whether it is in the early days or today, the number and contribution of this group cannot be underestimated. From the first Chinese woman who became the actual leader of Tombstone to be respected as Dragon Lady by others, to today that many Chinese women name themselves as Phoenix women. The immigration history of Chinese women, their life experiences and psychological processing, are also more worthy of attention and record.

The history of Chinese immigrants and migration to Arizona has often times only been considered marginal to immigration of other largely represented ethnic groups, however, the record indicates long standing and significant contributions to the formation of the contemporary state of Arizona. Moreover, the experiences they share amongst themselves and across ethnic identity with other immigrant groups highlights the attempt

to exclude and nullify the non-Anglo European formation of community and place, particularly in states with contemporary polarizing political climates.

CHAPTER 4

The Rebirth of the Phoenix among Chinese Immigrant Women: The Role of Self-made Symbols in Women's Social Capital

This chapter is about self-referential narratives in the lives of the interviewees. It examines why and how self-identifying as a phoenix makes sense of their life journey, in order to best convey the role of such a metaphorical self-representation within their social interactions. The participants' symbolic self-identification involves a plurality of motives. Some felt a special connection to the myths of the phoenix. Some others seized symbolization and metaphorization as a chance of spiritually heal after going through certain extraordinary life events. Some embraced the phoenix symbol for the ingenuity of the word "phoenix" as a pun with respect to their geographic coordinates and female identity. Others, finally, were looking for a strong, positive, and visible ethnic identity. Individual actions are bestowed with meaning and direction (Acero-Ferrer, 2020), hence allowing the members of the community to act as a collective in seeking a common future. Social interactions create social networks, foster confidence, influence the formation of values, support the norms and culture, and generate the community (Poder, 2011). Using these metaphors as an identity marker is an important strategy for the establishment of social capital, and thereby has been a key component for the making of their community.

The Phoenix as a Self-referral Marker: Rebirth and Transmigration

Individuals' stories are "something people live by" (McAdam, 1993). Through storytelling, we construct identities and understand the meaning of human existence (McAdam, 2019). Tropes and metaphors are closely connected with storytelling since life-stories are a collection of event-stories (Sandberg, 2016). The metaphors that stories contain can be a window to pre-existing systems of self-interpretation and self-representation. Twenty-four of the participants in the sample were found to have created personal legends and stories with the phoenix as a metaphorical object, which was considered an element in making their life stories worth narrating. In this way, their stories convey complex information together via instruments such as theme, time series, and a mesh of metaphorical representations.

Some participants use the word "phoenix" in their social media IDs and nicknames as means to metaphorize themselves. They draw an analogy between the Western version of the phoenix metaphor that centers on immortality and rebirth with some of their more extraordinary experiences, such as vehicle accidents, immigration, remarriage, bereavement, and the like. They assert that the fact about their living in Phoenix is predestined, and their connection with the phoenix symbol is a sort of oracle. Such a metaphorical representation of "intangible but evocative experiences" are unconsciously linked to "their personal emotions and self-identification" (Charteris-Black, 2009, p. 100). Their concerns with transformation and reincarnation are revealed by attaching names such as the "fire phoenix" or "phoenix nirvana" to their social network IDs. They do so in order to highlight their image as someone reborn from their ashes.

Others merely reference the ambiguity of the name of the phoenix as both a city and a divine bird, calling themselves “desert phoenix,” “a phoenix in Phoenix”, and the like. Some others add the word phoenix directly in front of their name. As information exchange is viewed as a rational choice by an individual as a form of exchange in pursuing self-interests, according to Field (2003), the narratives and sharing of their metaphorized experiences can be “employed to evaluate how social capital works within a group” (Naughton, 2014, p. 4).

Rebirth

Eight participants, who embrace the rebirth symbolism of the phoenix, use the moniker “phoenix” to represent themselves. They firmly believe the self-symbolization of the phoenix can condense and generalize the various ups and downs they have encountered, their capacity to overcome difficulties, and their complicated emotions after surviving a disaster.

I had a serious car accident in 2015. It took me three years to recover. I lost my job because of this long convalescence. [...] I didn't get much compensation. [...] In my most difficult time, a dance school invited me to be a dance teacher. This opportunity saved me. That's why my WeChat username is “Phoenix Nirvana.” It is a metaphor for my rebirth in all aspects. I almost died; my right leg was broken; I lost my job and I was broke. But I am still alive, I still can dance. I am a phoenix, since I came back from the hell. I was reborn from the ashes of death, and survived those times of desperation. (Participant 4)

When I was in Taiwan, I was a docent teacher. After I arrived in the United States, my only job opportunity was to wash dishes in a Chinese restaurant. That was the time I least want to recall. My clothes were oily and dirty every day; my boss scolded me, and my hands were cracked from washing dishes from morning to the midnight. I felt as though I was a washing machine instead of a real person. I was dead inside during those years. [...] Seventeen years later, we became owners of our own restaurant. The first day sitting in my restaurant, I recalled my experiences—from being a teacher to a dishwasher and then to have my own

business—the only feeling that came to my mind was that my story is similar to the myth of the phoenix, being reborn from death (Participant 8).

The two accounts related above summarize the reasons why these participants use the phoenix to refer to themselves on social networks. They believe that the two major events of “near death” and “rebirth” in their lives are consistent with the connotation of the metaphor of the phoenix. The first event, recovery from a serious car accident and the ability to get back on track likewise brought about a sense of rebirth. They then cherished their lives after experiencing physical and spiritual rebirth, and hope to extract some special meanings from their unique life stories. Therefore, they identify their experiences with that of the phoenix, in order to abstract, beautify, and symbolize their sufferings. The second event, immigration, is noted as a psycho-social-geographical transition that involves a series of losses and changes (Lee, 2010). It brings them a sense of rebirth. As Richwine (2018) indicated, educated immigrants are always at risk of ending up holding jobs for which they are overqualified, based on their documented credentials. For some highly-skilled immigrants, engaging in mismatched low-skill jobs brings them a sense of humiliation and grief. Repetitive jobs with low pay and status wear down their energy and enthusiasm. This is the reason why Participant 8 was reluctant to recall her days working as a dishwasher, and described herself feeling as someone who was (over time) “died inside.” As the living conditions of the participants improved, they regarded their overcoming a series of difficulties that immigration brought on as a process of rebirth.

The love of such metaphors that can represent this kind of life experience is also the reason why some participants have the custom of enjoying tea. They believe that tea

brewing contains the cycle of rebirth and reincarnation. As Participant 22, a tea lover, described the following:

Both the phoenix and tea are my perception of life's impermanence. There is also a magical metaphor for tea, that is arising from the dead. The dried tea transformed back to leaves after brewing. However, this rebirth is short-lived and fleeting. This is the metaphor of life that I have realized through tea ceremony.

In addition to reliance on the phoenix metaphor to generalize their perceptions of life and death, as well as the ups and downs brought about by immigration, the participants also expressed other emotions and feelings using this symbol. P15 recorded her heartbreaking moment on social networks when the politician she supported was about to step down (see Figure 3): "A sad day for democrasee! And in effect, the end of a true Republic (but perhaps it never was?)." Then, she immediately mentioned the metaphor of the phoenix and added a picture of the phoenix aurora to inspire and console herself with the idea that such a hard moment is only temporary: "On the other hand, the universe always responds in kind. Where there is ending (death), there is beginning (rebirth). And what a beautiful Phoenix aurora that is."

Similarly, P27 often quotes the allusion of the phoenix rebirth from the ashes to cryptically symbolize and metaphorize her experiences. As shown in Figure 4, she posted "ashes, ashes, we all fall down," and used an image of the rebirth of the phoenix to imply both her dissatisfaction with current situation and confidence in the future.

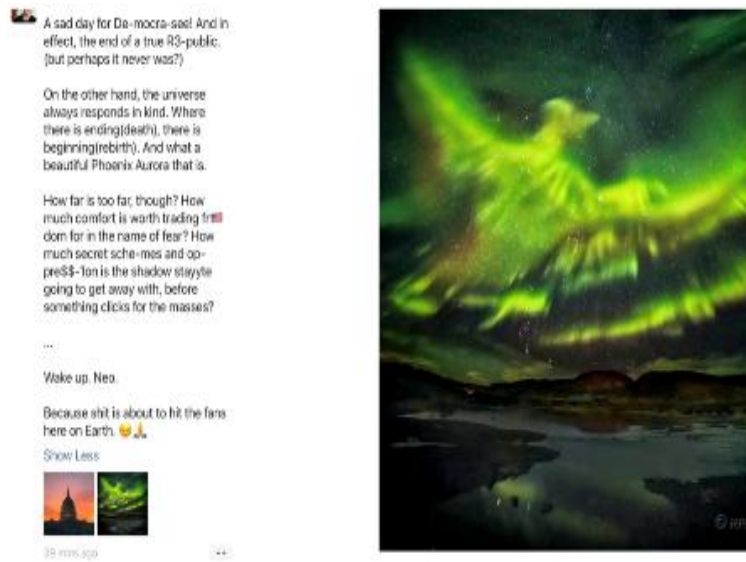


Figure 3

The 13th Participant's WeChat Post



Figure 4

The 27th Participant's WeChat Post

These two texts illustrate another rationale for using the phoenix as their self-representation. They believe that the metaphor of death and rebirth derived from the phoenix respectively symbolizes endings and beginnings more generally. The myth of the phoenix's resurrection from the dead and the philosophy contained therein inspires the belief that all losses, ends, and regrets are in tandem with the hope of restarting. This is their strategy for self-encouragement and self-soothing. As the innermost thoughts shared by P15,

“If I take a look at a picture of the phoenix or say something like ‘you can start again’ to myself, then I will experience the illusion that I have been restored from frustrations. This action makes me feel that there is still hope in my life. This type of new start is cheap and overused, but it can still save a small part of my spirit. This is probably one of my survival tips.”

Transmigration

Some participants tend to worship the phoenix as a totem. They believe that the phoenix is a divine totem and a symbol of a deity. This understanding stems from an assertion that they have a special destiny related to the phoenix, or that their lives are protected and guided by this divine bird. Connecting an individual's life with the divinity of a certain symbol essentially represents problem-stricken individuals' yearning to seek external help (Tseng, 2014). They have had great expectations in their own lives, hoping to have an extraordinary life, but ended up being ordinary people who were not recognized by others. Under these circumstances, they explored a fatalistic connection

between themselves and the phoenix. In the process of constantly telling others their metaphorical life stories, they are nourished by the surprise or admiration of other people, which dispels their depression, validates the value of their life to others, and produces the satisfaction of being recognized.

Participant 2: I inexplicably love to collect old objects related to the Chinese experiences in Phoenix. I wrote articles about Chinese immigrants in Phoenix by researching these objects. [...] No one cares about the articles I write, and I am often ridiculed by others for my poor writing. But I have persisted in doing this for 40 years [...] I always believe that the reason why I am so obsessed with this thing that neither helps me to earn money, nor gains reputation is that my previous incarnation was as a Chinese railway worker who came to Arizona to build the transcontinental railroad. I became a ghost after I died tragically beneath a train. So after my rebirth, I was destined to return here to find my remains, to find the history of myself and my companions.

Participant 12: When I was young, a fortune-teller told me that in my previous incarnation, I was a white bird who stole the flames of the sun, because I yearned for the light. I think that's why I reside in Phoenix in this life. I have lived in many cities all over the world, but finally made my home in Phoenix. This is not my deliberate choice; I believe this is my destiny. [...] I am a very ordinary person, but every time I tell my story to others, they find my destiny is amazing.

These women have created unique stories with a connective theme of the phoenix as an indexed personification for their lives, believing that they are destined to live in Phoenix and have a great mission, similar to what transmigration entails. Such understandings are rooted in their fatalistic and predestined worldview, along with a slight dissatisfaction with the status quo in their lives. They imagine that they have had a previous incarnation in which they had great but unfinished goals. The regret has become their obsession, compelling them to pursue their goals in their present lives. Such fatalistic life-stories are used on the one hand to explain specific personal experiences and events that lack a clear rationale, such as their choice of distinctive hobbies, their choice of where to settle, and instances of sudden good luck, so as to provide them with a

reasonable explanation for their life circumstances. On the other hand, they also use this storytelling as a means to justify specific discourses and systems of meaning exclusive to them (Bowman, 2009). Mazzei and Jackson (2009) pointed out that people are eager to tell their fantastic stories in order to surprise others, which in turn generates for narrators a sense of accomplishment of to the narrator who has been given a “voice.” In the life story of P2, who related a story about being a railroad worker in a previous life, an exclusive, sacred connection between her and the city of Phoenix was created through her storytelling, for instance, found as a reasonable explanation for her hobby of writing articles about Chinese immigrant history. With the help of continuously declaring their unique destiny to other people, satisfaction, a sense of mission, and a sense of belonging to Phoenix are created that offset frustration and depression. Although their self-referentialization uses Buddhist allusions, they are not Buddhists in the true sense. On the contrary, they self-identify as atheists. Such use the symbol of the Phoenix and its myths in daily life is on the level of psychological comfort, which does not guide them to convert to a religion.

Individuals’ stories extract the “particularity and mundanity” of the everyday lives. As Lorimer (2003) and Mishler (1991) explain, people use thematic stories to make meaning from the complexity of everyday life. Regardless of the symbolically illusionary theme of these life stories, these spiritually resilient that rose from the ashes are willing to share with others their arduous “rebirth” or “transmigration,” and their effective narratives convey information and emotions in a context that resonates with, and is further contextualized by, the audience’s experience in a dialogic process (Sundin, Andersson, & Watt, 2018). Therefore, such symbolic and metaphoric storytelling confirms the function

of symbolic power proposed by Bourdieu. The participants regard the Phoenix-related narratives as a tacit, unspoken mode of communication, occurring within the everyday social habits and in the exchange of social value that occurs between them.

Also, metaphorizing themselves as a Phoenix is an approach to understand the processes of social capital that operates within their social groups. Social connection is decided by self-disclosure, predictability, and trust in another individual (Sheldon, 2009). Naughton (2014, p. 4) conceptualized personal life stories as a “mediated” character that connects social relations, agency, power and space. These participants attract the audience through such special and evocative stories, offering others the opportunity to understand themselves, and even arousing people’s potential sympathy, trust, and intimacy, thereby strengthening their connection with other immigrants. They have explored their life stories as a set of relations, processes, practices, and subjectivities that affect, and are affected by, the contexts and spaces in which they live. Social capital thereby is produced when individuals interact with each other, by exchanging rich and thoughtful experiences among themselves through storytelling (Daniel, McCalla, & Schwier, 2002). Exposure of personal experiences based on shared history and identity can be a fertile ground for the cultivation of attraction, which in turn acts as the lubricant for the creation and maintenance of social capital. Such attraction is a desire to fulfill higher levels of interpersonal trust in the person that they disclose to (Kim, Lee, & Park, 2006). In this way, the social capital of these storytellers is always in the producing and circulating, which further motivate social groups to form.

Metaphorizing Women as Iconized Phoenixes: Nesting and Flying

On account of the feminine aspects represented by the phoenix in Chinese culture, the participants are observed to have a predisposition for attaching the “phoenix” attributively, in the names of women’s associations, activities, and clubs. They are not limited to the figurative connotation of the phoenix *per se*, but also draw on other associations of the phoenix as a fabled bird, such as one that is flying and nesting, in order to express their praise for women’s achievements and roles in the making of the Chinese community.

These women-oriented activities and organizations use the symbolic and figurative phoenix, as well as related rhetorical extensions to implicitly convey the above values. Social interaction not only could be viewed as a rational choice by an individual as a form of exchange in pursuing self-interests, according to Field (2003), but this also offers a rationale of constructing a social environment through endorsing a shared ideology and certain forms of behaviors (Coleman, 1994; Burnett, 2006). By reintegrating different implications of the symbol of the phoenix in Eastern and Western cultures, and by using them cleverly as the theme of social interactions, these women’s organizations and activities thereby have build the mutual trust within a team. Fukuyama (1995) centralizes the concept of trust as a capability that arises from the prevalence of trust in a society or in certain parts of it. The shared aesthetics of values and cultural metaphors that enable women immigrants, such as the ones here, to establish norms and to have members build trust in each other more readily, thereby creating a web of social exchange within the group (Oh, Labianca, & Chung, 2006).

The Flight of the Phoenix

An important annual celebration of the Chinese community in Phoenix is the beauty pageant. It can be traced back to 1970 and has always served as an economic and cultural cornerstone of the formation of the Chinese community in Phoenix (Zhang, 2018). The phoenix has always been the only symbol and mascot in this fifty-year-old event about women's power, beauty, and history in the Chinese community. As displayed in Figure 5, the winner of the pageant champion is called Miss Phoenix, and the logo for this event is a blue phoenix with red borders.

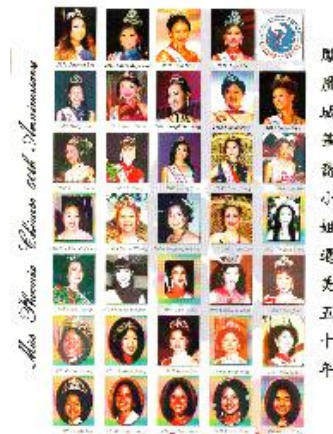


Figure 5

The Phoenix Chinese Beauty Pageant, a 50th Anniversary Poster

King-O'Riain (2008) pointed out that beauty queens are symbolic representations of collective cultural identities and that beauty pageants are fields of active cultural and

social production. As this ethnic pageant was founded to raise funds to put on the celebration of National Day of the United States (as related by Participant 16), the only selection criteria for the beauty pageants contestants from 1970 to 1973 was their fundraising ability. The contestant who raised the most donations for the National Gala Day would be selected as the Miss Phoenix (as related by Participant 16). As a result, the beauty queens are considered “of high gold content” (Zhang, 2017, p. 7). Such strategy has brought in sufficient activity and, in turn, funds for the effective association of the entire Chinese community, the recruitment of initial supporters and sponsors, and the successful creation of local traditions like the events and festivals represented by the National Gala Day, as well as the related beauty pageant. The popularity and influence of these events exemplify the pioneering cultural and economic contributions of women to the entire Chinese community (Cunningham et al., 1995). The stage name and the representative name of the beauty queen, the “phoenix,” has surpassed any gender limitations and become a popular cultural symbol throughout the Chinese community. This has laid the foundation for its subsequent utilization as a representation of the entire Chinese immigrant group in Phoenix.

The creativity of using the phoenix to refer to and mention of a visual metaphorization Chinese women in Phoenix stimulated the passion of artists and writers to enrich the metaphorical connotation of this symbol. Contemporary articles and reports tracing the history of the Chinese beauty pageant in Phoenix make extensive use of various metaphors related to the phoenix. The headline for a news report of the first Chinese beauty queen in Phoenix, as Zhang, has reported (2018) was comparable to the following expression, “the first time a phoenix flies.” This metaphor combines the

location of this Chinese community, the winner of the “Miss Phoenix”, and the image of the phoenix. In addition, another linguistic metaphor —the flight of the phoenix—was an added component to enlarge the heuristic and metaphorical connotation:

“In Cantonese, ‘ticket’ and ‘fly’ are homophonic. ‘Theater ticket’ could synonymously mean ‘theater fly’; ‘buying tickets’ is also called ‘buying fly.’ Wendy is the first Chinese Miss Phoenix. She raised the most funding, so of course, this is ‘the first time a phoenix flies’” (Zhang, 2018, p.13).

Furthermore, another point by Zhang, regarding the beauty pageant was the following one, While in Phoenix and for the Chinese community, it has attracted worldwide visibility or a clear reputation.

“The Chinese pageant in Phoenix has attracted worldwide attention. [...] The chairman of the Federation of the Overseas Chinese Community has led the contestants to visit the Phoenix Satellite TV station. This is the first time for the contestants of the beauty pageant in Phoenix to visit an Asian TV station. [...] Our phoenixes flew to the platform of Phoenix” (Zhang, 2017, p. 28).

So, as the visual and homophonic meaning extension adds to the larger base of the symbolic phoenix bird, similarly and additionally, these beautiful phoenixes also had a chance to fly to their nest for a visit.

The Phoenix Nest

Three women’s clubs use the “phoenix” to index their identity as Chinese women in Phoenix. In order to emphasize the identification with this metaphorical representation, these women’s clubs superimpose the extra, figurative reference of “nesting” on that of the phoenix: Phoenix’s Nest Club, Phoenix’s Tea Nest, and Phoenixes Having Nests. The founder of the Phoenix’s Nest Club (Participant 3) explained her reason for choosing this name for her women’s club in the following manner:

“Don’t you think I am smart in doing so? You know, the dragon and phoenix are a pair of Chinese national symbols. The phoenix represents women and the dragon represents men. We happen to live in a city named Phoenix. As we are phoenixes living in Phoenix, the phoenix is the nest with dual meanings.”

Another organization that specializes in providing for the mutual exchange of real estate market information and maintenance methods among property-owning women also uses the concept of nest to deepen the ingenuity of the word “phoenix” as a pun with respect to their geographic coordinates and female identity. The founder, Participant 42, named the real estate-themed club “Phoenix Having Nests.” This moniker not only superimposes the metaphor between the nest onto that of the phoenix, but also incorporates “Youchao (Having nests [有巢氏]),” one of the four mythical ancestors of China who is the inventor of houses and buildings in China’s ancient mythology. Participant 42 explained, especially as it connects to familial lineages:

“Every Chinese immigrant knows the four ancestors of our nation (the legendary rulers of great antiquity and cultural heroes, who along with others are attributed with the human creation myth), Shennong (Divine Farmer [神农]), Sui ren (Fire Maker [燧人]), Fuxi (伏羲), and Youchao (Having nests [有巢]). Do you get my point? We live in Phoenix, and we are Chinese women owning estates. ‘Having nests’ is a good metaphor for the fact that we are estate-owning women living in Phoenix, and such a point is also a great homophony of the name of our ancestors, expressing that we wish not to forget our ancestors and history.”

This multifaceted metaphor contains a fivefold chain of identifiers: female identity—the city’s name; —nest—house and home; —the name of the Chinese ancestor—the ethnic culture. The efforts of these participants in creating such a complex and interlocking metaphor system embody the role of the symbol of the phoenix in shaping the social capital and social network of Chinese women. These participants, especially the founders of women’s clubs, hope that the display of the phoenix symbols and metaphors can generate an unspoken communication and connotation.

They anticipate that, by sharing of the same cultural background and historical knowledge, other Chinese immigrant women may directly understand the multifaceted metaphors and homophony of the phoenix embedded in the club names and commend this wonderful cultural creativity. The social mechanisms that underlie the motivation of individuals to join specific community organizations are self-categorization, social identification, and similarity attraction (Thatcher & Patel, 2012; Lau & Murnighan, 1998). Therefore, they hope this metaphorical creation will stimulate other women's recognition of cultural identity and interest in joining the clubs, which will eventually strengthen the friendship among women and increase their influence in the community.

In turn, the members of these clubs certainly recognize the metaphorical application of using the phoenix to refer to women. They call each other "phoenix" and metaphorize the recruitment of new members as "phoenix coming back to her nest." In their daily social interactions, they liken the happy mood of participating in club activities by saying "it's very comfortable to stay in the phoenix's nest," as related by Participant 24.

Immigrants always move through confusing and contradictory experiences of belonging and rejection (Gonzales, 2013). These participants, deal with identity, sense of belonging, and role definition through such a feminine identity, as phoenixes. Several participants, through their leadership and inventiveness, have used the multiple figurative use for the phoenix, and eventually persuaded them to participate in social activities, and they also build a "phoenix's nest" together. In their phoenix nests, they use various extended allusions of the phoenix to praise and comfort one another, in the provision of a virtual place, so as to restore their identity and their sense of belonging.

From the collective social capital theory perspective, social capital is constituted by trust, social network, and participation (Fukuyama, 1995). In this case, given that the symbol of the Phoenix condenses multiple special meanings that only Chinese immigrants, especially immigrant women can understand, it plays an important role in maintaining membership, enhancing trust and cohesion, creating a sense of belonging. Social communication, formed through symbolic display and self-metaphoric storytelling, is a social strategy for the participants to maintain their connection with other Chinese immigrant women. The members who joined the women's clubs appreciate each other's ability and wisdom to understand the multifaceted connotation of the symbol of the Phoenix, recognize their identity as phoenix, and also metaphorize the city of Phoenix as their nest. As a result, their participation in this type of women's clubs and recognition of other members are at a high level, which effectively helps them build social relationships with high levels of trust and a sense of belonging to the clubs, echoing Fukuyama's definition of the formation path of social capital (1995, p. 26).

Metaphorizing the Chinese Community in Phoenix

Metaphors tell the story of immigration (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011). The dislocation of immigrants has led to far-reaching metaphorical extensions (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018). Metaphors of immigrants are embedded in the production, distribution, and reproduction of knowledge in the form of the public discourse (Suardi & Agustang, 2020). Popular rhetoric about immigration often operates by constructing symbolic and metaphoric self-representations that concretize the social problem and connote particular solutions (Cisneros, 2008, p. 569). In turn, as metaphors drawn from

these source domains are systematically recruited to conceptualize individuals' experiences (Lizardo, 2009), immigrants create an ethnic identity for themselves and produced knowledge about self and others (Yu, 2017) through metaphorical ethnic-representation.

Metaphorical ethnic-representation has two components: a personal component derived from idiosyncratic characteristics, such as personality and physical and intellectual traits, and a social component derived from salient group memberships, such as sex, race, class, and nationality (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). The meaning of particular identities is ultimately derived from society (Gollwitzer, 1986, p. 144). Based on the widespread acceptance of the metaphorical phoenix brought about by the beauty pageant, along with concerns about the stigma associated with the dragon symbol, the entire Chinese community has a predilection for using the phoenix to symbolize and metaphorize themselves in Phoenix. Such a predilection is directly reflected in its use of it in logos, mascots, the names of many associations, competitions, and community events organized by Chinese immigrants (see Figure 6).



Figure 6

Examples of the Display of the Phoenix Symbol among Chinese Immigrants in Phoenix

Since many activities are not only for Chinese people, but for all the local residents in Phoenix, then “how to balance Chinese and American cultural elements, so as to maintain the strong cohesion of Chinese people, while encourage people of other culture background to attend” is a challenge for organizers, as remarked by P50. They believe that an appropriate strategy to solve the dilemma is to use elements that “can be directly understood by outsiders, but that also display the crucial contents of Chinese culture.” Many participants name events with the word “phoenix” and use this fabled bird as a logo and mascot. P43 offered the following reasons for why she named a composition contest after the phoenix:

“There are three main benefits. First, the concept of the phoenix is common to China and the United States, and there is no ambiguity—unlike the dragon. If we draw a dragon on an advertising poster, other people might find it scary. That might make them think we are doing some pagan rituals. Second, even if they don’t get the meaning of the phoenix as a universal totem and symbol, there is a high probability that they understand the geographical connotation, and presume that we simply use the name of our city. Third, I think most Chinese people can understand the dual meaning we want to express when they hear the name of our event, namely, the Chinese living in Phoenix.”

This verbatim account explains well why community leaders are willing to embed the image and metaphor of the phoenix in community events. As Bourdieu (1990, p. 128) pointed out, communication and cognition, recognition and even feeling inevitably could produce symbolic violence, which is the positioning of some knowledges as neutral, scientific and objective by rendering others invisible, subjective, and cultural (Dlamini, Helman, & Malherbe, 2018). Social interactions and cultural exchanges between immigrants and the host society form an unconscious complicity and consent (Harrington,

Warren, & Rayner, 2013) that, in essence, reveal the exercise of symbolic power and the resulting symbolic violence (Torres, 2015).

This form of violence is particularly powerful since it structures meaning and experience within a culture, influencing “people’s feelings and motivations by formulating coherent conceptions of the general order of existence” (Bell, 1997, p. 66). The semiotic system thus establishes a neutral, objective, and silent violence. It is undeniable that Bourdieu’s understanding of symbol is mainly inherited from the concept of “the philosophy of symbolic forms” put forward by Ernst Cassirer (1923), and the essential meaning of “symbolic” is equivalent to “legal” and “universally recognized.” Yet given that metaphors are based on a schema that allows for the analogy of something to express and organize the social practices of groups (Mazotti, 2002), the negative representation of, and invisible violence against, immigrants relies heavily on the use of metaphors and symbols (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018, p. 2).

Because the dragon is often perceived a negative symbol to Westerners, the metaphor of “Chinese as descendants of the dragon” naturally caused public fears that linked Chinese immigrants to the threatening forces in the 1920s (Hagan, Levi, & Dinovitzer, 2008), which further became an excuse to rationalize anti-Chinese sentiment (López-Calvo & Chang-Rodríguez, 2014). Although exchanges between Eastern and Western cultures have been extremely frequent in the past two hundred years, and mutual understanding has continued to deepen, the mismatch between Western and Eastern conceptions of the dragon has never been resolved. The reason lies in that the interpretation of any symbols or metaphors is a form of habitus or even instinct, which is how society becomes internalized in individuals in the form of lasting dispositions, or

trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determined ways, which then guide them (Wacquant, 2005, p. 316). Western culture's resistance to dragons is an established habit, while self-metaphorizing as a dragon is instinctual for the Chinese. Today, the Chinese immigrants and their ethnic mass media still frequently identify themselves as "descendants of the dragon" (Huang, 2016). Although many Chinese immigrants refuse to see it as a self-referential marker, they employ the phrase, "expecting my child to become dragon" to describe their own expectation of their children's future (Leung & Shek, 2011).

Mainly, because the Eastern and Western conceptions of the phoenix are mythologically similar (Nigg, 2016; van den Broek, 1972), using it as an event logo, mascot, or name can minimize the possibility of cultural misunderstandings while still highlighting the ethnic identity of a Chinese immigrant. Such metaphoric creation and extension has constructed a sense of belonging to both the city and to the local Chinese community, as Participant 22 described it, in the following way:

"The city of Phoenix is different from any other city. Listen to my pronunciation of New York: 'Niu Yue [纽约].' Doesn't it sound like a European colony? As for Los Angeles, Luo Shan Ji [洛杉矶], it sounds like a Mexican city, right? But if you hear the name of 'Phoenix', Feng Huang [凤凰], it definitely sounds like a Chinese city."

McMillian and Chavis (1986) conceptualize that an individual's sense of belonging to a particular group is comprised of five major components: the difference between in-group and out-group, group intimacy-based protection, personal investment, the use of common symbol system, and the integration and fulfillment of needs. In this case, the geographical attachment to Phoenix, their social interaction, and their shared

symbol and their chosen visual or symbolic representation align with the framework articulated by McMillian and Chavis (1986). Symbols and metaphors are of great meanings since they structure meaning and experience within a culture, influencing “people’s feelings and motivations by formulating coherent conceptions of the general order of existence” (Bell, 1997, p. 66). The participants have explored the peculiarities of the phoenix as a symbol with respect to its pronunciation and imagery, combined these with the metaphors and the myths of the phoenix, and thereby engendered a credible, logical, and well-founded sense of belonging to Phoenix, the exotic city away from their true hometowns.

This common symbol not only promotes their inclusion into the community and local society, but also hold benefits their mutual trust and shared values, which construct relationships for producing social capital based on reciprocity and expectations (Field, 2003). A dozen of participants have asked me during the interviews if I could understand their metaphorical and symbolic creation. For instance:

Participant 3: Don’t you think I am smart in doing so?

Participant 42: Do you get my point?

Participant 50: You can understand why I use it [using the phoenix pattern as her WeChat avatar], right?

My affirmative answer to this type of inquiry always made the atmosphere of the interviews more harmonious and tacit, as if we had silently exchanged a certain, distinct or unique pictograph code. Given that the phoenix contains an ingenious pun that connects a Chinese national symbol with the geographic residence of these immigrants, the participants anticipate that all the Chinese immigrants in Phoenix can immediately apprehend the multifaceted metaphor. In doing so, they believe they can ensure that

Chinese immigrants generate a subtle, tacit understanding and sense of cultural pride without the need for overt explanation of their understanding of this multi-layered structure of figurative meaning.

Bourdieu (1986, p. 249) defines the aggregate of the actual or potential social capital in a community as linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. Mutual recognition and trust, as a component of community membership, directly determine the quality of community social capital and the strength of relationships between members (Tirmizi, 2005). The shared understanding of the multifaceted metaphor that combines ethnic culture, geography, and immigration status so as to serve as a potential access for Chinese immigrants to the community when needed. It is suggested that such performances and symbols are a “demonstration of community identity” (Zeng & Li, 2020, p. 157), they could bind people together and incite their feelings of community solidarity. As a result, metaphorizing the Chinese community in Phoenix, to promote the formation of strong-closure communities, and in which members are connected by strong, positive, multiplex, and reciprocated relationship ties (Levine, 1991) is apparent here.

The social capital theory advocated by scholars and represented by Portes (1993) and Burt (2000) emphasizes the one-to-one correspondence between social capital and members. They believe social capital is the aggregate of its members. The social capital will be gone when an individual is withdrawn from a specific organization or community. But social capital could also be a public property of the community itself (Soda, Usai, & Zaheer, 2004). Cultural sets of values and habits are collectively a common property of the community and will not be reduced by the withdrawal of any individuals. Therefore,

they serve as a sort of “currency (Burnett, 2016, p. 284).” In order to open up opportunities for individuals, they need to have such a currency. The Chinese immigrants’ shared understanding of all connotations of the phoenix have endorsed equal interaction between people of different occupations, genders, educational backgrounds, and for the broader purpose of entering the community. Cultural elements represented by the phoenix thereby could provide opportunities for mobilizing and channelling social capital at a collective level of community engagement, however and meanwhile, individuals’ goals and desires do not have to overlap with the overall community’s goals and desires.

The use of the multifaceted Phoenix symbol not only promotes the accumulation of social capital, but also reflects these participants’ forward-looking concerns and pre-construction of the image of Chinese immigrants in the host society. They are proud of their ethnic culture as well as the cultural symbol of the Dragon, but they worry that it may cause misunderstandings and would reinforce racial stereotypes. Race is neither an essence nor an illusion, but rather an ongoing, contradictory, self reinforcing, plastic process, subject to the macro forces of social and political struggle and the micro effects of daily decisions (Haney-Lopez, 2000, p. 65). Although there were no specific events that directly motivated them to do so, they still insist that it is necessary to avoid certain cultural elements that may associate the Chinese with negative emotions. As a result, their explanation of why the dragon symbol is not used on the community posters but the phoenix symbol proves this concern about potential racial discrimination appears to permeate Chinese immigrants’ everyday practices.

Conclusion

For most people, a metaphor is a heuristic device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourishment—a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language (Lakoff & Johnson, 1990, p. 453). What they want to say, what they can't say, and the words on the tips of their tongues, are all folded into the metaphors of the phoenix. In this way, these immigrants gain a deeper self-consciousness as they become socially active and are able to exert more influence within their own communities by using self-metaphorization as a part of their social capital. Often, the symbol of the phoenix is closely aligned to reciprocal relations, conceptions of self-worth, relations with others, expressions of worth and value, and, importantly, the transmission of such actions and values to succeeding generations. The symbol, as applied in individual and group narratives, provides an insight into how Chinese women's social capital is made to manifest through a cherished symbol, which indicates group cohesion and network alliances.

The phenomenon of redirecting emphasis from the dragon to the phoenix as a symbol of ethnic self-reference is the result of the cultural consensus generated by the group's instinct. It is also the participants' unconscious and subconscious avoidance of symbolic violence. This type of resistance to symbolic violence further implied the participants' cautious construction of the images of Chinese immigrants and concerns about ubiquitous and unpredictable stereotypes.

It is not suggested that the use of the phoenix symbol is ubiquitous, but it is accentuated in their daily lives. By employing it, they generate an architecture of self-worth, standing, a social-cultural reputation, and leadership that promotes, strengthens,

and supports psychocultural well-being. This particular metaphorization and symbolization contributes to their resistance against the symbolic violence through the creation of their own powerful self-referential narratives and knowledge that serve to reshape the Chinese community.

CHAPTER 5

The Phoenix Force: Social Capital Measuring

Studies of social capital highlight the importance of network structure of a given network and the structural properties of this network (Abbasi, Wigand, & Hossain, 2014). In the qualitative, fifth chapter of this mixed-method study, I use 58 surveys to understand the benefits and outcomes of the social structure of Chinese immigrant women, as well as their metaphorical self-identifications and collective community-based-representations.

Social capital measuring consists of social network analysis and social performance (Stone, 2014). A study of networks and social support of Bowling (1997) included measures of the following network characteristics: size, geographic dispersion, density, composition, the frequency of contact between members, strength of ties, social participation, and social anchorage. Among them, the five indicators of size, geographic distribution, density, contact frequency between members, and the strength of contact can directly be used to measure a constructed network and the ability of individuals to acquire social capital (Granovetter, 1985). I developed a questionnaire for collecting these five data variables, to perform social network analysis of the participants' network data to test for a correlation between their social capital and the social interactions that are metaphorically represented. These network data indexes these women's immigrant identities tied to their communicative practices.

Measurement

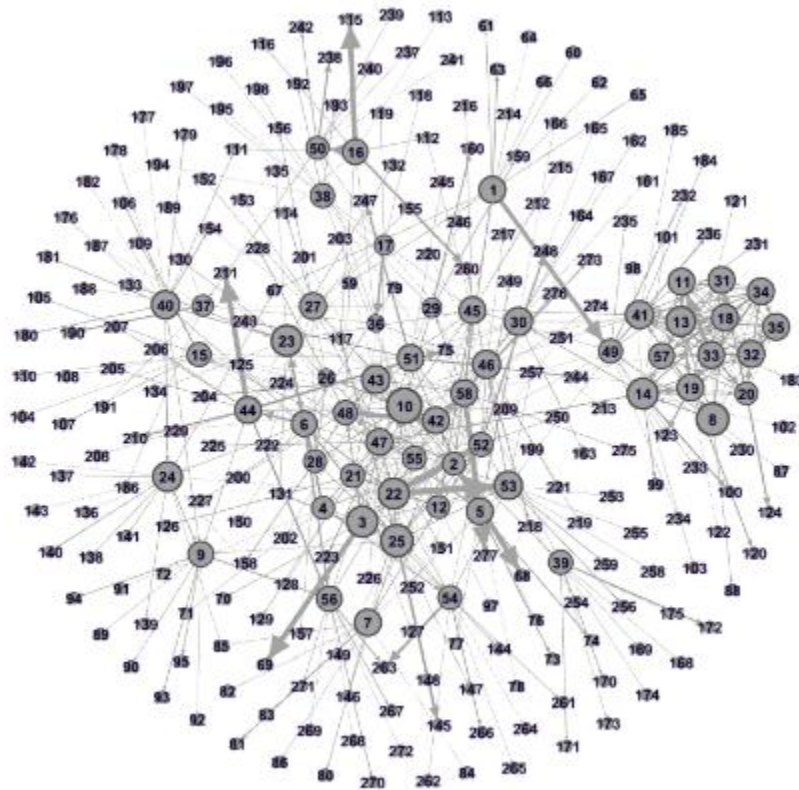
Social networks are the underlying structural basis of many natural events, organizations, and social processes (Hopkins, 2010, p. 2). They are also “a result of the patterns of connections between actors in a network” (Ressler, 2006, p. 2). The interpersonal relationships between actors can be visually represented by a graph, which is made up of nodes and edges. Considering that a social network graph can visualize who a network consists of and what factors brings together members of a similar sort (Williamson & Ruming, 2016), graphing social network is an important approach for measuring a given social capital quality and its scale (Putnam, 2001).

Social network analysis can illustrate properties of networks and nodes in these networks (Kadry & Al-Taie, 2014). Data was collected by means of a questionnaire (Appendix B), curved by the charting tools in Excel, and then examined according to demographics and by a sociogram.

Figure 7 shows the interaction network diagram among the participants, generated using Gephi. Gephi is a network visualizer of the interactions between the participants, in which the nodes mainly rely on the degree of centrality in the data. The nodes represent the actors in the social network. The lines represent the relational ties, their edge thickness, and the distances directly determine the strength of the relationship. Arrows indicate the direction of their relationship. The arrows that points towards a node shows that this person has been indicated by a participant, whereas an arrow pointing away from a node towards another shows the former indicated the latter. A line with arrows at both ends represents a mutual relationship.

Figure 7.1 is the overall social network elicited from the participants' ego-identified connections, which variables prove to have a positive correlation. Among the 277 nodes, the 1-58 nodes represent the participants of this project. Since the fact that the participants were recruited from three Chinese women's clubs in Phoenix, they have close social connections with each other. The social ties of the 58 participants have been extracted and drawn into the in-group social network as shown in Figure 7.2. This demonstrates that all the participants are inter-reachable without absolute isolated nodes.

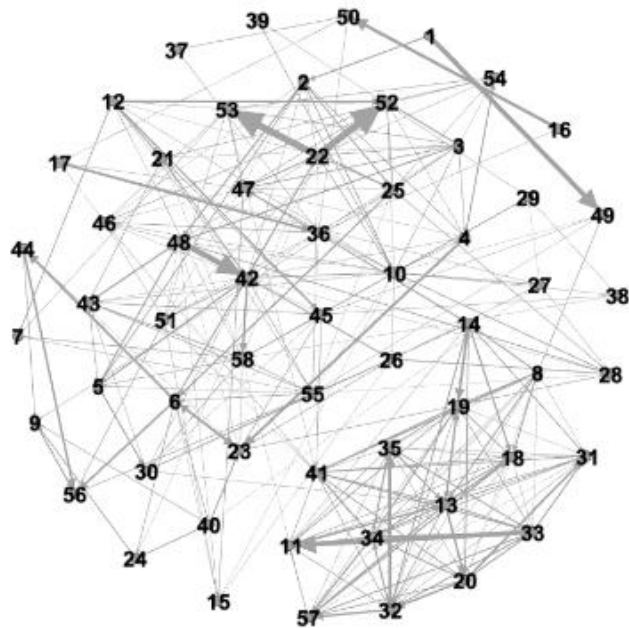
Figure 7.1



The Overall Social Interaction Network Diagram

Figure 7.2

The In-group Social Diagram



Results

Emotional Density and Centrality

In social network analysis, network density refers to a measure of proportion of possible ties in the network (Borg, 2012). It can provide insight into such phenomena as

the speed at which information diffuses among the nodes, and the extent to which actors have high levels of social capital (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). Centrality is a measurement of the position of actors in a network relative to others, and in relation to the complete network. Freeman (1977) introduced it as an index for quantifying the role of a human in the communication between other humans in a social network. Normal distribution in descriptive statistics can be used to show a positively skewed median, mode, or range, also, nominal or categorical data can be used to compare classified groups.

The emotional density of the overall network is 0.014, while the in-group density is 0.18. The gap between the two indexes indicates that the connections between individuals in the in-group network are closer than those of the overall network. Given that there are no isolated nodes in this social network, each participant is interconnected with other participants in the sample.

Table 2 shows the centrality of partial central nodes. These nodes are at the center of connection with higher degrees of a betweenness centrality, closeness centrality, and eigenvector centrality (10, 30, 36, 41, 46, 47, 55, 58), indicating that these actors play a key role in connecting other nodes of the graph. Betweenness centrality reveals the actors that bridge disparate groups of nodes (Golbeck, 2015). In this sample, as Nodes 41, 10, 58, 55, and 36 are of the largest degree of betweenness centrality, they serve as the hubs that enable communication between people who are not directly connected (Powell & Hopkins, 2015). Eigenvector centrality is applied to determine the most influential nodes in a given network (Parand, Rahimi, & Gorzin, 2016). Nodes 10, 13, 42, 32, and 41 have the highest value of eigenvector centrality, indicating that they have more

influence on the network. Closeness centrality is given by the inverse of the sum of the shortest distance between the node and all other nodes in the network (Kas & Carley, 2013). All these three centrality values of Nodes 41 and 10 are relatively high, which indicates that these two actors are in a core position in the community's information exchange and the social interaction of it.

Table 2

Centrality of the Interaction Network (Partial Data)

Node	Betweenness Centrality	Node	Closeness Centrality	Node	Eigenvector Centrality
41	224.48	10	0.56	10	1.000
10	180.70	58	0.55	42	0.884
58	144.93	55	0.53	32	0.882
55	130.20	45	0.51	41	0.881
36	125.52	3	0.50	13	0.857
47	101.68	41	0.49	8	0.840

Interaction Frequency and Type

Interaction frequency was defined by the number of links identified between actors (Motta & Tostes, 2016). As the maintenance of social networks is realized through communication, the frequency of the contact between members is therefore an important contributor to their social capital. Carrasco (2009) divided factors that affect interaction

frequency into that of ego and that of alter. The former includes various personal attributes, such as gender, age, educational level, and income. The latter consists of the residential environment, commuting time, and the presence of facilities such as, their number of cars, the sports that they play, and public transport.

The interaction frequency of this graph is extracted from the self-reported strength of the relationships, of which the perceived extent, degree, or magnitude of the association between a target node and a randomly selected set of other nodes in the network might skew (Costenbader & Valente, 2003; Bove & Johnson, 2001). Based on the self-reported interaction frequency data from the survey, a composite measure was derived from there, indicating the contact frequency: face-to-face and non-face-to-face social contact frequency, the duration of a relationship, and the strength of it. All the nodes are divided into two categories: the one that is labeled as the in-group (Nodes 1-58) and the out-group (Nodes 59-236). The strength of the relationship was measured by directly asking the participants to assess their intimacy with the list of their closest confidants, by first using name generators and interpreters on a 5-point scale, where 0 represents a distance, and 4 represented “very close” proximity. The self-reported face-to-face and remote contact frequency categories include the number of contacts per week, month, or half of a year. These numbers are standardized to be a calculated frequency of contacts per year. To ensure flexibility, the participants were noted as being referred to as “contact,” to be generated by either themselves or by the other side (Dagger, Danaher & Gibbs, 2009). The duration of a relationship is defined as the length of a shared one, between the exchange partners has existed, and how long it has existed (Bolton, Lemon, & Verhoef, 2004). The duration of a relationship was measured by asking the participants

the following question: “approximately how long have you (personally) known this person?” The answers were coded into years for the purpose of an analysis. Table 3.1 shows the statistics of the interaction frequency, and duration of the relationship.

According to Table 3.2, the contact frequency per year of the in-group are higher than those of the out-group. As the duration of relationships of in-group is significantly shorter than that of the out-group (the difference between the means of the two groups is 0.9, and that between the medians are 2). The total average contact times of the out-group is nearly 69 times more than the latter. However, the self-reported relationship strength of the in-group has a higher degree, indicating that the in-group has displayed greater mutual trust.

Table 3.1
Summarized Means and Medians of the Collective Contact Frequency and the Duration of Relationships

	The Reported Relationship (Strength Mean)	Frequency of Contact (Times per Year)		The Duration of the Relationships (Year)		Total Contacts (Frequency × Duration)	
		Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
The In-group	3.224	28.49	24	6.9	3	178.2	180
The Out-group	2.985	26.96	24	7.8	5	240.9	288
Overall	3.105	27.95	24	7.2	3	200.3	288

Table 3.2

A Summary of the Interaction Analysis

Interaction type	With in-group friends (micro-level community practices)		With out-group friends (macro-level agency)	
Community Activities	Percentage (%)	Number of People (total: 58)	Percentage (%)	Number of People (total: 58)
None	3.4	2	6.9	4
Cooperative Activities: Involves exchanging information, attending meetings together, and offering resources to partners	12.1	7	29.3	17
Coordinated Activities: Include cooperative activities in addition to intentional efforts to enhance each other's capacity for the mutual benefit of programs	15.5	9	31.0	18
Community events/festivals	24.1	14	18.9	11
Entertainment: Storytelling, music, drama, dance, or any size or type of party, with appropriate music and dance	44.9	26	13.9	8

Interpersonal Interaction	Percentage (%)	Number (total: 236)	Percentage (%)	Number (433)
Developed an informal relationship (performing self-categorized and situated, shared ethnic identities)	40.7	96	13.3	58
Bring together diverse stakeholders (indexical, dialectic, and competing hierarchies)	5.9	14	34.2	148
Meet regularly	3.8	9	4.9	21
Exchange information/knowledge	20	47	16.4	71
Share resources	10.5	25	20.1	87
Engage in collective decision making	6.8	16	6.5	28
Share mission and goals	12.3	29	4.6	20

Geodesic Distance

All the nodes in the in-group network are inter-connected with each other, with an average geodesic distance of 2.327. In comparison, the overall distance of this geodesic network is 3.809. Within the in-group network, any participant can communicate with other members, on average after nearly two persons, while they reach other actors of the overall network, on average after four persons. Considering the connection and interaction of in-group actors in the women's clubs, the values of geodesic distance

indicate that local immigrant women's clubs greatly shorten the social distance, thereby providing more convenient communication conditions for all the members.

The average clustering coefficient is 0.263. Given that the clustering quantifies the abundance of connected triangles in a network, in accordance with Masuda and colleagues (2018), this value means that the graph is with a low coefficient. The nodes are disconnected from each other and lack interaction. As shown in Table 5, the low coefficient reflect the formed, but different, social groups within the overlapping unit. Even though all the nodes are not isolated from each other, since they are associated through bridging actors, they have clustered into 7 non-overlapping groups. Freeman (1996) put forward the claim that if each member of a given group is linked directly to every other members, then they form a clique. For instance, in Table 4, as the members of groups 1, 3, 4, and 6, they are tied to every other group members, and thereby, these four groups confirm the mentioned definition of factions here.

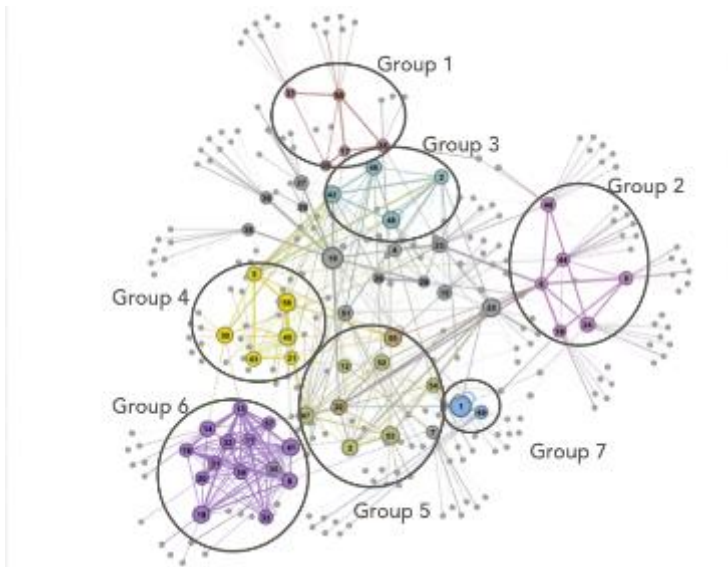


Table 4

Multilevel Layout of Social Network

Discussions

This social network visualization provided here five issues. (1) The average duration of any given relationship of the in-group participants is shorter than that of the control group, which, however roughly corresponds to the duration of the clubs. (2) The relationship strength of these participants is greater than that of the control group, and the participants have a shorter path length with each other, indicating that in-group collective activities enhanced the overall quality of the relationships and social capital between them. (3) At the same time, they are divided into at least seven relatively independent social groups, of which four are cliques. (4) The actors who are the founders and organizers of the community organizations (1, 2, 3, 19, 23, 28, 42), have relatively low degrees of betweenness, closeness, and eigenvector centrality, and on the contrary, the persons who do not bear the responsibility of organization and management have higher degrees of centrality. (5) The in-group activities mainly consist of various entertainment, yet the out-group activities they attend are cooperative and coordinated activities. This shows that the actors enjoy recreational activities that are provided by the women's clubs, while they are committed to finding opportunities for cooperation and reciprocity in other community events. In conjunction with the information provided in the interview, these issues have further illustrated two problems.

The Regulations of Women's Social Capital within the Community's Interpersonal Relationship

As an embodiment of social network, social capital is not a natural endowment, but something that must be continually created and reproduced. The social capital and networks embedded in these clubs that the participants joined in are very different from that of the out-group, with respect to relationship strength, duration, density, types of relationships, and their shared degrees of mutual trust. The rules and regulations of these women's clubs play an important role in it. What they encourage and discourage is essentially differential from other community organizations. Table 5 summarizes the three clubs' announcement, and highlights what they encourage and prohibit. These contents show how the rules of these clubs and the concept of Phoenix they used attract members to join and then standardized the administration, so as to continuously fuel the production of community social capital.

Table 5 Related Clubs and Their Announcements

Club	Missions and values	Partial Regulations
Phoenix Teahouse	<p>We share tea knowledge every day. We throw themed tea parties from time to time. We hope that every tea lover can take part in our discussions actively and put forward their unique opinions. Phoenix Teahouse actively promotes the public welfare activities of Chinese tea, and has repeatedly undertaken Chinese tea and culture exhibitions for various ethnic groups and communities, such as the Phoenix Chinese Week, Tea Garden of Phoenix Asian Week, Annual Tea Party of National Charity League, Arizona State University Festival, Gilbert Community University Asian Cultural Festival, and some well-known companies' annual meetings, etc. We show the unique elegant charm of Chinese tea culture to friends from all over the world who love Chinese traditional culture.</p> <p>We hope that there is a dreamland where you can stay away from everyday clamor, impetuosity, and secularity. All such distresses dilute gradually into a cup of tea. Please protect our pure land together. Thank you!</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is forbidden to discuss any sensitive topics, such as politics and religion. • It is forbidden to share any unconfirmed information nor spread rumors (rumors should be stopped by the wise, wise people believe no rumors). • It is not allowed to post any advertisements. • No posting of messages irrelevant to tea culture in our WeChat group will be permitted. <p>We welcome: (1). Women who are interested in traditional tea culture and willing to learn. (2). Women who have always loved to taste tea and know something about tea culture. (3). Women whose temperament and aura are in line with this club.</p>

We enjoy daily grinds, but we refuse to be a whiner. You are welcome to join us, if interested! Enter your phoenix nest. You will become a graceful, tasteful, and fragrant phoenix in the phoenix's nest.

There are not enough organizations about and for women in the Chinese community. The missions of other community organizations are not very different, and the homogenization is vital. Bing Xin told us, if there were no women in the world, the world would lose at least five tenths of truth, six tenths of goodness, and seven tenths of beauty. We women dress up the colorful world. According to this calculation, there will never be enough women's clubs like Phoenix's Nest.

People always think that life should be vulgar, and elegance means staying away from the disenchanted hustle and bustle of the secular life—like the ancient gods have taught us. However, elegance has never been far away from our daily life. Instead, it has taken root in the soil of life. If life is firewood, rice, oil, salt, soy sauce, and vinegar, then elegance consists of music, chess, calligraphy, painting, poetry, wine, and tea.

It is allowed to recommend products and tips that can improve the beauty of our life. But if the administrators find that your recommendation is advertising or marketing, the consequences will be very serious.

The Phoenix's Nest of Women's Academy

- No contents such as opinions that violate the law and ethical standards are allowed.
- No advertising.
- No marketing.

- The Encouragement of personal and non-commercial recommendations of products is permitted.
- It is also encouraged to share life tips.
- Members are encouraged to recommend books and movies.

Phoenix
Having
Nests

Good news! Phoenix Having Nests is going to set up a website! The advantage of Wechat group is instant contact, but the disadvantage lies in its difficulty of accessing stored information. After building Phoenix Having Nest over the years, we eventually will have a website to store all the information and chats. The funds are currently limited, so it is impossible to hire professionals. We hope to get everyone's voluntary help. The content and function of the website is for debate, or open for collaboration.

- No congratulations during festivals.
- No daily greetings.
- No advertisements.
- No flooding members' screen with countless copies of your messages in the Wechat Group.

- We welcome people who are interested in real estate and land or homeownership.
- Members are welcome to give Red Envelopes (as in, related to the ancient Chinese tradition of giving red envelopes filled with cash to friends and family during the festival). It has been done previously over WeChat, allowing users to send each other virtual envelope containing money, but don't express your appreciation repeatedly, keep that in your heart, or to a minimum.
- All the discussions should be related to the ownership of real estate property

Restrictions

As the participants interact through the online and offline activities of the clubs, the establishment of these women's clubs thereby has been an important channel to develop and maintain their friendships. Even though all three clubs, including the Phoenix Teahouse, Phoenix's Nest of the Women's Academy, and Phoenixes Having Nests, all classify themselves as women's organizations that provide platforms for information and the exchange of knowledge. The participants generally believed they are collectively categorized as entertainment venues. 44.9% of the participants thought that the club activities they love to attend were leisure activities, and 40.7% of them self-report that their relationship with other club members is to develop informal friendships. The cause of this phenomenon that members and founders have opposite understandings of the mission of the clubs may be found in their rules and management modes.

An important common point of these three clubs is that they all resist commercial activities and for-profit endeavors. There are two restrictions in common that these women's clubs require every member to abide by. First, they forbid members to advertise and launch marketing campaigns, to limit the encroachment of commercial activities on members' attention. Second, they discourage discussions of controversial or irrelevant issues, such as religion and politics. The founders, administrators, and other staffs also strictly enforce these rules in their daily online discussion groups and offline activities. The person who posted an advertisement in violation of the rules for the first time will be warned by the administrators, and for the second time, will be removed from the club. In this light, the participants do not have to worry too much about other members of these

clubs approaching them with the purpose of promoting products. As indicated above, the self-reported relationship strength among the participants is 3.224 out of 4, while their relationship strength with other people is 2.985. This shows that the average degree of trust in the clubs is higher than that of the whole community. The clubs' restrictions on invisible marketing have played a crucial role in enhancing the level of trust among members.

Most of the activities and organizations in the Chinese community of Phoenix are profit-oriented. As the announcement of the Phoenix's Nest shows, "the missions of other community organizations are not very different, and the homogenization is a striking quality that all of these apart." For many founders, establishing and operating community clubs are essentially in their interests. For instance, the purpose of the establishment of a photography club is to better increase student enrollment in a photography school; an essential oil club regularly organizes aromatherapy activities to increase customer retention; and, some benefit concerts are likewise held to raise funds for the performers.

Although non-profit organizations exist, many immigrants are not keen on participating in their activities, because most of them are political or religious organizations. Previous research on political and religious attitudes/behavior of Chinese immigrants reveals that first generation Chinese-Americans have expressed a very low level of political (Ong & Scott, 2009; Jeong, 2017), and their level of political and religious participation does not match their population (Lai et al., 2001; Seo, 2011). Although these two types of organizations in the community continue to develop prosperously, politics and religions are still sensitive and unpopular topics for many Chinese immigrants. Phoenix Teahouse and Phoenixes Having Nests classify political

and religious issues as sensitive and taboo topics, which can reflect such a collective resistance to these issues from the side. When describing their feelings of participating in community activities, the participants expressed strong vigilance and resistance toward other people's possible marketing as well as religious and political propaganda:

P57: After living in Phoenix for so many years, one of my important life experiences has been that there is no free lunch. Strangers may have ulterior motives when they are nice to me. Now, if a person takes the initiative to talk to me, I will assume what he wants is to peddle during this time. [...] These people welcome new immigrants the most, because the new faces that have not appeared in the community before are the easiest to naively trust anyone they meet.

As described by P57, the purposeful social interactions are harmful to the development of the Chinese community in the long run. This type of social interactions for marketing purposes detracts from the overall level of mutual trust and enthusiasm, such as that which comes from participating in community social events. The founders and administrators of these three women's clubs noticed the above negative effects. To improve community participation and enhance mutual trust, they clearly make corresponding restrictions in the club regulations, and discourage members from violating or attempting to violate the requirements. The effects of this effort have clearly been reflected in the relationship intensity between in-group members, which is higher than that of the overall community level. In these club activities, as they understand it all marketing, missionary and political activities is prohibited, which, in turn, their mutual vigilance has been greatly reduced. The participants reported a higher degree of mutual trust and more frequency of contact per year with each other compare to with acquaintances from the out group. The low sense of vigilance can also explain why 40.7% of the participants report that they are willing to develop friendships with other

club members, whereas that percentage of those with other community members is 13.3%. Accumulation of trust between and among friends, and with organizations and institutions, are altogether a crucial components of social capital (Fu, Stephenson, & Ebrahim, 2004), which significantly contributes to sharing of ideas and enhancing cooperation (Shinto & Paulius, 2017). The launch of these bans has laid a solid foundation for the operation of these clubs and the positive interaction between the participants, which has further created conditions for the stability of the community and the improvement of the quality of social capital among Chinese immigrants in Arizona.

Encouragements

Not only did the restrictive clauses in the club rules create conducive social trust within the community, but they also the encouragements played a positive role in improving mutual trust among the members. Some female community activists have a clear understanding of the significance of women's community participation, along with women's organizations for the local Chinese immigrant community—as mentioned in the announcement of the Phoenix's Nest of the Women's Academy, “there are not enough organizations about and for women in the Chinese community. The missions of other community organizations are not very different, and there is a high degree of homogenization.” In response to the homogenization of community organizations, it may be inferred that these clubs have their own clear positioning and encouragements.

According to Table 4, the keywords of these three lifestyle clubs are: pro-tea temperament (Teahouse), owning a property (Having Nest), and elegance (Women's Academy). These keywords show the organizers' specific perception of these women's

empowerment. On the one hand, they value these women for holding individual property. Real estate ownership regimes are important because they affect incentives to acquire and develop both human and social capital (Engerman, 1973). Given that property is a type of final market good (Damm et al., 1980), women's real estate ownership means that they "are free to allocate their time across market and household activities, as well as to choose their own level of social capital investment" (Geddes & Lueck, 2002, p. 5). Therefore, such clubs encourage women to understand real estate knowledge, participate in the management and investment of personal real estate, and form mutual assistance networks with such positive values at their core. The returns to such work may increase the relative value of their self-ownership.

On the other hand, these clubs consciously encourage members to cultivate personal hobbies and spiritual pursuits. The specific measure is to enthusiastically praise each other's information sharing. Take Figure 8 as an example, in the clubs' official WeChat chat group. Each individual's posts of insights or personal experiences will receive positive responses and praise from other members. Although the chat groups of other community clubs have instant interaction and mutual assistance, in contrast, the members of these women's clubs pay more attention to encouragement and comforting each other.

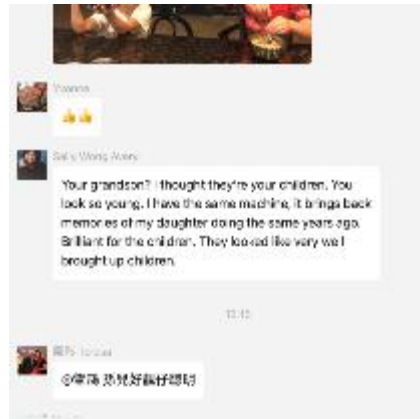


Figure 8

Daily interactions Among the participants

Such attention and praise to daily trifling matters are of great significance to individual's well-being. These clubs create a friendly atmosphere of mutual respect and appreciation, encouraging the members to pay attention to each other's daily matters that are easily neglected. Phoenix's Nest believes that women are made up of two parts: daily life and elegance, and they so to speak metaphorize, or symbolically attach the two to connote "firewood, rice, oil, salt, soy sauce, and vinegar," and this is further connected to "music, chess, calligraphy, painting, poetry, wine, and tea" respectively. The management firmly believes that helping members deal with the "firewood, rice, oil, salt, soy sauce, and vinegar" in their lives is the key to ameliorating the negative impact on their daily stresses of life. In this way, individuals realize personal meaning through processing life commonplace events since such events provide feelings of personal

control over their life, which could greatly improve their well-being (Fleeson, 1990; Cantor & Norem, 1991). Given the apparent psychological satisfaction this mutual care brings, strength to the relationship among the in-group members, as well as their capacity to aim to raise their social capital, also reportedly gathered higher than that of the overall network.

In conclusion, the participants are willing to become members because of the clubs' theme of the Phoenix and accept the unique regulations. These encouragements and restrictions have affected the social capital and social relations of the participants in two ways.

First, these regulations mainly facilitate access to resources at both individual and collective level. As controversial topics and individuals that do not meet the requirements of the club are filtered, the remaining members have common hobbies, and similar lifestyles and tastes. In the friendly atmosphere created by the clubs, they have more frequent social interactions and higher levels of trust.

Second, social capital accumulated by trust and reciprocal relationship translated into the acquisition of social and emotional resources, in particular: personal mastery, agency, and self-sufficiency. Whether the members are in their personal golden age or experiencing a difficult period, and whether the type of activity they participated in was an offline workshop prior to the epidemic or part of online interaction during the Covid-19 Pandemic, they rely on such trivial things as tasting tea together, sharing handicrafts, literary works, personal experiences with each other, and exchanging ideas on house decoration and rental service, so as to reap a small but important sense of happiness.

The Small World Phenomenon: Contradictory Coexistence of Largely Spatial Proximity and Their Connected, Highly Clique-focused Correlation

Watts and Strogatz (1998) divide social network graphs into three categories: regular graphs, random graphs, and small world graphs. Regular graphs have high clustering and high path lengths, random graphs with the same size have low clustering and low path lengths, and a small world graph is a combination of high cliquishness with a shorter path. As indicated above, the clustering coefficient of the in-group is higher than that of the out group, whereas the path is shorter. A higher clustering coefficient indicates a greater cliquishness (Hanneman & Riddle, 2011), also, a shorter path length represents strangers as being linked by a short chain of acquaintances (Buford et al., 2009). Although the relationship strength of the 58 participants is as high as 3.224 out of 4, and the average geometric distance is 2.327, they have naturally clustered into at least seven social cliques with clear edges and high internal coupling. This topological structure, containing both large spatial proximity and high dimensional cliques, therefore show the small world effect.

Within a small-world network, the participants have a high degree of local clustering. The reason for this lies in three types of mutual exclusivities of identity. First, they are bounded and separated by their self-awareness of their place of origin. From the very beginning of diasporic kinds of formation, different groups of Chinese immigrants, bounded by kinship and place of origin, coexist in local immigrant communities (Zhou & Liu, 2012). On the one hand, “Taiwanese” and “Mainlanders” are perceived as mutually exclusive categories of ethnic group identity (Cheng, 2017). As shown in Table 5, both P11 and P28 believe that there is an invisible and unexplainable estrangement between

the two groups, and the two have different understandings of this subtle difference. P11 attributes it to regional differences in personality and temperament, while P28 believes that differences in culture and even in written language are the root cause of mutual exclusion. According to P17's account, the participants are also believe that immigrants from the north of China and those from the south have stereotypes about each other. This is also a reason for why they form groups based on their city of origin. Cultural differences in diet, dialect, language, and living habits brought about by geographical distance of birthplace and time length of immigration have shaped people's social worlds in a way that has powerful implications for the information that they chose to receive and the interactions which they experience (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001), the place of origin as a group boundary has prompted the formation of Groups 2, 3, and 7 in Table 3.

Second, the political attitudes and religious beliefs of the community residents have three slightly mutually exclusive categories moreover. There has been a lot of research showing that people with different political and religious beliefs have increased structural diversity and further polarized relationships among social cliques (i.e., Zollo et al., 2017). As indicated above, there are both active leftists and rightists in the community, as well as people who hate politics. There are both devout Christians, Buddhists, pantheists and atheists. Table 6 uses the story of P6 and it exemplifies that when such differences in attitudes involve personal interests, they are even willing to abandon their original social circle for this reason.

Third, the participants have different moral principles. Aquino and Reed (2002) proposed that people possess a "cognitive moral schema" that is organized around a set

of moral trait associations. People hope that the moral actions of others would be consistent with their ideals of their own moral schema. One's own moral compass therefore can determine psychological closeness and social distance (Gino, 2012). The small-world network of the participants is formed under the guidance of different moral compasses. Such difference in moral standards is reflected in their mutual evaluations. The reputations of some participants are polarized in the community. Take the evaluations of P23, which was made by other participants as an example. Some people criticized her management style and private life, but her leadership and contribution to the community were praised by other participants. P23 commented the following as well. "People either love me or want me to die." Different moral principles serve as a mutually exclusive category, so that P4 and P10 who appreciate P23 have clustered into Group 5, yet the members of this group have few contacts with Group 8, in which at least 3 members believe P23 to be immoral, because of her lifestyle. The geodesic distance of the two groups thereby is farther than that of the average or base level.

Table 6

Category	Subcategory	Code
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Birthplace	Taiwanese vs Mainlanders	<p>P28 (Taiwanese): “based on observation, mainlanders value birthplace, so, the club, of which I am a member of, asked to have everything printed, including our leaflets and posters, in simplified Chinese characters. This approach was chosen to bridge cultural gaps. [...] I just don’t know if this approach works.”</p> <p>P11 (Mainlander): “an aunt from Taiwan once said that my face looked like a Taiwanese. [...] I feel sometimes like the Taiwanese association or identity deduces a person’s birthplace based on his temperament.”</p>
	South of China vs North of China	<p>P17: “I told a Cantonese that I was from Dandong, in the northeast China. Her reaction was, ‘you are a masseur, right? People from the northeast China must be masseurs.’ What a southerners’ stereotype of northerners.”</p>
Political attitudes or affiliations	Pro-politics vs Anti-politics	<p>P43: “I can’t understand why some Chinese immigrants have to discuss in public which politician or what party they hate or support. Don’t they think they are embarrassing us? They may make Americans laugh at Chinese immigrants.”</p>
Religion	Christians vs Atheists	<p>P6: “Last year I planned to invite the pastor of the Chinese church to officiate at my daughter’s wedding. [...] The pastor instigated other Christians to suggest to me that as my daughter is not a Christian and her husband is a Hindu. We need to donate at least 2000 dollars before he is willing to come. That’s why I apostatized my religion last year.”</p>

Moral principles	Woman boss vs Golddigger	P4: “My favorite and most admired person in the entire Chinese community is P23. She is so talented and amazing. She build a successful business all by herself.”
		P55: P23 used all means to obtain a green card during that time. I look down on such people. P3: There are a lot of cockroaches in P23’s house. Horrible!

Although there are various unspeakable contradictions and divergences amongst the participants, they are still able and willing to cooperate with each other and coexist peacefully in the same organization, although they enjoy drama, They co-create amongst each other. P46 analyzed her inner thoughts in response to this problem in the following way:

“Regarding the issue of having a social life in the community, I used to desire a 100% tight-knit group too much. The ideal ‘my gang’ is supposed to be a group of people that can 100% fit with me, understand me, and resonate with me. I hope that the cost of communicating with my gang can be infinitely low, and we can directly understand each other’s deepest ideas without lengthy conversation. But after experiencing many failures, I began to realize that such a group does not exist in the community. Everyone has various boundaries, preferences, and taboos, and it is difficult to find one of my own kind, let alone a group of people. So, I cherish every group I joined, even if it can only provide me with 10% resonance. Maybe the way to gain complete resonance is to break myself and then piece it together, but it also brings more possibilities.”

Conclusion

The existence of numerous personal differences and psychological boundaries suggests that they could have compromised and have been satisfied more with the positive aspects, instead of judging each other, which would have encouraged everyone to seek common ground while reserving differences. Given that they clearly know that they cannot find 100% compatible friends, having 10% in common is enough to bring them intimacy. Although there are group boundaries in politics, personal ethics, language, and geography, they share a common cultural symbol of the phoenix. To achieve consensus, they try to incorporate various iconography and cultural connotations of tied specifically of their phoenix. No matter how many contradictions and differences exist, no matter what type of tendency they support, they can quickly understand the multifold phoenix symbol, and they will also be attracted to each other because of this cultural element that does not require further explanation.

They completed the exploration of this cultural consensus that had constituted both verbal and nonverbal narratives. This narrative approach to symbolizations and metaphorizations is also vital for this community, as it allows cultural understanding and mutual coexistence, and arouse the social needs and the community's willingness to participate in different groups. This is in line with the social path that the theory of critical race theory focuses on: examining ethnic issues from multiple dimensions and perspectives, paying attention to the uniqueness of different groups and even individuals, focusing on various contexts of minority life by criticizing the traditional ethnic interpretation model, and empowering ethnic "story telling" and

historical narration.

CHAPTER 6

A Day in the Life of Immigrant Women

Many social theorists believe that people can develop a more comprehensive understanding of social and cultural worlds by examining the daily activities of ordinary people (Bourdieu, 1977; Jackson, 1996). In a methodological sense, important dimensions of social-cultural life cannot be imparted solely via abstract theoretical generalities (Lamb & Mines, 2010, p. 1), and ethnography has always devoted attention to the forms and practices of everyday life (Yerevan, 2009, p. 3). This chapter explores the everyday practices of the participants, such as home decorating, going to work, arranging marriages, and age-related changes in behavior. The daily routines for three types of women—widows, working women, and housewives—demonstrate how the concept of phoenix is unconsciously integrated into their domestic activities and subsequently affects community dynamics.

A Day in the Life of Immigrant Widows: A Phoenix Losing her Dragon

Eight participants are elderly widowed women who got married to non-Chinese U.S. citizens and formed blended families. All encountered various disputes with the blood relatives of the deceased after the death of their husbands. Lanser (2008) stated that women do not only marry in order to migrate, but that they also migrate in order to marry. These participants migrated to the United States in order to live with their foreign husbands. Despite the considerable time that has passed since their spousal loss, many of

them still have not recovered from their grief. After being forced to move out of their original matrimonial domiciles after the death of their husbands due to the property inheritance disputes, they chose to move to apartments with meaningful references to their marriage, such as housing complexes exclusively for veterans and their families, or places near to the cemetery where husbands' were laid to rest.

The daily routines of these widows were demonstrated through my visits to the households of P6 and P16, as well as through conversations with other widowed participants regarding their daily activities. Here, I use the report about P6 to exemplify a typical day in the life of these widows.

One morning in February, 2021, I came to the home of P6 at 9:30 a.m., as we had agreed the day before. She prepared a rich breakfast for us, including roast lamb, wonton, toast, and coffee. After breakfast, I drove her to an attorney's office in Tempe. Since she had a series of sharp disputes with her late husband's biological children over the inheritances, she needed to meet with her attorney regularly to learn about new developments and sign some documents. On this occasion, I interpreted for her during the whole meeting. The meeting was unsatisfactory because her stepdaughter's attorney provided some evidence against her and had her to sign a full and complete release of any claims against her late husband's estate. In the letter from the attorney of here stepdaughter, there was this sentence: "You weren't much of a spouse, [...] the neighbor caught your stealing water from the neighbor's property. Another neighbor will testify that she saw you taking many items during the night from the residence."

P6 considers these to be slander and bullying. She could not understand why her neighbors gave such testimonies. She explained:

Sometimes I connect my water pipe to the faucet in the yard of my next door neighbor to water my flowers. When my husband was alive, that neighbor said I was welcome to use their water at any time. But now my neighbor called me a water stealer! As for removing things from my residence, everyone knows our district has a curfew from 9pm. I could not move anything during the night.

The lawyer proposed a compromise plan and asked her to sign an authorization. She was extremely anxious about this, and vacillated in maintaining a businesslike attitude. She unconsciously took off the mask and put it on, and finally crumpled the mask into a ball. Ultimately, she fell apart completely and suddenly burst into tears. She asked me nervously, “The attorney is American, and my stepdaughter is also American. What if he has been bought off by my stepdaughter? What can I do?” She took out her mobile phone, showed a photo of herself with her late husband to the attorney, and cried: “If my husband were still alive, he would not let his daughter bully me.”

After the meeting with her attorney, we returned to her home at 12 o’clock, where her biological daughter and her boyfriend, Bryan, were already waiting there. This transnational couple had been going together for nearly two years, but the boyfriend had not yet shown any intention to propose. P6 felt that it was necessary for her to intervene in this matter immediately. She invited two people to her house and asked Bryan to make his position clear. She was not as vulnerable and anxious as she had been in the morning. Instead, she asked Bryan forcefully and directly and without any opening remarks, “Will you marry my daughter or not? We need your answer today.” Bryan expressed his dissatisfaction with such an ultimatum,

“You are both pushing at a mega-accelerated rate to race towards marriage. This is actually taboo and reckless within our American traditional dating arena.”

At once, P6 refuted him angrily: “If you want to marry my girl, you have to accept these rules that you don’t like.” The negotiations lasted for nearly four and a half hours. The entire process was led by P6, without her daughter saying a word. Her intervention and coercion worked, and the attitude of Bryan went from surprise to resistance, and, finally, to compromise. The topic transitioned from whether he would propose to her daughter to details about the wedding preparations.

After the important matter of marriage was negotiated, during which P6 kept up a strong posture for more than four hours, she smiled with satisfaction. She hugged the couple and said: “Seeing you two sitting together reminds me of the time I spent with my husband before his death. Your marriage will be as happy as ours.” Then, she suddenly became fragile and sad again. She wept bitterly, instantly immersed in her own memories, and kept telling us about her happy married life for nearly an hour. This was probably not be the first time that she suddenly thought of her late husband and shared her memories with others. My inference stemmed from a text message her prospective son-in-law, Bryan, covertly sent me as her talked:

“If I must hear about the previous husband and his life...I will vomit and then run outside the house to vomit again out in the street (A bit of sarcasm to show my impatience of her ridiculous repetition).”

In the late afternoon, she eventually stopped crying, and was about to attend a perfume testing held at a Chinese women’s club. So, the young couple and I got up and said our goodbyes. She told me that, after her husband passed away, she was participating in as many community activities as possible to alleviate loneliness. At around nine

o'clock in the evening, P6 contacted me again via WeChat, asking me to help her translate the latest documents sent by her attorney. This process of communication and translation continued until around eleven o'clock in the evening.

On the day I visited her, she had a full schedule. She had both problems that had to be dealt with and social activities that she wanted to take part in. Yet, during those ten hours, she was emotionally unstable. Anxiety, fear, happiness, seriousness, and grief of bereavement appeared alternately. The switching of these emotions was very sudden and without warning. Her emotions switch so frequently that she often frightens the people around her. Her future son-in-law Bryan sent me a very long email to express his concerns before getting married. With his permission, I repeat a paragraph to show how the excessive emotionality of P6 after the loss of her husband bothered her relatives and friends:

“I find the Mother’s inability to control her anger, frequent outbursts of crying, (often over 3 different subjects in only one hour’s time very, very frightening and disturbing to me as a future husband of her daughter. I especially find the aggressive manners she displays frightening. If I say ‘no’ to her for some reason, her reaction is identical to that of a five- or six-year old child who does not get their way and throws a tantrum. She even gets upset and very angry with the employees while out shopping at Fry’s or even Winco. English folk just do not behave like this or they are avoided like the plague; their friends and family will avoid them! [...] I find her terrifying and believe real harm will come to me in the future if I indeed marry her daughter.”

The whole widowed group in my sample share this condition of emotional instability. In addition to spending a lot of extra time dealing with property disputes, the widowed participants tried their best to maintain the same daily arrangements as before the deaths of their husbands, and cared about the well-being of their families as always. However, the pain of losing husband is so intense, that they cannot really resolve the pain.

As witnessed in the behavior of P6, when a specific scene triggers their memories, they often show intense emotional shifts that disturb the people around them.

Given the daily phenomenon of their inability to control their emotions, the immense grief of losing their lover is also worthy of understanding and care. At the end of February of 2021, after the daughter of P6 finally married, P6 asked her to put stickers of a dragon on her homemade wedding poster (Figure 9), to represent her late husband to subtly symbolize the family's remembrance for her late husband. She said, "In Chinese culture, the dragon represents the husband and the phoenix represents the wife. Together, the dragon and the phoenix symbolize family happiness and wedded bliss." She also said, "Now, only the phoenix is still alive, the dragon flies away."

Their processing of bereavement embodies the power of Chinese cultural symbols. They use a Chinese cultural concept that the Dragon is the husband and the Phoenix symbolizes the wife, so as to commemorate their marriage and express their grief.



Figure 9

A Homemade Wedding Poster of the household of P6

Race has always mattered and will continue to do so in the US (U.S. Department of Education, 2014). For these widowed participants, race mattered their daily experience.

They believe that their race and gender are the main reasons why they were stigmatized and bullied by their American stepchildren, friends and neighbors after the death of their American husband. The friendships of these participants with their American friends seemed to disintegrate quickly with the death of their husbands. As stepchildren and step- mothers neither see the same facts nor reach the same conclusions in interpreting the facts, the friends and neighbors have their own perspectives as well and thereby chose to sever the association with these participants. The friends' contract in attitude before and after the death hurts the feelings of the sensitive and vulnerable participants who are in the middle of bereavement. In addition to feeling betrayed, they believe that the acquaintances dislike them because of the "evil stepmother" stereotype and negative impressions of marriage immigrant women, as P6 self-questioned,

Do they subconsciously identify me as an unequal wife and evil stepmother who would take advantage of my husband's biological children? Are they hostile to me just because I am from China, remarried to an American, got a green card because of my second marriage?

These experiences made them fail to understand the behaviors of American friends and their blended family members. P6 could not believe that her lawyer would defend her own interests wholeheartedly, nor could she understand the marriage attitude

of her daughter's American boyfriend. In turn, her daughter's boyfriend could not accept her behavior and thoughts either. He attributed her emotional instability to racial and cultural differences, believing that "English folks" like himself can better control emotions while Chinese immigrants cannot.

On the other hand, they rely on the social capital of the Chinese community to heal their bereavement and the betrayal of their friends. They participate in the activities of the Chinese women's clubs to kill time and divert attention.

A Day in the Life of Immigrant Working Women: Hermaphroditic Phoenix

If the keyword of a widowed women's day is "emotional," then the keyword for the working women in this sample is "busy." Given that this group of women are proud of their purposeful daily lives, some of them took the initiative to detail their daily routines in the interviews, while some others frequently post their work schedules on social media. Therefore, I was able to extract relevant accounts from interviews and combining with social media content analysis to characterize a typical day for the working women.

They are usually busy during workdays. P10, who is engaged in real estate brokerage, once published her daily routine in detail on Wechat in June. According to her records, she went to the title company in the city of Glendale at nine o'clock every morning to accompany clients to sign closing documents. At noon, she had to rush to Chandler to accompany clients for a home inspection. From two to five in the afternoon, she went to Tempe to give house tours to potential clients. Her work did not end there. She continued to make offers for her clients from six to twelve in the evening everyday.

She especially emphasized that she provides 24/7 call answering services for clients and encouraged people to contact her at any time.

Similarly, the daily schedules posted on Wechat by P54, P43, and P48 are also filled with various work arrangements. They go to work at around eight or nine in the morning and most of them leave office at five in the afternoon. During working hours, despite various pressures and challenges, they are confident that they can solve all work-related problems. P36 is a data analyst for an insurance company. She gave many examples to prove that she was able to solve the company's most complex data problems: "One day I modeled and calculated that our department would receive a total of 216 calls that day. By the time I got off work, we only received 215 calls. However, at the last minute before leaving work, our boss made a phone call to our office. Bang! My accuracy rate is still 100 percent."

After leaving work, someone would continue to work on their own time like P10, while others still have the energy to devote to their hobbies. P43 and P54 are outdoor enthusiasts, and they go hiking nearly every day after they get off work; as a member of the dragon boat team, P36 and her team train at a rowing club between 6 and 8 pm.

However, in addition to these explicit aspects of their daily schedule, there is also a fixed but hidden, ritual in their morning routines. This ritual is not recorded on their social media post; it was only mentioned in their interviews, yet is provided a crucial insight to the characterization of their professional lives. The participants reported some very special preparations before going to work in the morning.

P54: Although I am very busy every day, I must think about my next day's cloth and makeup before going to bed. Every morning I need to pay attention to my appearance to avoid looking too feminine. If I put on makeup that day, I

cannot wear too feminine clothes; if I dyed my white hair black, I cannot wear makeup at all. If I dress according to my personal preferences, others may look down on me. Colleagues who don't know me will treat me as a secretary instead of a manager.

P28 : When I was about 50 years old, I basically gave up skin care and cosmetics. If I look too young, it will leave customers with the impression that I am not professional or trustworthy. So every morning after I get up, I only apply a thin layer of face cream. I deliberately don't apply sunscreen or make-up.

Although these working women are very busy, they still set aside time dress carefully. They consider what outfits to wear in advance the day before, and put together the planned outfit in the early morning of the next day. However, this morning dressing routine is not to beautify their appearance. On the contrary, they hope to hide their feminine characteristics in exchange for the respect and trust they will obtain if they appear more "professional". These women have to suppress their preferred aesthetics and deliberately maintain a somewhat tough or masculine image. Even when working with a community organization as a volunteer, some participants have to maintain a masculine appearance to be taken seriously. P10 accounted,

"When I was first elected to be president of the *Die Ying Association*, I was only in my thirties, a little younger than all the other members. Many people thought that I won the election by virtue of my gender advantage and appearance. For this reason, I wore my haircut very short. Whenever I attend the activities of our association, I use hair spray to fix my hairstyle in advance. I expect no one will dare to offend me seeing my short hair."

Although the way they dress and wear their hair represent a compromise and sacrifice they are willing to make in order to get equal treatment in the workplace, they have a separate internal mechanism to relieve the sense of loss and sacrifice. As indicated previously, some participants obtain a type of spiritual comfort by drawing an analogy between their personal experiences and the rebirth of the phoenix. Similarly, the working

women who deliberately maintain a masculine look through morning routine of image-creation spontaneously cite another set of myths about the phoenix to console themselves.

In addition to being a representation of a female entity as a counterpart to the male dragon, In some contexts, the Chinese phoenix is a compound symbol, simultaneously representing two birds: Fèng (male phoenix) and Huáng (female phoenix). Therefore, the phoenix is not only a widely accepted representation of femininity, but also a divine symbol of hermaphrodite. As women are *yin*, men are *yang*, the combination of Fèng and Huáng is representative of harmony and balance.

The reality that women must deliberately maintain a certain degree of masculinity in their appearance is understood by them as a strategy for shaping their own balance of *yin* and *yang* and fusing the opposing forces within their bodies. P10 summarizes this as: “Everything needs to be balanced. Although I have to lose my long hair, it makes my work a lot smoother. This is a type of *yin* and *yang* balance that is specific to me.”

Through this psychological processing, these women no longer regard the deliberate shaping of their exteriors to be masculine as a compromise to keep their jobs. Instead, they regard it as a rational act in the pursuit of the balance of *yin* and *yang*, as well as the harmony of life. Therefore, they are able to focus on their work without wasting time complaining about injustice.

A Day in the Life of Immigrant Housewives

One morning in January at ten o'clock, I arrived by appointment at the home of P3. She told me I was lucky because, even one week earlier, she would not have been to receive me because she was in “hibernation.” In September, October and November of

2020, she had been busy preparing for the annual festival, “Phoenix Night,” in the Chinese community. Although, due to the pandemic, things changed and the event had to be held online, the workload had not been reduced. Instead, more preparation time and manpower were required to adapt to the new online form of the annual festival. Due to overwork, she gave herself a one-and-a-half-month vacation after the festival ended. She did not answer calls or messages, and the only company she had was her husband and children at home.

Now that her hibernation was about to be over, she was ready to resume her volunteer work in the community. She told me that on January 25th she would participate in a donation for vaccination workers organized by the Arizona Asian Alliance, and asked me if I wanted to go with her.

According to the narratives of many housewives (including P3) in interviews, the emergence of the epidemic seems to have instigated the biggest changes in their daily activities. They complained that the children had to take online lessons at home and that their husbands also worked from home, which caused the home to be overcrowded and noisy. However, during my visit, P3’s children had resumed classes at school, and her husband went back to working at his office, so that I did not witness the scenes of “adults crying, children making trouble” she described. A sculpture of Venus was erected in her backyard. The sculpture was wearing a mask, and a warning sign that read “you can be naked, but you have to be masked” hung on the body of Venus. She put on a mask for Venus when COVID-19 first broke out, and added the warning to remind her children to wear a mask whenever going out.

The day of my visit was her eldest son's birthday, so she was going to prepare some food that the elder son loves, and wait for him to come back from school to celebrate his birthday. At noon, she took some ingredients out of the refrigerator. While waiting for some food to defrosting, she sat down at the desk and began to write out an event plan. She was very satisfied with the success of the "Phoenix Night" festival, and planned to hold an international online gourd (cucurbit) flute concert, so that Phoenix fans of gourd flute can perform with professional musicians. She explained that, as her eldest son had been teaching himself to play the gourd flute for several months, she wanted to provide him and other gourd flute lovers with a platform to learn and exchange music. I saw in the notebook that the name she proposed for this concert was "the Phoenix on the Calabash Vine."

In my visit to the household of P1, I saw a similar scene. She also happened to be giving herself a holiday after directing the 2021 Lunar New Year Festival, "Phoenix Spring". She stayed at home all day, doing housework, planting flowers, and walking the dog. However, these chores are not the sum of her daily life. After walking her dog, she sat down and tried to plan new activities for her club. She said that she wanted to organize an event for online exchanges between Chinese and American elementary school students during the summer vacation.

These housewives not only enjoy their family life, but are enthusiastic and motivated to organize various community activities. Although it is not universal, the housewives in this sample all have a bachelor's degree or above. As a group that has more personal free time, and are not experiencing financial stress, they have more enthusiasm for organizing and participating in community activities than others. This

likely explain why, even though organizing large-scale community festivals such as “Phoenix Night” and “Phoenix Spring” are so exhausting, the women still insist on participating in the organization and co-ordination of this work every year. It also can explain why they make plans for future activities even when on “vacation.” The volunteer work they have done has greatly contributed to the cultural construction of the Chinese immigrant community in Phoenix, and they like to use the elements of the phoenix in the names or logos of the community events. This multifaceted symbol, which combines geographic location, ethnicity, women’s identity, and personal experience, has become a self-explanatory and broadly-accepted symbol through their dissemination of it.

Conclusion

This chapter has summarized “a day in the life” for three groups of Chinese immigrant women. Each group has a different set of daily routines and activities because of their marital status and occupation.

The widowed women indulge in the pain of bereavement, repeatedly sharing stories of their marriage with families and friends day after day. Although daily challenges they have encountered are very complicated, they did not think about the root causes. Instead, they subconsciously attribute the difficulties and heritage disputes to racial inequality, believing that these are racialized experiences and their intersections with immigration, citizenship, and gender. Similarly, the Americans around them simply attribute their emotional instability and abnormal behaviors to racial differences. These cases embodied the principle of critical racial theory that racial discourses permeated all aspects of social life (Bell, 1992; Delgado, 2013).

The working adopt morning routines that involve divesting themselves of accoutrements of femininity in order to win respect in their professional environments. The deliberate shaping of their exteriors to be masculine is one of main resources or types of capital which they use in problem-solving strategies in daily life and community participation.

After vigorous participation in organizing community activities, the exhausted housewives have to stay at home for a long break. However, what they have in common is that they all use the concept of the phoenix to a greater or lesser degree with the challenges in their lives or achieve certain goals. They refer their sorrow and grief with reference to it; use it to achieve psychological comfort; and less consciously, they use it to showcase their cultural aesthetic and their ability to shape community culture.

CONCLUSION

The present study focuses on the psychocultural perceptions of a sample of 58 Chinese immigrant women in Maricopa County's metro area around the city of Phoenix, Arizona. It explains how they are able to negotiate multiple identity markers that influence and define their capacity to maintain self-referential growth, and achieve an understanding of their ethnic identity, culture and personal achievements. This metaphorical association is closer to the manner in which they enhance their own lives individually as well as those of their families and social networks. This form of communication turns clear cultural symbols into implicit references without losing the content they try to express. Instead, the multiple superimpositions of homophony, similes, tropes, and puns have deepened and strengthened their expressive capacity.

These self-evident, subconscious but logical, instincts are the noumenon of culture. In thinking about how to solve the problems of invisible discrimination and symbolic violence caused by the incompatibility between immigrants' ethnic identity and that of the host society, it is necessary to reexamine what symbols and derivative metaphors its members use instinctively to represent their group. For the 58 participants in this study, the phoenix metaphors used to refer to ethnic identity, female identity, geographic location, and positive connotations extracted from Eastern and Western myths are perfectly integrated; they represent Chinese women in Phoenix, while avoiding symbolic violence to the utmost extent. Without overt collaboration, these participants use the same symbol as a way to carry out social communications and the construction of

social networks, and also use the same meaning system and cultural outlook to evaluate the corresponding results and cultural products. They use the metaphors of rebirth and transmigration related to the phoenix to embody special events and experiences in their lives and to name women's clubs. They do so to find a cultural and psychological support for women's groups and their social participation in the large-scale community events that not only highlight Chinese cultural elements but also strengthen their attractiveness to other groups. In this process, the contributions of this dissertation are reflected in a few principle aspects.

The Use of the Phoenix for Self-Representation

The first of these aspects is the use of the phoenix for self-representation. Individuals who are committed to an identity conceive of that identity in terms of a type of self-related attribute (Gollwitzer, 1986, p. 144). Echoing this argument, this study has sought to explore the way women create self-representation based on their personal attributes and experiences by focusing on how they tell their personal stories using the theme of the phoenix.

On the one hand, after experiencing difficulties in life, they easily internalized the idea that they were reborn from the ashes and became the phoenix nirvana. They use the metaphors of the phoenix to allude to their own experience and encourage themselves to get out of their predicaments. On the other hand, they regard the phoenix as a self-representation in social events and on social media. They have arrived at a creative way of introducing themselves by incorporating the theme of the Phoenix and using it as their avatar or username on their personal social network accounts to strengthen and beautify

others' impressions of them. Also, they have developed a complete storytelling pattern based on the metaphors of the phoenix. By narrating their past lives as well as unique life experiences to others, they not only gain a sense of satisfaction and joy of being accepted from the surprise or sympathy of others, but also relate to other immigrants through the myths of the phoenix's rebirth and transmigration as a metaphor for the experience of immigrants.

The first contribution of this study is to demonstrate that individuals need for self-referential symbols in their community participation and that specific symbol and signs are instrumental in expanding the size of ego-centric social networks. Taking the participants of this study as an example, the self-referential expressions of these phoenixes mentioned above are of great significance to them, because such expressions have helped them overcome the psychological trauma caused by death and setbacks in life. Moreover, in community activities, they can successfully increase their sense of self-worth by assigning themselves a distinctive label or nickname such as Phoenix, thereby facilitating the understanding, acceptance and recognition of themselves by other community members. In this way, the women gain friendships, high-quality social networks and corresponding memberships, so that they achieve the goal of integrating into the community and expanding their social circle.

Ultimately, the employment of a symbol for self-referential has become an effective strategy for forging relationships among individuals and increasing their levels of inclusion in the Chinese immigrant community.

The Use of the Phoenix as Resistance to Symbolic Violence

A major basis for the use of the phoenix is the belief that creating these metaphors initiates a way to resist the symbolic violence and stereotyping to which they are subjected. The participants assert that using the dragon as a logo for community events will cause discomfort to others who are not familiar with Chinese culture. In contrast, using the phoenix can minimize the misunderstanding or disregard of outsiders while enhancing the interactions between the local Chinese community and other residents. Although there is no clear evidence that directly supports the truth of such an assertion, these participants did attribute the success of the community events and the increase in the number of attendees to the use of the phoenix symbol and the metaphorical meanings it encapsulates. They envisage that, regardless of the cultural background of the persons who attend their events, they will not misunderstand the connotation of the phoenix to any degree. This kind of self-suggestion indeed strengthened their self-confidence in promoting and displaying their national culture.

Considering the invisible symbolic violence imposed on the dragon culture, the second contribution of this study has been to exemplify a realistic approach to diminishing the invisible violence. Symbolic power cannot rely on recent innovation in the manipulation of symbol or metaphor because recognizing a symbol and the metaphors behind it as identity markers requires a long period of inter-generational accumulation. Moreover, a symbol that can surpass the level of the individual to rise to that of a group identity marker is highly dependent on cultural consensus. As Duck (1994, p. 55) argues, “individuals create something of their own meaning systems, yet draw on cultural conventions to do so”. Cultural conventions are the bases for organic mechanisms of interaction and the formation of organizational relationships among their

own cultural membership. This is why the introduction of symbols that deviate from cultural consensus cannot fundamentally remove the invisible and ubiquitous symbolic violence.

The participants arrived at the same way of thinking about solutions to problems. They spontaneously reinterpreted traditional cultural symbols and appropriately blended them with the metaphors of the Western phoenix according to circumstantial requirements. These reconstructions of cultural symbols and their metaphors based on traditional cultural consensus eventually weakened the climate of symbolic violence, and allowed participants to develop cultural self-confidence because they believed that they had eliminated the possibility of discrimination.

The Use of the Phoenix as Women's Representation

Since the end of the 20th century, gender has been widely defined as a social and cultural construction. The gendered symbols are an imitation of the ideal gender that exists in a specific cultural environment (Butler, 1999). Simone de Beauvoir (1956) thereby believes that the identity of women is not an expression of physical gender, but is constructed within a specific cultural framework. Such emphasis on femininity and a preference for women's symbols had already begun to take shape as early as Goethe's time. *Faust*, for example, ends with the sentence "Woman, eternally, shows us the way" (von Goethe, 1808/2014, p. 371). Increasingly aware of a human instinct of happiness, modern culture and art have turned women into a symbol of this instinct. In this context, women were not the objects of consumption of pleasure, but saviors who freed human beings from the fate of death.

For the purposes of the cultural construction of gender and challenging popular perceptions of women, much of feminist semiotics re-processes and recreates traditional gender symbolism. Some scholars have noticed that women have taken the initiative to create symbols as collective representations that emphasize femininity for themselves, in order to oppose and criticize stereotypes of women. Given the symbols that have emerged spontaneously in the dreams, fantasies, and thoughts of many women in the past several years, contemporary women have likewise begun to spontaneously construct their own social identities through the meanings they ascribe to an object symbol as a useful medium (Sears, 1993). Moreover, women are no longer easily categorized as emblems of female oppression, because they have renegotiated and resignified their domestic and feminine positions, deliberately choosing their own symbolic representation (Gillis & Hollows, 2000).

In this light, the third contribution of this study is to highlight the significance of how women reconstruct their identity and status through symbols of femininity, and to demonstrate how Chinese cultural symbols and their content could affect women's consciousness and behavior. The spontaneous choice of a cultural symbol to reinterpret and then using it as a personal representation is essentially "the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of female power as a beneficent and independent power" (Christ, 1978, p. 4). Chinese women living in Phoenix, represented by the sample of 58 participants, chose the symbol of the phoenix for three primary reasons.

First, the symbol provides the inspiration for women's empowerment and self-worth, and the encouragement for the construction of new roles of women within their families, workplace and community activities. Originally, the mythical Phoenix was

adopted as a symbol of the empress (Lee & Yi, 1997), and has become a universal symbol of all women in modern times. Early artifacts and documents portray the phoenix as the blissful, female lover of the Dragon. When shown together, the two herald wedded bliss and the happiness of family life. As an exclusive symbol of women's dignity, strength, wisdom, and happiness, this symbol intends to reflect all of the qualities that women should pursue in their lives and their expectations for the future. Using it as a symbol of their femininity and as the logo for women's clubs thereby bestows them confidence and cohesion. In the contexts of family and community, they also instinctively display this symbol on home-made posters and social networks as a cue to their identity or their expectations.

Second, the symbol summarizes the potential and invisible dilemmas of women's daily lives and provides solutions. In some ancient myths, the phoenix is also a compound entity consisting of two birds, the male bird Fèng and the female bird Huáng. The paradox between the pride of being female and the reality of having to deliberately maintain a masculine appearance in order to gain prestige is consistent with the concept of the hermaphroditic phoenix. Therefore, Chinese women associate this combination of female identity and male appearance with capability, strong-mindedness, and other traits required for leadership. In the process of metaphorizing reality with mythology, the concept of male and female oneness embedded in the phoenix can help them digest some of the negative emotions that arise in the process of acting as a woman in the workplace and in the community leadership roles.

Third, as these women believe that the multifaceted concept of the Phoenix was created by themselves, they also firmly believe in their own creativity, and are deeply

proud of their intelligence and originality. Such confidence empowers them to embrace their flaws, and build up their individual personalities and characters. Owing to the underlying shared culture and knowledge, the connotations, similes, and tropes of the phoenix they created are very similar. Therefore, they can appreciate one another.

The Use of the Phoenix for the Making of Chinese Immigrant Community

Finally, this study demonstrates that common recognition of specific cultural elements serves to structure individuals' sense of membership and belonging to the community. The consensus surrounding symbolism strengthens social networks, accumulates and optimizes community social capital, and further constructs the entire immigrant community.

The results of this inquiry support the notion that by enhancing awareness and intimacy among the membership of the community, every participant is confident that other Chinese can immediately comprehend the metaphors they created. Understanding the connotations of a metaphor is highly dependent on the audience's comprehension, knowledge, and aesthetics (Wilson & Sperber, 2012). Although the metaphors the participants applied are multifaceted, multi-cultural, and complex, they envisage that other Chinese immigrants, with a similar background and similar transnational experiences, will be able to understand their metaphors. Individuals rely on verbal, nonverbal, and visual communication in their everyday lives to transmit cues about their environment to those with whom they are interacting (Le Poire & Yoshimura, 1999). The presumption that other people can understand their metaphorical expressions provides the basis for a special type of communication. It invisibly affects the direction of collective

action for a group of people, and defines the range of strategies they will employ. The group gain satisfaction and happiness from the special kind of silent communication obtained through using the symbols and metaphors of the phoenix.

As the analysis in Chapter Four of this dissertation has demonstrated, although they have different political views, religious beliefs, and moral standards, the participants are still connected to one another through these specific and mutually agree-upon symbols. It is through such cultural symbolism that immigrants find a sense of belonging to the Chinese immigrant community in Phoenix, and feel honored of being a member in the process of the communal and social participation. The phoenix, a cultural symbol and metaphor that has positive meanings in both Eastern and Western cultural fields, is used as an identity marker by the participants in this research because it carries multiple metaphorical characteristics, integrates community resources, increases public participation, and even reduces the misperceptions that mainstream society has about them. In essence, the widespread use of this symbol reflects the role of cultural consensus and habitus in shaping Chinese immigrants' social actions and cultural development as Chinese immigrants. Due to the overlap and compatibility of the connotations of the Phoenix in Eastern and Western cultures, it has become a cultural concept that everyone can use to show their culture in a positive light and to replace the irrational stereotype represented by the dragon.

Overall, the use of the Phoenix in the making of the community reflects the commonalities in the experiences of processing self and ethnic representations among the Chinese immigrant women, but without flattening the specificities of personal background and gender. This study refutes the incompatibility between social capital

research and the individual psychology that underlie the use of immigrant symbolism by showing how both play a role in shaping personal symbol creation, gender identity, and collective social networks. In addition, race continue to make the headlines of both the national and international newspapers on an almost daily basis. In the process of dealing with life challenges and participating in social activities, they subconsciously attribute many complex problems to racializations and stereotypes. For this end, they replaced the dragon with the phoenix as a common cultural symbol in community activities to avoid the potential for discrimination and misunderstanding. Their insight into race and concerns about racial stereotypes reflect how race is structured, and how such structures impact their daily lives.

Avenues for Future Research

This work has two inevitable limitations. However, these limitations open up avenues for future studies. First, by focusing on the symbolization and metaphorization of the phoenix, this study reifies Chinese immigrant women's existing fascination for the phoenix and more or less reinforces such fascination as fetishism. This discussion may require more comprehensive methodological reflections concerning consistency and reliability in order to avoid creating new stereotypes.

Second, while this study gives prominence to a fascination with certain cultural concepts, it obscures cultural factors that conflict with other symbols. Given that the participants in this study consistently used the symbol of the phoenix as a multifaceted identity marker, and tried to avoid the masculine symbol of the dragon, the opposite of the female symbol, this dissertation reifies ethnic women's motivations and

corresponding strategies for the use of female symbols, and explained to some extent why they resist certain masculine symbols. Yet, concerns about the latter require further exploration.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Please name up to 10 women who are important to you in your network in the community (Please list initials and/or first name only).

2. Please circle your intimacy with each of them. Circle E for "close," circle D for "distant," leave E or D blank for neither distant nor close.

3. For each person, check the box that best describes how often you have met in the last six months (e.g., plan an event, write a report, conduct an observation).

- Not in last 6 months
- Once in last 6 months
- Multiple times in last 6 months Multiple times a month
- Weekly
- Multiple times a week
- Don't know person
- It's me

4. To what extent do you trust each of them? [NOTE: You need to answer this question about every person]

Do not trust
much

Trust very

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

5. Check your connection to this person [NOTE: You need to answer this question about every person]:

- I know this person
- I have talked/shared ideas with this person in the last 6 months
- I have worked with this person in the past, but not in the last 6 months
- I have interacted regularly/collaborated with this person in the past 6 months

6. Select how you and this person interact (select all that apply):

- Developed an informal relationship
- Bring together diverse stakeholders
- Meet regularly
- Exchange information/knowledge
- Share resources
- Engage in collective decision making
- Share mission and goals

7. Check the box that best describes how often they have provided you with information you used in your life or work in the last 6 months (e.g., new idea, a report, contact information, etc.) [NOTE: You need to answer this question about every person].

- Not in last 6 months
- Once in last 6 months

- Multiple times in last 6 months
- Multiple times a month
- Weekly
- Multiple times a week
- It's me

8. How much time per month do you spend cultivating their your relationship with each of them?

9. How many clubs have you joined? Please list them.

10. To what extent do you trust each of the clubs? [NOTE: You need to answer this question about every person]

Do not trust					Trust very
much					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

11. What kinds of community activities do you participate in?:

- None
- Cooperative Activities: Involves exchanging information, attending meetings together, and offering resources to partners

- Coordinated Activities: Include cooperative activities in addition to intentional efforts to enhance each other's capacity for the mutual benefit of programs
- Community events/festivals
- Entertainment: Storytelling, music, drama, dance, or any size or type of party, with appropriate music and dance

12. Length of time at the clubs: [NOTE: You need to answer this question about every person]

13. Generally speaking, would you say that most people in the Community can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

(a) Most people can be trusted
careful

(b) can't be too

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Theme	Main topics	Questions
Personal Experience	Basic Information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What type of education do you have? • What is your job? • Where do you live?
	Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you know any stories about how your family first came to the United States? Where did they first settle? Why? How did they make a living? Did your family stay in one place or move around? How did they come to live in Phoenix? • Who holds the most “status” in your family? Why? • Do you have any photo albums, scrapbooks, home movies? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you describe/explain their contents? Who made them? When? Who is pictured? What activities and events are documented?
	Thoughts and feelings regarding present life situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you tell about how you experience your life at present? • Why did you choose to come to Phoenix instead of somewhere else? • How have historical events affected your family and community?
Community	Community engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which clubs are you currently a member of? How did you find out about [club]? • How did you decide to join/the biggest reason? How did you first get started with this participation? What got you interested? • What kinds of local Chinese gatherings and events are there? What community events/festivals/meetings are you attend routinely? What circumstances led you to these activities? What is your favorite activity? Why? • What is your role in these activities? What do you value most about your service? Why?

	Local History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe the Chinese community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What was it like? How has it changed over the years? What brought about these changes? What did people do for a living? What do they do now? • Can you draw a map of your local community and of your neighborhood? What places stand out most in your mind and why? What are/were your neighbors like? What stories and memories come to mind? • What community traditions do you celebrate? How long have they been going on? Who is involved? Why are they important to the community? • What are the key characteristics of the tradition? What is its history? Do you know how and where the tradition originated? How has it traditionally been practiced? How has it changed or developed over time?
	Women and community building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you think women's roles and responsibilities in the community? • What impact do you think the women's activities have on the local Chinese community? • How did your friends and family react to your community engagement? • What would you call your efforts to raise the women's influence as-an act of Feminism, or something else?
Culture	Immigrant Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does American culture differ from Chinese culture? • Any particularly good, bad, or interesting experiences as an immigrant • Is there anything that you particularly like, or does not like, about Americans? • How would you describe America to people in your home country?
	Cultural symbol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why did you use Phoenix to name your social network ID/business/women's club/events' theme? What impact do you think it has in your life? • How do you define the meaning of Phoenix and its relationship to other typical Chinese symbols?

APPENDIX C

IRB APPROVAL



EXEMPTION GRANTED

[Maria Cruz-Torres](#)
[CLAS-SS: Transborder Studies, School of \(STS\)](#)
480/965-5587
Maria.Cruz-Torres@asu.edu

Dear [Maria Cruz-Torres](#):

On 12/28/2020 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	From Dragon to Phoenix: Women, Social Capital, and the Making of Chinese Communities in Phoenix, Arizona, USA
Investigator:	Maria Cruz-Torres
IRB ID:	STUDY00013066
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• consent.pdf, Category: Consent Form;• Hua Shi-Interview guide.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);• Hua Shi-Questionnaire.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);• Hua-recruiting_script.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials;• protocol, Category: IRB Protocol;

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 12/28/2020.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

If any changes are made to the study, the IRB must be notified at research.integrity@asu.edu to determine if additional reviews/approvals are required. Changes may include but not limited to revisions to data collection, survey and/or interview questions, and vulnerable populations, etc.

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Hua Shi
Maria Cruz-Torres
Hua Shi